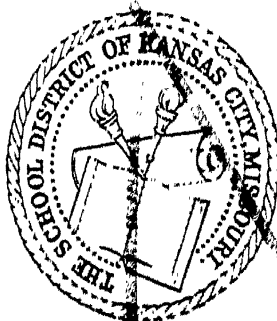


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THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
THE RELIGIOUS AND THE SCIENTIFIC VIEWS
OF
ALBRECHT VON HALLER (1708-1777)

BY MARGARETE HOCHDOERFER, Ph.D

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LINCOLN, NEBRASKA
1932

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PREFACE

My interest in the following study grew out of an effort to trace and account for the great popularity of Haller's poetical works among representative German authors of the last half of the eighteenth century. References to the commanding personality of Haller, the scientist, scholar, and poet, were as frequent as echoes from or allusions to passages in his poems. I found myself turning away from an examination of his literary influence to a study of his personality. I became deeply interested in Haller, the man, and in his philosophy of life. This led me naturally to a recognition of the conflict between his religious and his scientific views.

The following study was written at the University of Chicago under the direction of Professor Martin Schütze. I wish to express my appreciation of his stimulating advice. I also wish to acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Archer Taylor of the University of Chicago and to Professor E. Blakemore Evans of Ohio State University. I owe an especial debt to the late Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois, who first suggested to me a study of Haller's influence on the poetry of Schiller.

I welcome this opportunity to express my gratitude to Dr. Clarence Lowe, Librarian of the Gennadeion, Athens, Greece, formerly Professor of the Classics at the University of Nebraska, and to Dr. C. A. Forbes, Assistant Professor of the Classics at the same institution. Both read my manuscript with especial care and interest. Finally, I wish to thank Professor Louise Pound of the Department of English at the University of Nebraska for constant encouragement and for valuable practical suggestions.

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THE CONFLICT BETWEEN
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INTRODUCTION

Albrecht von Haller, 1708-1777, Swiss scientist, poet, apologist, rises above the level of eighteenth-century philosophical controversialists. The spiritual unrest of this period resulted from attempts to reconcile the teachings of orthodox theology with the conclusions drawn from scientific investigation of natural phenomena. Haller epitomized his age, as he sought to reconcile for himself the conflicting philosophies presented by the scientific and religious thinkers of his day.

The recognition accorded Haller by his contemporaries shows the importance of his position as a scientist and a man of letters. He was a member of nearly every scientific academy in Europe. Francis I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, made him a nobleman of the Empire. Frederick the Great, King of Prussia, endeavored to attract him to the University of Berlin, in order to make him a member of his illustrious Round Table. George II, King of Great Britain and Ireland, chose him as professor of anatomy and botany at the University of Göttingen, of which the English king was the founder. Emperor Joseph II, son of Francis I and Maria Theresa, disregarding Voltaire's invitation to visit Ferney, paid his respects to Haller in his home at Bern.

Haller's chief service of permanent value to the study of science was the publication of the first comprehensive textbook of physiology in which the scattered facts were brought together and presented as a whole.¹ The effect of this work was to help make physiology an independent branch of science rather than an adjunct of medicine.

Though Haller's poetry belongs to a past vogue, his contribution to German letters was of great value to his age. At a time when poetic feeling was all but lost in the superficiality and bombast of the Second Sillesian School the appearance of Haller's poems (*Versuch schweizerischer Gedichte*,

¹ *Elementa physiologiae corporis humani*, I (1757), VIII (1765).

In the *Berner Taschenbuch* of the same year Blösch makes a like statement concerning Haller's religious character. He of his birth (1908). The earlier commentators regarded Haller as a constant though reserved Christian character, the later commentators call attention to Haller's dual nature and to a conflict between his liberal and orthodox views." Max Haller sums up his view of Haller's attitude toward religion in the following statement: "Haller ist weder ästhetisch, noch pietisch, noch mystisch in seiner Frömmigkeit, sondern vor allem ethisch."¹⁰

The latest judgment on the conflict between Haller's scientific and religious views has been pronounced by Harry Maync:

Er hat alles selbstständig durchgedacht und das Uebernommene sich zum wahren inneren Besitz erworben. Seine Weltanschauung ist nicht zur Harmonie ausgereift, sondern ein immer Werdendes und Ringendes. Aber das tut ihrer Tiefe und Grösze keinen Abbruch und dieses Faustische, Hamletsche ist gerade das Deutsche, das Germanische in Haller.¹¹

The present investigation of the conflict between Haller's religious and scientific views deals with different expressions of Haller's thought. I have divided Haller's religious ideas into the following main divisions: *Nature, Man, Eternity, God, and Religion.*

⁹ Max Haller, *Haller als religiöse Persönlichkeit* (Bern, 1909), pp. 1-7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹¹ Albrecht von Haller, *Gedichte* (Leipzig, 1923), p. 46.

I

HALLER'S IDEAS OF NATURE

Haller is the child of his age in his attitude toward scientific investigation of natural phenomena. He scorns Descartes' mechanical explanation of the formation and structure of the universe as far too easy a solution of a most intricate problem, and he further accuses Descartes of ascribing to the material universe such forms and characteristics as are needful for the proof of his own theories. Haller is not satisfied with an approximate explanation of actual occurrences in nature by means of an hypothesis which assumes a given, fixed structure of the universe; and he turns over the task of building imaginary worlds, filled with imaginary elements, to those natural scientists who are too lazy to pursue the methods of scientific investigation.¹

Haller rejoices in the rising art of the craftsman, who makes tools which enable man to uncover the secrets of nature. He makes the assertion that more convenient telescopes, rounder glassdrops, more correct measurements, douches and knives have done more to enlarge the province of science than the creative spirit of a Descartes, than the father of order, Aristotle, or the erudite Gassendi. In short, Haller believes that actual experiment has led to a picture of nature which bears very slight resemblance to the one drawn by the philosophers.² Haller views with equal scorn Rousseau's attitude toward science and what he terms his "dumme Blindheit" regarding the works of nature.³ He likewise attacks Swift's satires against mathematicians and experienced natural scientists as not only too bitter but as altogether lacking in good judgment.⁴

The mathematical method of investigation appeals to Haller as sound and satisfies his sense of accuracy. He believes that this method has taught men to approach truth more slowly,

¹ *Sammlung kleiner Hallerischer Schriften*, I, p. 55 ff. 2 Aufl. Bern 1772. Referred to in this study as *Kleine Schriften* I, II, II.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57 ff.

³ Albrecht von Haller, *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst*, I, II, ed. J. G. Heinzmann, Berne, 1787, I, p. 112. Referred to in this study as *Tagebuch* I, II.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 144 ff.

yet with more certainty, and that man has been taught by mathematics the difficult lesson that he can not believe anything which can not be proved.⁵ The following lines dedicated to Johannes Geszner (1709-1790) may serve as further evidence of Haller's faith in scientific experimentation and in mathematics as a reliable guide to truth. Geszner was a fellow student of Haller's at the University of Leiden. Later he became a professor of mathematics and physics at the University of Zürich.

Bald steigest du auf Newtons Pfad
In der Natur geheimen Rath,
Wohin dich deine Mesz-Kunst leitet;
O Mesz-Kunst, Zaum der Phantasie!
Wer dir will folgen, irret nie;
Wer ohne dich will gehn, der gleitet.⁶

At the same time Haller recognizes the limitations of the mathematical method when applied to natural science, about which exact knowledge is obtainable only within certain narrow bounds. He is acutely aware of the fact that man's knowledge concerning the elements which compose corporeal nature, concerning the forces of weight, of velocity, of electrical and magnetic being, as well as of light and fire is, of necessity, fragmentary and therefore imperfect.⁷

In view of the fact that exact mathematical tests may not be applied to many problems in natural science, Haller defends the reasonable use of hypotheses as a means of approaching truth. He impresses the fact, however, upon his readers that hypotheses should never be confused with actual truths. They may merely be regarded as a temporary contrivance, as a sort of scaffolding to aid the student of nature in his ascent to a position from which he can view truth more clearly. By resorting to the use of hypotheses Haller feels that he is not giving offense to the spirit of higher mathematics. He calls attention to the experience of Newton, who, though he was bent upon destroying all arbitrary

⁵ *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 58 ff.

⁶ Albrecht von Haller, *Gedichte*, ed. Ludwig Hirzel, I, II, *unveränderte Studienausgabe*, Leipzig, 1917, II, p. 113, ll. 97-102. Referred to as Hirzel, *Gedichte* I, II.

⁷ *Kleine Schriften*, p. 64 ff.

opinions and though he hoped to banish the use of all hypotheses from scientific investigation, yet was not able to get on without using an hypothesis himself. For was not Newton's very conception of a universal material, the medium of light, sound, sense and motion built upon an hypothesis?'

Haller, then, is in no way in sympathy with those "new philosophers" who desire to have done with all hypotheses and who assume that, since man is incapable of knowing the inner nature of things, he can hope to see nothing except a few outward appearances of nature.⁸ Far from despairing concerning inaccessible truths of nature, Haller sees in the immeasurable extent of science a constant challenge for man to study these outward appearances of nature and to penetrate, thereby, even farther into nature's undiscovered realm. He does not hesitate to condone the study of alchemy, which we find the rationalist Maupertuis has wished to abolish.¹⁰ He doubts that alchemy will lead to the discovery of gold, but he is sure that the investigations of the alchemists have revealed many valuable scientific truths. The use of arbitrary classifications is likewise defended by Haller. He points out that the greatest botanists have made use of a system of classification which, however imperfect, has yet been a necessary aid to the discovery of important differences in plants.¹¹

It is interesting to note the dualism of Haller's "Wirklichkeitssinn"—his practical sense for realities, which can be made visible to the human eye—and the invisible concepts of his abstract thinking. Though he observes isolated natural phenomena with critical, scientific accuracy and insists upon frequent experiment as the only means of arriving at positive knowledge concerning the physical universe, at the same time Haller regards nature as a whole teleologically and assumes that the language of nature must be interpreted in this manner. Nature, then, is the medium through which God discloses himself to man and, however difficult it may be to fathom nature's secrets, there seems never a doubt in Haller's mind that nature is but a divine instrument created by God

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁰ *Tagebuch*, I, p. 105.

¹¹ *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 69.

for man's use and for man's ultimate good. Haller thought as the men of his age thought. He did not see that nature might possibly proceed in a manner which had no resemblance whatsoever to man's conception of final causes.¹²

Haller's own words show that he was unconscious of the fact that he did not pursue the doctrine of experimentation, which he so strongly advocated, to its logical conclusions. Far from realizing the presence of any dualism in his thinking, he makes the results of his scientific experiment serve as proofs for the orthodox conceptions of his *a priori* reasoning:

Unzählbare Irrthümer sind zumal in der Philosophie, daraus entstanden, dass man sich auf einen einzigen, oder auf wenige Versuche verlies, da doch bey denselben ein zufälliger Umstand den Ausgang bestimmt hat; da hingegen bey den wiederholten Versuchen die unwesentlichen Umstände wegfallen, und nur dasjenige bleibt, was der Natur beständige Weise ist. Wenn man sich mit der Beobachtung der Natur abgeben will, so musz man sich nicht denjenigen Ausgang wünschen, der mit unserer, oder unsers Lehrers Meinung am besten übereinkommt, sondern sich alle Arten von Ausgängen gefallen lassen. . . . Die Wahrnehmung allein lehrt uns in der Arzneywissenschaft die Wahrheit. Die Wahrnehmung verschafft uns auch ein zärtliches Gefühl des Schönen; und sie erweitert und erhöht unsere Begriffe von der Majestat des Schöpfers und seiner Werke.¹³

Haller's biographer and pupil, Zimmermann, invites the attention of natural scientists to the descriptions of nature in Haller's poem *Die Alpen*. He believes that these descriptions may be read by scientists with genuine delight, since the poet has never allowed the fire of his imagination to cause him to stray from the bounds which nature has defined. Zimmermann is so confident of the accuracy of Haller's descriptions of nature that he regards them in the light of a contribution to natural science. He feels certain that the immortal fame of the poem will rest upon the fact that the poet has drawn his descriptions of nature from nature and that the picture is so true a likeness as to bear inspection after a period of a thousand years has elapsed, for he is sure that nature's features remain unchanging:

¹² Cf. Jenny, *Haller als Philosoph*, p. 24.

¹³ *Tagebuch*, II, p. 168. (1779, Zug. S. 381.)

Weil nun seine Verse der Natur in allem gemäsz sind, so müszten sie, in einer solchen Entfernung eben so schön gefunden werden als itzt.¹⁴

In support of the above statement Zimmermann subjoins four quotations from *Die Alpen*: the description of a subterranean passage filled with vapors;¹⁵ of the "Staubbach im Walliser-land";¹⁶ of the hot mineral springs which warm the surrounding country;¹⁷ and of the treasures taken from the crystal mine.¹⁸ However scientifically accurate and true to nature these descriptions may be, it can be observed that Haller does not omit the thought of final causes. The water of the subterranean passage forces its way through the rocks and hurries onward to be used by man, which is its inevitable destiny,¹⁹ and the waters of the hot mineral springs have medicinal qualities to be used for the healing of man's ailments.²⁰ Zimmermann might have added as a fitting example of Haller's accuracy descriptions of Alpine flora, which are so botanically correct that Haller feels it wise to add the Latin botanical names in the footnotes.²¹ In his poem dedicated to Geszner, the companion of his Alpine journey, Haller portrays these same flowers all waiting to be classified by a human hand. We note again that his scientific sense is controlled by the thought that the flowers exist for the edification and enlightenment of man.

Bald lockt dich Flora nach der Au,
Wo tausend Blumen stehn im Thau,
Die auf dein Auge buhlend warten;
Auch auf der Alpen kühler Höh
Liegt für dich unterm tiefen Schnee
Ein ungepflanzter Blumen-Garten.²²

Haller's artistic standards reflect the vogue of a time which scorned the art and architecture of the Middle Ages as bar-

¹⁴ Zimmermann, *Das Leben des Herrn Haller*, pp. 68, 69.

¹⁵ *Haller und Salis Seewis*, ed. A. Frey, *Deutsche National-Literatur*, XLI, 2. Berlin und Stuttgart, n.d. Referred to hereafter as *D.N.L.*, p. 30, ll. 411-420.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 27 ff., ll. 341-350.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 401-410.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30, ll. 395-398. Cf. Zimmermann, *Leben*, pp. 69-76.

¹⁹ *D.N.L.*, 41, p. 30, ll. 417, 418.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 406.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 29, ll. 371 ff.

²² Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 114, ll. 115-120.

barous. In the light of more modern criteria we read with amazement in his *Tagebuch seiner Reisen nach Deutschland, Holland und England 1723-1727* the assertion that the churches of Cologne are for the most part Gothic and not beautiful, and that the city of Heidelberg is unpleasantly located.²³ It seems hasty to conclude, however, as does Maync, that Haller's artistic sense was completely dominated by the conventional taste of his time and that he preferred the straight, regular lines marked off upon the flat topography of Holland to the irregular contours of the landscape about Heidelberg.²⁴ His point of view was indubitably affected both by his religious bias and his practical, utilitarian sense. He views cities as the dwelling places of men. He is interested in such buildings as provide for man's well-being. In rural districts he notices the productivity of the land with the thought again of man's livelihood. He is not insensible to beauties of scenery when nature furnishes an adequate home for man. Haller is blinded to any beauty in Catholic Cologne, because of his strongly Protestant sympathies:

Die Kirchen, deren ein sehr, grosse Menge sind meist Gotisch und haben nichts Schönes. Um die heiligen drey Königen und derer 11000 Jungfrauen Gebeine lasz ich andere begierig sein und ware froh diesen verdrieszlichen Ort zu verlassen.²⁵

The location of Heidelberg does not appeal to Haller as a good site for a city, since it is crowded into the confines of a narrow valley between high hills. These hills are lacking in beauty because of their barrenness. Indeed, the whole surrounding country is "öde" as a result of war and the elector's neglect.²⁶ Haller must have looked out upon a deserted and ravaged country-side, presenting a picture very unlike the one which greets the traveller of today. In sharp contrast to this neglect is the fertile country around the city of Leiden. Haller is altogether charmed with the signs of cultivated nature.

In diesem Lande, das in allem mir neu vorkame, fande alles verhoffte Vernügen. Das Land an sich selber ist höchst angenehm. Auf beyden Seiten derer gerade gezogenen Fahrwassern sind

²³ pp. 22-26.

²⁴ Cf. Maync, *Haller als Dichter*, p. 16.

²⁵ *Reisetagebuch*, pp. 25, 26.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 23.

entweder weite und mit fettem Viehe besetzte Wiesen, oder schöne und dicht aneinander gelegne Dörfer, prächtige Gärten, angenehme Vorwerke. Kein Baum wachst in diesem Lande auszert der Schnur und kein Fuszbreit Boden ist ohne Ausbeute.²⁷

Haller's first view of the ocean is not a happy one. He goes to "Catwyk ob Rhein" and "Catwyk ob Zee" in order to see the mouth of the Rhine and the great natural dam formed by the dunes. From this viewpoint the sea offers a forbidding, as well as a terrifying sight, since the water must be regarded as a constant menace to the low-lying land.

Der Ocean, den nun das erste Mahl gesehen, ist an dieser Küste meist stürmisch, weil sie sehr unrein und sandig ist. Sein Gebrüll lässt sich eine halbe Meile weit deutlich vernehmen, und hat gewisz dieses Bild der Unendlichkeit in ungewohnten Augen etwas schreckliches.²⁸

When nature is kind, providing a suitable and pleasant habitat for man, Haller is not unmindful of the natural beauties of the landscape. In the following description of an English scene we anticipate the future poet of *Die Alpen*, as Haller views with delight the woods, the valley, and the winding river:

Wir rannten also durch das schöne mit Dörfern, Büschen, kleinen Wäldern Acker und Weyde gemischten Engelland, dem nichts zur Vollkommenheit als der Weinstock fehlt. Wir kamen über den Mittelmäszig groszen und durch ein stättig Thal sich schlingenden Flusz Stoure, dem wir auch lange an der Seite gingen, nach Colchester.²⁹

Haller sees in nature always the background for man. The beauty of the fertile fields in Wurttemberg is marred by the sight of the oppression of the peasants who till the soil. At this sight Haller is stirred to write the following lines:

Ach, unglückseligs Volk, inmitten von dem Glücke,
Was die Natur dir giebt, das raubt dir dein Geschicke!
Der Aehren göldnes Meer, das auf dem Lande schwimmt,
Ist dir zur Mühe nur, dem Prinz zum Nutz bestimmt.³⁰

The field of ripe grain undoubtedly appeals to Haller's sense of the artistic, since he likens it to a sea of golden hue, but the thought that nature's gifts are being diverted from their prescribed course and that what was designed for the universal good is being used to satisfy the greed of a selfish

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

ruler turns Haller's mind from a consideration of beauty to that of justice. The preceding quotation offers still more proof that Haller feels that the purpose of nature is to serve mankind.

After the manner of literary convention Haller personifies nature, describing her various characteristics as varying moods. Nature is sometimes cruel: "Zwar die Natur bedeckt dein hartes Land mit Steinen."³¹ At the same time she is a wise disciplinarian for man:

Sie warf die Alpen auf, dich von der Welt zu zäunen,
Weil sich die Menschen selbst die grössten Plagen sind.³²

Again nature appears as kindly, "die gütige Natur." Her kindness, to be sure, has a deterrent quality. She denies to man what is not good for him, in this case, wine. Nature is sometimes capricious, "die spielende Natur," bestowing many of her curiosities and good gifts upon a single land as a special mark of providential favor.³³ It may be noted, however, that these favors are of enormous practical value to man as the ensuing lines testify:

Der Berge wachsend Eis, der Felsen steiler Wände
Sind selbst zum Nutzen da und tranken das Gelände.³⁴

Nature is secretive but not unkindly in her intent. Though she hide her treasures, she is at the same time stimulating man's interest in discovery. "Was Natur verbarg, hat Kühnheit aufgeschlossen."³⁵ Provident nature teaches man to be modest in his desires and content with his lot: "Die mäsige Natur allein kann glücklich machen."³⁶ She rewards her chosen people by giving them enough for their needs, never too much for their good. "Euch sättigt die Natur mit ungesuchten Gütern."³⁷ By emulating nature's regular, orderly procedure man may attain a like balance in his existence, living and dying with equal calm of spirit: "Ihr lebet immer gleich und sterbet wie ihr lebet."³⁸

³¹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 22, l. 51.

³² *Ibid.*, ll. 53, 54.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 34, l. 214 ff.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34, ll. 319, 320.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 45, l. 40.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40, l. 450.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 41, l. 473.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42, l. 480.

Whether cruel, kind, or capricious, nature is always operating in a manner which ultimately furthers the best interests of man. Even though Haller personifies nature, he gives her no distinct individuality. Her general contours remain indistinct. She has no will of her own, for she is completely dominated by the will of a higher power. This higher power is more concerned about man than nature. Nature, therefore, becomes a tool in the hands of God. With nature as a tool, he works his divine will upon man.

Haller has the modesty of the true natural scientist when he considers the limitless bounds of a physical universe, which presents an infinity of problems to the earnest student. He adds to this modesty a deep reverence for nature, which he regards as the handiwork of an all-wise God. Though the material universe may display itself as a marvelous mechanism working in a manner seemingly self-sufficient, this mechanism is but testimony to the foresight of its great Creator. The contemplation of the glorious spectacle of nature is convincing proof to Haller of the existence of God.

Genug, es ist ein Gott; es ruft es die Natur,
Der ganze Bau der Welt zeigt seiner Hände Spur.
Den unermessnen Raum, in dessen lichten Höhen
Sich tausend Welten drehn und tausend Sonnen stehen,
Erfüllt der Gottheit Glanz. Dasz Sterne sonder Zahl
Mit immer gleichem Schritt und ewig hellem Strahl,
Durch ein verdeckt Gesetz vermischt und nicht verwirret,
In eignen Kreisen gehn und nie ihr Lauf verirret,
Macht ihres Schöpfers Hand; sein Will ist ihre Kraft,
Er theilt Bewegung, Ruh und jede Eigenschaft
Nach Maasz und Absicht aus.³⁹

We observe in the above quotation Haller's graphic illustration of the Copernican theory. He pictures the universe in the light of an orderly, perfectly balanced mechanical structure. The great machine which embraces the universe works unceasingly by reason of its own inherent force, yet controlled by the unseen hand of its inventor.

Erbarmens voller Gott! in einer dunkeln Stille
Regiert der Welten Kreis dein unerforschter Wille.⁴⁰

The following quotation contains much the same thought. The dynamic force which operates in nature, which caused

³⁹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 57 ff., ll. 325-355.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 124, ll. 123, 124.

matter to be welded into form and determined the fixed orbits of the newly created worlds and suns, is another revelation of God, because this force was released and became vital at the word of God:

Befruchtet mit der Kraft des Wesen-reichen Wortes
Gebiert das alte nichts; den Raum des öden Ortes
Erfüllt verschiedner Zeug; die regende Gewalt
Erlieset, trennet, mischt und schrankt ihn in Gestalt.
Das dichte zog sich an, das Licht und Feuer ronnen,
Es nahmen ihren Platz die neugebornen Sonnen;
Die Welten welzten sich und zeichneten ihr Gleis,
Stäts flüchtig, stäts gesenkt, in dem befohl'nen Kreis.⁴¹

But this marvelous structure of interrelated machinery has no feeling of God and therefore no part in the divinity of God. It follows then that nature is the blind instrument of God's will:

Gott sah und fand es gut, allein das stumme Dichte
Hat kein Gefühl von Gott, noch Theil an seinem Lichte.⁴²

The dynamic force emanating from a divine source exhibits itself in certain immutable laws which have at last been revealed to the reason of man in the guise of the laws of gravitation:

Ein Newton übersteigt das Ziel erschaffner Geister,
Findt die Natur im Werk und scheint des Weltbaus Meister;
Er wiegt die innre Kraft, die sich im Körper regt,
Den einen sinken macht und den im Kreis bewegt,
Und schlägt die Tafeln auf der ewigen Gesetze,
Die Gott einmal gemacht, dasz er sie nie verletze.⁴³

These laws are only immutable as far as man is concerned. They must be controlled by God, else nature would have the power to regulate the universe by means of its mechanical force. Therefore God reserves the right to interfere with nature's machinery and has ultimate control of the whole physical universe:

Und der Natur ihr Rad musz stehn, wann er befiehlt.⁴⁴

In the last analysis, then, everything which the poet sees in nature, all the mechanical perfection, is the work of God, for God is the soul of nature:

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126, ll. 9-16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, ll. 17-18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 46, ll. 51-56.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127, l. 68.

O Schöpfer! was ich seh, sind deiner Allmacht Werke!
 Du bist die Seele der Natur;
 Der Sterne Lauf und Licht, der Sonne Glanz und Stärke
 Sind deiner Hand Geschöpf und Spur.⁴⁵

When viewing the vast expanse of an Alpine scene, Haller laments that the human eye is too weak to comprehend the far outlines of the picture.

Ein sanfter Schwindel schlieszt die allzuschwachen Augen,
 Die den zu breiten Kreis nicht durchzustrahlen taugen.⁴⁶

This same thought is carried to its logical conclusion when applied to a view of "inner nature." Though man may learn much concerning nature, still the limitations of his human perception make it impossible for him to see those hidden truths which are only perceptible to the divine eye. The following oft-quoted lines furnish a succinct statement of Haller's views with regard to the limits of natural science. However much he urges the study of natural phenomena, he believes that the insufficiency and inaccuracy of man's powers of perception enable him to understand only the appearances and characteristics of nature, but do not enable him to penetrate farther into a knowledge of the substance of their actual being:

Ins innre der Natur dringt kein erschaffner Geist,
 Zu glücklich, wann sie noch die äuszre Schale weist.⁴⁷

We meet again the same thought in the ensuing lines coupled with the assurances that whatever may be hidden from the human eye is yet disclosed to the divine vision:

Und wie sich unser Aug am Kleid der Dinge stöszt,
 Vor eurem scharfen Blick sich die Natur entblöszt.⁴⁸

We have seen Haller viewing nature with the analytical eye of the scientist. It must not be forgotten, however, that Haller is capable of feeling nature with the heart of a poet. With his poem *Die Alpen* Haller called the attention of his literary contemporaries to the simple yet majestic grandeur of Alpine scenery. The following lines dedicated to Haller in Kleist's *Frühling* (ll. 379 ff.), bear testimony to Haller's

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 4, ll. 21-24.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 34, ll. 329, 330.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74, l. 289 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128, ll. 87-88.

popularity and to the influence which his poetic descriptions of nature had upon the thought and feeling of his age.

. . . Tauch in die Farben Aurorens
Mal' mir die Landschaft, o du, aus dessen ewigen Liedern
Der Aare Ufer mir duften, und vor den Augen mir prangen,
Der sich die Pfeiler des Himmels, die Alpen, die er besungen.
Zu Ehrensäulen gemacht!

The description of nature in the opening lines of the philosophical poem *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*⁴⁹ is evidence of Haller's appreciation of the natural beauty of his native Alps. The view of the far-reaching evening landscape seen from the quiet hilltop inspires the poet with a reverent feeling of peace and content.

So weit das Auge reicht herrscht Ruh und Ueberflusz.⁵⁰

The woods, the brook, the snow-capped mountain peak glowing in the light of the evening sun, everything which the poet sees, causes him to lift up his heart in thanks to God for his priceless gifts to man. The spirit of nature is pervaded by an atmosphere of universal good and all of nature shows the touch of the perfect hand.

Ein allgemeines Wohl beseelet die Natur
Und alles trägt des höchsten Gutes Spur.⁵¹

The earnestness and depth of Haller's feeling for nature is probably best portrayed in his short poem, *Schnsucht nach dem Vaterlande*. Haller tells us in a prefatory note that this poem was written during a melancholy hour at the time of his foreign travels in 1726 and he deems it worthy of a place among his later poems because it represents so truly the emotion of his heart.⁵² We are struck by the true lyric quality of the poet's song. He longs to refresh his spirit in the beloved wood of his childhood memory;⁵³ he wishes to lie upon the hill which nature has overspread with a carpet of moss, where all is at rest and where the tired soul may find peace.⁵⁴ The quiet of the forest symbolizes spiritual calm

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119 ff.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 119, l. 16.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121, ll. 63, 64.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 6 ff.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, ll. 1-4.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 5-8.

and, in the end, rest. The poet is led directly to God by the thought of actual contact with nature and he can think quietly of his final journey, since it will take him through the calm of the eternally green wood to eternal peace.

Doch endlich kömmt, und kömmt vielleicht geschwinde,
Auf Sturm die Sonn und nach der Sorgen Ruh.
Ihr aber grünt indessen, holde Gründe,
Bis ich zu euch die letzte Reise thu!⁵⁵

When summing up Haller's views concerning the physical universe and its appearances in nature we arrive at a composite picture. Haller's view of nature is always colored by his religious feeling. He does not consciously separate his scientific thinking from his religious thinking. His scientific investigations, made with a view to a better understanding of the character and significance of natural phenomena, serve to confirm his belief in the infinite wisdom of the creator of all phenomena. His artistic sense is not as strongly developed as is his religious sense. Nothing seems beautiful to Haller which does not at the same time conform to his idea of the good and the useful. When the contemplation or the remembrance of beauty in nature stirs the poet to genuine emotion, the character of this emotion is essentially religious. We conclude, then, that Haller's attitude toward nature is a synthesis of his scientific, artistic, and religious thinking.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6, ll. 45-48.

II

HIS IDEAS OF MAN

Haller is always true to his ideas concerning the necessity of scientific investigation and of mathematical proof as applied to the study of the physical being of man. He is always led by the thought that anatomy should be regarded as the most important basis of physiology. He considers an investigation of the anatomy of animals quite as important as an investigation of the human anatomy. Haller's influence made experimentation upon living animals more general.¹ In his address delivered in 1752 concerning his theory of Irritability and Sensibility² Haller defends this method of anatomical investigation. He goes on to state that he has been obliged to overcome his natural prejudice and distaste against inflicting pain upon dumb animals. He is firm, however, in his conviction that this seeming cruelty is entirely justified when undertaken in the interest of obtaining knowledge to be used for bettering the condition of mankind in general.³ From the tone of his argument, we may assume that the sentiment of the time was against such operations.

According to Hirzel's statement⁴ Haller was quite as free from any compunctions regarding the use of dead human bodies for purposes of scientific investigation. During Haller's stay in Paris while working with the famous anatomist Jac. Ben. Winslow (1669-1760), he got into serious difficulty with the police authorities and barely escaped the galleys by paying to have those bodies, which he had secretly brought, effectively hidden away.⁵

Haller's theory of Irritability and Sensibility is probably his most important scientific contribution. According to this theory, Haller believes irritability to be connected with the muscles, and sensibility with the nerves. He does not attempt to explain sensibility. However, he is inclined to favor the theory of Malpighi (1628-1694), of a fine movable fluid with-

¹ Friedrich Dannemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Zusammenhange* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 122.

² *Von den empfindlichen und reizbaren Theilen des menschlichen Körpers.*

³ *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 4 ff.

⁴ Quoted from Haller's *Bibl. anat.*, II, p. 196.

⁵ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, I, p. xlv ff.

in the nerves. This rather crude materialistic view of the arising of sensation is supposed also to have been favored by Kant during the period of his early studies."

The conclusions which Haller draws from his frequent experiments—he states that he performed many operations between the years of 1746 and 1751 in the presence of his friend Zimmermann and that since that time the number of his operations upon living animals mounted to more than four hundred—are based upon actual observation. As a result of this observation Haller assumes a new division of the human body into two categories; those parts which are irritable—which respond to the action of external stimuli, but which have no feeling of discomfort or pain—, and those parts which are sensible—which are capable of feeling either pain or pleasure. In other words, he defines those parts of the body as irritable that are contracted by contact with something outside and those parts as sensible the contacts of which are realized in the soul.

Haller is convinced that the source of these two forces lies hidden in the innermost structure of the parts, and this innermost structure is too fine to be discovered by the knife or by the glass. However much Malpighi's hypothesis may appeal to his imagination, the fact that Haller is consistent in his attitude toward the explanation of "inner nature," as he terms the innermost structure, is evidenced by his own words:

Von dem aber, was sich nicht mit dem Messer oder dem Microscop entdecken lässt, wage ich nicht gern Muthmassungen, und enthalte mich, dasjenige zu lehren, was ich selbst nicht weis. Es ist eine stolze Art der Unwissenheit, andere leiten zu wollen, wo man selbst nichts sieht?⁶

Aber noch mehr, wir erschaffen keine Bewegung: unsere Seele will, dass der Arm sich aufhebe. Sie giebt ihm aber weder die Kraft, noch die Bewegung: die Kraft hat Gott in die Muskeln gesetzt: Wir erschaffen kein Begriffe, wir vergleichen sie nur, und haben sie durch die Sinnen empfangen.⁸

⁶ Dannemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften* (Leipzig, 1922), p. 123.

⁷ *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 5.

⁸ Albrecht von Haller, *Briefe über einige noch lebenden Freygeister Einwürfe wider die Offenbarung* I, II, III, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage, Bern, 1778. Referred to as *Briefe gegen Voltaire* III, p. 48.

The subjoined passage is another striking evidence of Haller's modesty regarding his scientific attainment. Man's inability to discover the essence of being is again apparent. Haller is even more convinced after fifty years of scientific experiment of the limitations of man's powers of perception.

Unsere kleine Vernunft vermag auch sogar nach einer fünfzigjährigen Aufmerksamkeit auf die einzelnen Teile der Zergliederungskunst dennoch kaum den hundertsten Teil ihres eigenen Gebäudes einzusehen und lernt von der Karte ihres eigenen Körpers nichts weiter als die Berge und Meere kennen, in dem Innern der Gemächer aber und der Zusammenhang bleibt sie ganz und gar unwissend, da unsre Seele von nichts weisz, auszer was ihr durch die Sinne erzählt wird.⁹

Haller's theory of Irritability and Sensibility is in disagreement with the teaching of his much admired professor, Boerhaave. Boerhaave held that the nerves were the true basic element of the human body and, therefore, that there was scarcely any part of the body which did not move or feel. This opinion was endorsed by the foremost scientists of Europe.¹⁰ Haller's theory is a striking evidence of the independence of his scientific judgment and of his faith in his own observations. In the supplement to the treatise concerning his theory of Irritability and Sensibility, Haller makes the statement that the controversy aroused by the publication of his theory was still raging after a period of twenty years. He asserts that the truth of his theory was first recognized by the surgeons of France and is still confident that his theory will stand the test of mathematical proof and will be finally vindicated by more frequent experiments.¹¹ Haller's interest in distinguishing the irritable and sensible parts of the human body led him quite naturally to much speculation concerning that organ whose function he believed was to picture or realize sensations and which he calls the soul (*Seele*).

Since this term "Seele" is used with such a variety of connotations it seems wise to indicate the several meanings which Haller attaches to the term:

⁹ Jenny, *Haller als Philosoph*, p. 20, ff. Cf. *Elementa physiologiae* VIII, lib. XXIX, sect. II, § 20.

¹⁰ *Kleine Schriften*, p. 8 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101 ff.

1. It is a purely physical organ of consciousness, of ideation. When used in this scientific sense it corresponds with the term "brain."

2. It is an organ whose function it is to unify all the sensations of the vital physical being in such a manner as to establish personal, individual identity. Used in this sense "Seele" is that organ which is responsible for creating the *ego*. The term corresponds with the idea of "person" and is indissolubly connected with the corporeal being.

3. It is that spiritual part of man's being which is incorporeal. It is united with the body during man's temporal existence and leaves the body after death. It is immortal since it is that part which is directly inspired by God.

Ideas concerning all these three phases of the soul appealed strongly to the imagination of the men of science of Haller's day. The popularity of the theme among scientists is best attested to by a glance at the following titles selected from Haller's *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst*, I, II, (Bern, 1787):¹²

Von der Immaterialität der Seele, 1747, (p. 414), article directed against the materialist de Lamettrie, author of *L'Homme machine*, because of his dishonest plagiarism of Boerhaave's ideas expressed in *Histoire de l'âme*.¹³

Stufenfolge menschlicher Erkenntnisse. Nach dem Abt Condillac, 1755, (pp. 1163, 1071), a dispassionate criticism of Condillac's *Traité des Sensations*.¹⁴

Ueber die Wirkungen der Seele, 1755, p. 1209, a review of an anonymous book published in London, *Essai de Psychologie, ou Considerations sur les opérations de l'âme*, 1775.¹⁵

¹² J. G. Heinzmann, the editor, came to Bern in 1778, where he was associated with the publisher Emanuel Haller. The articles in the *Tagebuch* are critical reviews in the field of general philosophy, science and literature drawn largely from Haller's contributions to the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*. Heinzmann has taken the liberty of shortening as well as changing the original text. He assures us in his introduction that the thought of the author has been conscientiously preserved.

¹³ *Tagebuch*, I, pp. 16 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

Ueber die Seelenkräfte von R. Bonnet, 1763, S. 25, a review of Bonnet, *Essai analytique sur les facultés de l'âme*, 1760.¹⁶

It is interesting to note the general tone of these articles—Haller's attitude toward the theories advanced by his fellow scientists is always one of respect. He is tolerant and evidently open-minded in his critical reviews except in the case of Lamettrie, who, he has every reason to believe, is dishonest.¹⁷ Haller may take exception to a scientific theory as a whole and yet endorse minor details of the general argument. On the other hand he may accept all the major conclusions reached in a scientific argument and still not approve of certain minor conclusions. In any event he takes care to distinguish between concepts which he regards as demonstrated truths and ideas which he regards as belonging to a system of ethics. As evidence of Haller's tolerance toward the views brought forward by his scientific adversaries we call attention to his criticism of Hartley's *Observations on Man* (London, 1749). He disagrees entirely with the author's purpose, which is to explain the functions of the soul in a mechanical way, and he also takes exception to Hartley's views concerning free will and the immortality of the soul—Hartley does not accept the doctrine of free will, nor does he believe in the immaterial soul whose immortality is linked with immaterial being. However much Haller disagrees with Hartley's views about the soul, he agrees nevertheless with his ethical views. These views seem to Haller irreconcilable with Hartley's attitude toward the immaterial soul.¹⁸

Haller's interest in all the phases of that organ which he calls "soul" exhibits itself throughout his literary as well as his scientific writings. In the poem *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*, II, Haller pictures the learned man's search for the secret of the soul:

Hier sucht ein weiser Mann, bei Nacht und stillem Oele,
Des Körpers innre Kraft, das Wesen seiner Seele;¹⁹

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁷ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, II, p. 172. Cf. Hirzel's account of the quarrel between Haller and Lamettrie, *Gedichte*, I, p. ccliv.

¹⁸ *Tagebuch*, II, pp. 78 ff.

¹⁹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 133, l. 201 ff.

In these lines taken from one of his unpublished poems,²⁰ Haller personifies the idea of Soul. The lines emphasize again the inability of the human soul to escape its spiritual and corporeal limitations:

Da schlieszt, Natur, dein Wunderlauf
Stets Quellen von Vergnügen auf,
An Anmuth unergründlich,
Wie schön verliert sich da der Geist,
Trinkt geizig Lust und taumelnd reizt
Sie ihn fort unempfindlich.
Denn da sinkt mit fühllosem Sinn
Im tiefen Meer die Seele hin,
Schwimmt in dem Reich der Dingen,
Find't nichts als Abgrund, wirft den Blick
Bestürzt auf sich, und eilt zurück
An's Ufer sich zu schwingen.

Haller is convinced that the location of the soul is in the brain and the medullary substance of the backbone. The organ which he locates in this manner is the organ of realization:

Unsere Seele aber ist es, welche sich bewusst ist, sich ihren Körper, und mit Hülfe des Körpers, die Welt vorstellt.²¹

Haller answers Voltaire's witticism concerning the existence of soul—when Voltaire compares the similarity of the soul of an animal with that of a child—in the following way:

Aber was wäre dann für ein Widerspruch darinnen, wenn man an den Thieren eine Seele, ein fühlendes und wollendes Wesen, von einem niedrigen Range annähme? ²²

The following lines are a statement of Haller's scientific views concerning the exact location and function of the soul:

Wir wissen durch Versuche, und mit mathematischer Gewisheit, dasz die Seele im Gehirne, und zwar im Marke, und noch naher im Marke des anfangenden Rückenmarkes und des kleinern Gehirnes, ihren Sitz hat. So lang diese Theile frey und nicht allzu innigst verdorben sind, so lang können die Sinnen ihren Fortgang haben, und die nöthigen Bewegungen in ihrem Gange bleiben, folglich auch die Schauspiele fortgesetzt werden, deren aufmerksamer Zuschauer die Seele ist.²³

Haller is firm in his conviction that the soul is not material. He is opposed to the materialistic explanation in which Vol-

²⁰ Eduard Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Albrecht von Haller* (Hanover, 1885), pp. 142-143, ll. 235-245.

²¹ *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 58.

²² *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, III, pp. 36 ff.

²³ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, pp. 21-22. Cf. *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 89 ff.

taire represents the soul as something which, like the body, is capable of extension. He vindicates his faith in the immaterial soul with the following words:

Einfache Dinge kennt Voltaire nicht, und kann sich kein Begriff davon machen, weil man sich kein Bild davon machen kann. Unsere Seele kann nicht einfach seyn, sich nicht in das Gehirn einschränken lassen, sie ist ausgedehnt wie der Körper, und bey den Theilen desselben allgegenwärtig.²⁴

Haller is certain that the soul is a simple entity, incapable of division, and it therefore, can not like the body dissolve into different states of being which no longer constitute a totality. Haller bases his final argument for the immaterial quality of the soul upon his theological belief in revelation:

Wir kennen die Reiche der Ewigkeit nur durch wenige Anzeigen der Offenbarung, wir wissen die besondern Umstände des Daseyns, des Gedächtnisses und Bewusstseyns, in einer vom Leibe abgetrennten Seele nicht, und noch weniger können wir dem Erschaffer die Macht versagen, eine jede Materie zu unserm Körper zu machen, so bald sie mit unserer Seele verbunden ist. Es ist ja offenbar der Leib, der mit der Seele unser Ich ausmacht, bis auf ein unendlich kleines lauter fremde Materie, die von den Speisen hergenommen ist, und dennoch fühlt die Seele die Verletzungen dieser fremd gewesenen Materie mit der schmerzhaftesten Theilnehmung.²⁵

Haller thinks of personality as the combination of the material body with the immaterial soul. He believes that there is but one I, one spiritual personality or ego, and that this personality is a single being not capable of extension or division. This single personality unites the impressions received from the various nerves throughout the body into one complete entity. The quality of unifying two impressions and at the same time distinguishing between these impressions such as seeing and hearing, all the while being conscious of the difference in the two sensations, Haller believes to be the immaterial essence of soul.²⁶

Because Haller believes that the soul is immaterial, he thinks it is not subject to the laws which govern material substance. He believes that the immaterial soul is, by reason

²⁴ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 230.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 204 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 232 ff.

of its spiritual quality, immortal. He bases his faith in the immortality of the soul upon his belief in revelation:

Die Offenbarung hat uns gelehrt, dass die denkende, empfindende, leidende und geniessende Seele nach der Zerstörung des Körpers übrig bleibt, dass ihre Dauer ewig ist.²⁷

In the last analysis Haller's belief in the immortality of the soul is inevitably linked with his religious faith. The following argument presupposes an unquestioning belief in the authority of Christ's teaching:

Nein, einen metaphysischen Begriff von der Seele gab uns der Heiland nicht: aber er belehrte uns, dass sie unsterblich ist, dass ihr Zustand in der Ewigkeit wichtiger für uns ist, als alles was in diesem zeitlichen Leben uns befallen kan.²⁸

Concerning the ability of the soul to foresee the future, which Maupertuis suggests as a possibility when the boundaries of knowledge have been expanded by reason of rationalistic thought, Haller is definitely skeptical. He answers the supposition of Maupertuis thus:

Wir finden gar leicht die Verbindung des Zustandes der Seele mit dem gegenwärtigen oder dem vergangenen, in welchem er gegründet ist; aber wie soll in der Seele eine Veränderung von einer äussern Beschaffenheit der Welt entstehen, die noch nicht wirklich ist, und von derjenigen weit abgeht, die eben damals da ist, und sich der Seele vorstellt?²⁹

Haller's scientific views concerning the creation and perpetuation of animal and vegetable life show that he was strongly influenced by early impressions received from his teacher Boerhaave. His orthodox faith in respect to the Biblical account of the creation of the world and of man must likewise have exerted considerable influence upon Haller's ideas concerning evolution.

Haller believed that every created being was already preformed in the germ:

Ja in dem Samen schon, eh er das Leben haucht,
Sind Gänge schon gehölt, die erst das Thier gebraucht;³⁰

He likewise believed that the first germ contained a complete model of every being which was to come into existence.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 17.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 242.

²⁹ *Tagebuch*, I, p. 110.

³⁰ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 58, l. 345 ff.

He supported the so-called evolution theory or "Einschachtelungstheorie" of first creation. The "evolutionists" thought that the egg contained the complete delineation of that being which comes out of it. Upon this assumption the natural scientists and philosophers of the eighteenth century deduced the conclusion that the egg had to contain a miniature of all the succeeding generations within itself. Wolff brought forward a new theory of development, known by the name of "Epigenesis," which regards creation as a growing process. Haller clung to the "Einschachtelungstheorie" and because of Haller's authoritative position in the scientific world Wolff's theory of "Epigenesis" was not generally accepted.³¹

Haller's ideas relative to the pre-formation in the seeds appear to be very closely related to, if not derived from the views of Herman Boerhaave (1668-1738), under whom Haller studied at the University of Leiden. This close affiliation in ideas is best attested by the following statements taken from an account of the life of Boerhaave attributed to Will Burton:

But how inconceivable is the endless fecundity of one prolific grain of mustard seed! in which were included from time immemorial the embryos or effective delineations of all the plants which have sprung from that seed, and from their seed, etc., to the present time, and which shall spring from them, whilst the world lasts, all possest of the same nature, form and structure, subject to like vicissitudes in respect of their origin, growth, operation, propagation, decay and dissolution. How singular is the efficacy of this seminal virtue! From hence the conclusion is evident, that the origin, structure, and virtues of particular concretes argue the preexistence of like bodies, from whence they were produced: That such similar bodies do not depend on any universal principles, but each has a nature peculiar to itself, as indefinitely various as are the forms of bodies, and therefore not other ways cognizable than as they are particularly disclosed by experiment the faithful interpreter of nature. This is more justly and nervously represented by Moses than all other philosophers. "Let the earth bring forth plants having their seed in themselves respectively after their kind."³²

We observe that Haller bases his arguments, as did Boerhaave, upon his belief in the Biblical account of first creation, although he attempts to prove his theory by observations drawn from nature. His ideas concerning creation describe a vicious circle. They begin and end with his belief in a

³¹ Dannemann, *Die Naturwissenschaften*, p. 125.

³² *An Account of the Life and Writings of Herman Boerhaave*, in two parts with appendix (London, 1743), II, pp. 83, ff.

creator who has cast the mould for all generations of being. Zimmermann sums up Haller's theory of creation in the following manner:

Die Nothwendigkeit eines Schöpfers erhellte dem Herrn Haller aus der Betrachtung der Natur. Eine unveränderliche Ordnung herrschet in der Hervorbringung aller Dinge; die Pflanzen die in diesem Jahre entstehen, haben den Grund ihres Daseyns in dem Saamen des vorigen Jahres. Diese beständige Gleichheit geht immer fort, bis auf die Schöpfung zurück.⁸³

Haller divides the animal and vegetable kingdoms into fixed classifications. He determines these classifications by his observations of existing species. He believes that species never change their individual, inherent qualities; therefore, they always remain distinct. A palm tree can not develop from a pear tree since these trees are fundamentally different in structure. Each tree has its origin and its own seed pre-formed in the original germ of the first tree of its species. Haller sees, however, that every separate kind of plant is capable of infinite variation. He points out that the German pear tree has developed from the Persian, that the German cherry came from the trees of *Cerasus* and the tulip in his own garden from the Asiatic tulip. He believes that the American horse belongs to the same species as the European and that the small Icelandic horse is related to its noble forebear of Arabia. In the same manner Haller accounts for the genus *homo*. He believes all men belong to one common family. The Spanish West Goth and the Italian East Goth were descendants of the Goths who lived on the banks of the Danube. The Asiatic Turk is descended from the Scythian. Haller calls attention to the great resemblance of languages and the fact that the German language contains both Persian and Hebrew words. Haller is not troubled by a difference in the color of the skin of different races. In every essential characteristic he finds each race belonging to the one great classification known as man.⁸⁴ The ensuing statement is an adequate summary of Haller's views concerning the origin and perpetuation of species:

⁸³ Zimmermann, *Das Leben des Herrn von Haller* (Zürich, 1755), p. 381.

⁸⁴ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, III, pp. 44 ff.

Eben so entsteht der Mensch aus einem immer gleichen Stoffe; würde ihn das ungefehr hervor bringen, so käme bald eine Pflanze, bald ein Pferd, bald ein Stuck Salz zum Vorschein: nun aber erstehet durch ein ewiges Gesetz, vermittelst der Kräfte, die diesem Stoffe gegeben sind, ein Würmgen, aus den Würmgen, ein Fischlein, aus dem Fischlein, ein Mensch, ein Cäsar, ein Newton.³⁵

That Haller holds so tenaciously to his belief in the "Einschachtelungstheorie" may be explained by his orthodox faith in the Biblical story of creation. Were his thinking upon this subject not controlled by his religious conviction, he would not be so hostile toward Wolff's theory of "Epigenesis." The fact that Haller felt that the very foundations of religion were endangered by those scientists who rejected the theory of pre-formation is sufficient evidence that Haller's theory of creation was the result of his abstract theological thought. The following quotation shows that the idea of pre-arranged order in the physical universe is the pivot around which Haller's thinking turns:

Die Gott-verleugnende Secte ist sehr bemühet, die Unbeständigkeit der Natur, die Vertilgung aller Arten und die Entstehung neuer Gattungen zu erhärten. Fallt die Ordnung in der physischen Welt weg, so ist es um die Ordnung in der moralischen Welt, und zuletzt um die ganze Religion gethan.³⁶

Haller's views concerning the existence of abnormal beings are likewise traceable to his belief in foreordination. Zimmermann tells us that Haller had the opportunity of performing an operation in the Theatre für Anatomie in Bern upon an abnormal child, a monstrosity. Upon the occasion of this operation Haller makes the following statement, which we observe is in keeping with his doctrine of the pre-formation of all being:

Eine Miszgeburt, sagt er, ist schon in ihrem ersten Grundstoffe eine Miszgeburt gewesen: es scheint zwar hart, zu versichern, dasz die Miszgeburten gerade aus den Händen des Schöpfers kommen. Da doch aber gewisz ist, dasz schon in der ersten Anlage derselben bisweilen einige Theile zu viel, bisweilen einige zu wenig, bisweilen andere in einer abgeänderten Ordnung erscheinen. Da wir überzeugt sind, dasz vieles in den Creaturen, die wir Miszgeburten nennen, zu einem vorhergesehenen Endzweck, und zu einem verzüglichen Nutzen des Körpers geschaffen sey, so erkennen wir, sagt Herr Haller, den Schöpfer, weil jene ohne

³⁵ Zimmermann, *Das Leben des Herrn von Haller*, p. 381 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 383.

einen vorhergegangenen Grundriss nicht haben entstehen können, und diese die obere Weisheit des Baumeisters genugsam zeigen.³⁷

Haller makes little comment concerning the "Halbmenschen," a kind of missing link between ape and man which Maupertuis reports had been seen in the "Südland." Indeed Maupertuis is so convinced of the existence of such beings that he states that he should prefer making their acquaintance to making the acquaintance of the most choice persons in Paris. Haller dismisses the whole argument concerning "geschwanzte Menschen," by stating that he considers such beings mere figments of the imagination.³⁸

Haller regards man as the great masterpiece of all created things in the physical universe. Just as the machinery of external nature appears to Haller in the light of a perfectly ordered mechanism operating in such a way as to accomplish certain results determined in the mind of God, so the structure and mechanical processes of man's body appear to him as the expression of a pre-arranged harmony. With this thought in mind he sees all the parts of the human machine working together in the interest of the whole body and he considers the adequacy of the different parts and their effective coordination evidence again of the wise foresight of the creator.

The following quotation shows not only Haller's respect for this masterpiece of God's creation viewed in the light of a perfect mechanism, but also indicates Haller's attitude concerning man's prerogative in the physical universe:

Der Mensch, vor dessen Wort sich soll die Erde bücken,
Ist ein Zusammenhang von eitel Meister-Stücken;
In ihm vereinigt sich der Körper Kunst und Pracht,
Kein Glied ist, das ihn nicht zum Herrn der Schöpfung macht.³⁹

Again we note the dualism in Haller's mind in respect to man. He is both scientist and theologian as he examines the anatomy of man. His view of man's inner structure, of the mechanical processes of the human anatomy, presupposes the knife of the vivisector who bases his knowledge concerning the organs and their functions upon actual observation.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120 ff.

³⁸ *Tagebuch*, I, p. 105 ff.

³⁹ *Hirzel, Gedichte*, II, p. 58, l. 345 ff.

His view of man as a totality and his ideas concerning those vital forces which make up man's being show the unmistakable influence of his theological tenets. Haller believes that the human machine could be made vital only by a divine creator. The following lines are evidence that Haller sees no conflict between his scientific and religious ideas. He unites the conclusions which he has drawn from scientific observation with his teleological theory which holds that the phenomena of organic life can be explained only by conscious or purposive causes.

Dann Gott hat uns geliebt, wem ist der Leib bewusst?
Sagt an, was fehlt daran zur Nutzbarkeit und Lust?
Seht den Zusammenhang, die Eintracht in den Kräften,
Wie jedes Glied sich schickt zu menschlichen Geschäften,
Wie jeder Theil für sich und auch für andre sorgt,
Das Herz vom Hirn den Geist, diesz Blut von jenem borgt;
Wie im bequemsten Raum sich alles schicken müssen,
Wie aus dem ersten Zweck noch andre Nutzen fliessen,
Der Kreis-Lauf uns belebt und auch vor Fäulung schützt,
Der ausgebrauchte Theil von uns sich selbst verschwitzt,
Und unser ganzer Bau ein stätes Muster scheint
Von höchster Wissenschaft, mit höchster Huld vereinet!⁴⁰

In much the same manner Haller regards the anatomy of animals likewise as evidence of the wisdom and foresight of the Creator. In the subsequent lines we witness Haller's reverence for a mechanism which he considers the product of God's great workshop and which is far too perfect to be measured by human perception. The machine may be regarded as of lesser importance in the scale of being, but it is none the less marvelous and perfect in kind. This lesser machine operates in accordance with the original design of its creator:

Kein Thier ist so gering, du weists, o Stähelin!⁴¹
Es zielt doch jeder Theil nach seinen Zwecke hin:
Ein unsichtbar Geflecht von zärtlichen Gefässen,
Nach mehr als Menschen Kunst gebildet und gemessen,
Führt den bestimmten Saft in stätem Kreis-Lauf fort,
Verschieden überall und stäts an seinen Ort;
Nichts stört des andern thun, nichts füllt des andern Stelle,
Nichts fehlt, nichts ist zu viel, nichts ruht, nichts läuft zu schnelle.⁴²

⁴⁰ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 141, l. 203 ff.

⁴¹ Benedikt Stähelin (1695-1750), Professor of Physics at Basle.

⁴² Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 58, l. 337 ff.

Haller shares the interest of his literary contemporaries in making an analytical study of the nature and characteristics of man. We find instances of obvious similarity of thought and terminology in Pope's *Essay on Man* and Haller's *Gedanken über Vernunft, Aberglauben und Unglauben*.⁴³ Since Pope's *Essay on Man* appeared in 1733 and Haller's poem was written in 1729, we assume that Haller could not have been influenced by Pope's essay, but instead that both Pope and Haller reflected the philosophical ideas current at the time: ideas which undoubtedly may be traced to Leibniz' philosophy.⁴⁴

While Haller pictures man as created in the image of the highest Being:

Auch in uns prägte Gott sein majestätisch Bild,⁴⁵

he does not place man at the top of the scale of created beings. We are reminded of Leibniz' idea of monads which represents an ascending and descending scale of spiritual being.⁴⁶ Haller describes man as a creature belonging to the middle estate, "Unselig Mittel-Ding von Engeln und von Vieh!"⁴⁷

We have commented in the previous chapter upon Haller's conception of external nature as "das stumme Dichte" having no feeling for God. Haller believes that this lack of appreciation in nature led to the creation of beings which could have communion with God, of beings to whom God could reveal his glory:

Gott blies, und ein Begriff nahm Kraft und Wesen an.
So ward die Geister-Welt. Verschiedne Macht und Ehre
Vertheilt nach Stufen Art, die unzählbaren Heere,
Die, ungleich satt vom Glanz des mitgetheilten Lichts,
In langer Ordnung stehn von Gott zum öden nichts.⁴⁸

⁴³ Haller informs us in a prefatory note that he undertook the writing of this poem in an effort to vindicate German poetic art and to prove that philosophical ideas might be expressed in German verse. Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 43.

⁴⁴ Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 44, note 17. Also God. Guil. Leibnitii, *Opera Philosophica* edited by Erdmann (Berlin, 1840), *Essais de Theodicée*, p. 468 ff.

⁴⁵ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 129, l. 111.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. T. Merz, *Leibniz*, (Edinburgh and London, 1884), pp. 152, 160 ff.

⁴⁷ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 44, l. 17. Also cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, I, p. 225 ff: (Angel, man, beast).

⁴⁸ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 126, l. 20 ff.

Haller has no very clear picture of these higher beings, but it does not seem illogical that he took their existence for granted, since he believes in a literal interpretation of Biblical history.⁴⁹ He assumes that angels are nearer God in their innate impulses, which are essentially good.

Genug des Engel Sinn war ausgerüst zum guten,
Ihr Trieb zur Tugend war so stark als ihr Verstand
Sie sehnten sich nach Gott, als ihrem Vaterland.⁵⁰

Far below the position which Haller assigns to the angels, he places man. The following quotation shows Haller's effort to explain the conflicting forces which are ever at work in man: he is partially human, partially divine; he is both spiritual and physical; he is destined to die, and yet to live eternally:

Fern unter ihnen hat das sterbliche Geschlecht,
Im Himmel und im nichts, sein doppelt Bürgerrecht.
Aus ungleich festem Stoff hat Gott es auserlesen,
Halb zu der Ewigkeit, halb aber zum verwesen:
Zweideutig Mittelding von Engeln und von Vieh
Es überlebt sich selbst, es stirbt und stirbet nie.⁵¹

We find again the same idea of an ascending scale of being which is determined by an infallible design of prearranged harmony in the mind of the Creator in one of Haller's unpublished poems *Die Gemüthsruh*:

Das ganze Reich der Wirklichkeit
Steigt vom unsichtbahren Punkt zu Sphären,
Vom Wurm desz Staubs zu Engelchören
Mit abgemessner Treflichkeit.

Allein vollkommen theilt die Hand,
Der Quell desz Daseyns auf der Wage
Der Weisheit ab die Lust und Plage,
So Er für jedes nuzlich fand.⁵²

We are interested to read Haller's later words to the effect that a progressive scale uniting the finite and the infinite is not possible. Certainly the foregoing quotations suggest just such a possibility. If Haller denies the existence of a "Stufenreihe" in its literal interpretation, we may note that the classifications which he suggests still show evidence of the underlying thought of a graduated scale of being.

⁴⁹ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 24.

⁵⁰ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 128, l. 98 ff.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 129, l. 103 ff.

⁵² Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 127 ff.

Man hat die grösste Ursache zu glauben, zwischen diesem allerersten Wesen, und dem schwachen, dem halb irdenen Menschen, seyn andere Wesen, näher der Gottheit an Tugend und an Gaben, und weit über den Menschen erhoben. Es ist keine eigentliche Stufenreihe zwischen dem Unendlichen und dem Endlichen möglich; aber dennoch ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, dasz der Abfall zwischen Gott und dem Menschen zu grosz wäre und dasz eine so unermeszliche weite Stadt Gottes edlere Bürger hat als den am Verstande zu schwachen an dem Herzen so fehlerhaften Menschen.⁵³

Though Haller sees that man by reason of his middle estate has a constant struggle to maintain perfect balance between his higher and lower instincts, he believes that he is endowed with very definite impulses which lead him to cultivate the good. Foremost among these are the love of self and the love of his neighbor.⁵⁴ The first leads him to make provision for his physical needs and likewise supplies him with ambition to develop his mental powers. The second stimulates him to form helpful and necessary human contacts.⁵⁵

In order that he may be guided in following the path of right, man has been divinely endowed with an instinct which Haller calls conscience: "Der Werke Richterin, der Probstein unsers thuns."⁵⁶ Conscience not only outlines the prescribed duties of man, but conscience gives man the fear of sin and regret as a result of sin.

In addition to this oft-repeated idea of the existence of conscience in man⁵⁷ we find Haller expressing with more frequency, the thought that God has granted to man the freedom of choice between the right path and the wrong. This gift of free will which Haller calls "Freiheit," he counts as yet another evidence of God's infinite concern for man. Haller believes that it is this power to choose which makes man an individual of limitless potentialities. Did he not possess freedom of choice, man would be nothing more than a mechanism, regulated entirely by God, a mere puppet in the hands of

⁵³ Haller, *Briefe über die Wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung* (3, Aufl.), Reuttligen, 1782, Zweiter Brief, p. 14 ff. Referred to as *Offenbarungsbriefe*.

⁵⁴ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 129, l. 113 ff.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 180, l. 141 ff.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 181, l. 180 ff.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 189, l. 157 ff.; p. 183, l. 207; p. 140, l. 163; p. 75, l. 324 ff.; p. 76, l. 337 ff.

God. In the following lines Haller makes use of one of the favorite similes of theological controversy when he compares the mechanical operations of the universe to the mechanism of a clock.⁵⁸

Gott, der im Reich der Welt sich selber zeigen wollte,
Sah, dasz, wann alles nur aus Vorschrift handeln sollte,
Die Welt ein Uhrwerk wird, von fremdem Trieb beseelt,
Und keine Tugend bleibt, wo Macht zum Laster fehlt.
Gott wollte, dasz wir ihn aus Kenntniss sollten lieben
Und nicht aus blinder Kraft von ungewählten Trieben;
Er gönnte dem Geschöpf den unschätzbaren Ruhm,
Aus Wahl ihm hold zu sein und nicht aus Eigenthum.⁵⁹

This idea of choice between the right and wrong path, in fact the whole conception of freedom is, of course, based upon the assumption that the world is not all good and that evil exists. Haller again reflects the thought of the early eighteenth century in his views concerning the entrance of evil into a world which was believed to be all good in its inception. Lawrence Price calls attention⁶⁰ to the fact that Haller was probably acquainted with Dr. William King's *De origine Mali* published in Latin in 1702 and in English translation by Edmund Law in 1731 as well as with Samuel Clarke's *Enquiry into the cause of the origin of evil*, 1720. King's work contains many parallels in Leibniz' *Essais de Theodicée; sur la Bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du Mal* which appeared eight years later.

Though Haller does not attempt an explanation of why a God who was concerned in making the best possible world, should permit evil to enter into that world, still he does have the temerity to ask:

⁵⁸ A typical example of this particular figure occurs in a letter written by Leibniz to Dr. Clarke. "Monsieur Newton et ses Sectateurs, ont encore une fort plaisante Opinion de l'ouvrage de Dieu. Selon eux Dieu a besoin de remonter de temps en temps sa Montre: Autrement elle cesseroit d'agir. Il n'a pas eu assez de veue, pour en faire un mouvement perpetuel. Cette Machine de Dieu est même si imparfaite selon eux, qu'il est obligé de la decrasser de temps en temps par un concours extraordinaire et même de la raccommoder, comme un Horloger son ouvrage."—Samuel Clarke, *A Collection of Papers which passed between the late learned Mr. Leibnitz and Dr. Clarke in the years 1715-1716* (London, 1717), p. 2 ff.

⁵⁹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 127, l. 53 ff.

⁶⁰ "Haller and English Theology," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XLI (1926), pp. 942 ff.

O Gott voll Gnad und Recht, darf ein Geschöpfe fragen:
Wie kann mit deiner Huld sich unsre Qual vertragen?⁶¹

Haller can even picture a world without the curse of evil. Indeed such a world seems quite possible to him and, we conjecture, not at all an unwise arrangement, though he takes care not to doubt God's wisdom in creating the existing world into which evil was allowed to enter.⁶²

We have called attention to the fact that Haller does not find a satisfactory explanation for the entrance of evil into an otherwise perfect world. In view of this fact, he asserts with evident pleasure that the deists and freethinkers are quite as incapable of solving this difficult problem as are the orthodox Christians.⁶³ Haller views the world about him with censorious glance and he finds that evil exists in appalling quantity:

Indessen ist die Welt, die Gott zu seinem Ruhm
Und unserm Glücke schuf, des Uebels Eigenthum.⁶⁴

Man has become party to the sin of the world because of his error of choice:

Das Uebel schlich sich auch in uns durch Irrthum ein.⁶⁵
The pathos of man's earthly existence is that, despite his gifts of conscience and free will, his judgment is continually subject to error:

Die Triebe der Natur misskennnten Ziel und Maasz,
Bis das, was himmlisch war, sein hoh Geschick vergasz.⁶⁶

Haller believes that man may even be misled by his God given impulses, if these impulses are not held in perfect balance with respect to other good impulses. Love of self which leads to the cultivation of man's mental powers, may become too dominant a force and hence ambition to appear wise may foster dishonesty of thought:

Viel Irrthum hat der Mensch sich selber zugezogen:
Er ist, der Erde war, dem Himmel zugeflogen,
Wohin Vernunft nicht reicht, hat Stolz sich hingetraut,
Was an der Welt ihn fehlt, aus eignem Witz erbaut.
Die Schranken eng geschätzt, worin er denken sollen,
Und draussen fallen eh, als drinnen fallen wollen.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 140, l. 178 ff.

⁶² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 140, l. 182. Also *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 61 ff.

⁶³ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 106 ff.

⁶⁴ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 140, l. 171 ff.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135, l. 44.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 46, 47.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 57, l. 207 ff.

We have noted before that Haller assumes that man's powers of perception are limited by certain impassable boundaries. He again stresses these limitations, pointing out the difference between actual and imaginary values:

Des Auges Urtheil täuscht und sich in allem malt,
So thut die Einbildung; sie zeigt uns, was geschiehet,
Nicht, wie es wirklich ist, nur so, wie sie es siehet,
Legt den Begriffen selbst ihr eigen Wesen bei,
Heiszt geissen Frömmigkeit und Andacht Heuchelei.⁶⁸

Haller is much troubled by the thought that truth is often obscured by deception and that man, though he has gone far in the pursuit of knowledge and though he follow nature as a guide as well as the dictates of his scientifically trained reason, may go far astray in the realm of ideas, finding himself no nearer truth in the end than at the beginning of his search:

Am Ende sieht er doch dasz er em Anfang ist.⁶⁹

Haller conceives of the boundaries between the realms of good and evil as vague. He thinks of evil, which is to Haller a fixed not a relative conception, as everywhere dispersed throughout the good. Because of its presence with the good, evil, he thinks, appears sometimes in disguise. This tends to make man's choice between good and evil still more difficult. Haller paints the indistinct outlines of evil in the following manner:

Wie gut und böses sich durch enge Schranken trennen,
Was wahre Tugend ist, wird nie der Pöbel kennen.
Kaum Weise sehn die March, die beide Reiche schlieszt,
Weil ihre Gränze schwimmt und in einander flieszt.⁷⁰

Haller finds that man's material nature is a constant hindrance to his spiritual desires:

Der Mensch entflieht sich nicht; umsonst erhebt er sich,
Des Körpers schwere Last zieht an ihm innerlich.⁷¹

But even more discouraging to Haller's mind is the fact that man may see the right path and yet not choose it. He adds, then, to the evil of man's imperfection, the idea of moral evil:

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 66, l. 106.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44, l. 3 ff.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 65, l. 83 ff.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63, l. 38 ff.

Dein schwindelnder Verstand, zum irren abgerichtet,
Sieht wohl die Wahrheit ein und wählt sie dennoch nicht; ⁷²

Haller does not agree with those "new philosophers" who deny the inherent wickedness of the human heart in the face of the evident fact that man is born with the source of all evil, self-will.⁷³

Dieser Eigenwillen herrscht in einem Kinde unumschränkt, noch ehe als es andere Beyspiele gesehen hat; es sträubt sich mit seinen schwachen Gliedern wider allen Zwang.⁷⁴

The subjoined quotation furnishes added evidence that Haller believed firmly in the orthodox doctrine of original sin. His own children are the subject of his critical observation:

Der Mensch sey nicht böse, er sey wie ein Lamm, so lang er ein Kind sey. Voltaire hat sich der Last niemahls unterzogen, ein Vater zu werden: sonst würde ihm die Unart, die Hartnäckigkeit, der Zorn, die Herrschsucht eines Kindes nicht unbekannt seyn, die es erst durch Straffen, durch öftern Widerspruch, durch die erkannte Unmöglichkeit mit seinem Willen durch zu dringen, in etwas mässigen lernt. Dann von sich selber hält das Kind alles für sein, was ihm gefällt, und will, dasz alles geschehe, was ihm einfällt. Es hebt seine kleinen Hände mit Wuth gegen das Brüderchen auf, mit dem es über ein Spielwerk streitet, es schonet seines Vaters nicht, so weit seine Ohnmacht reicht, und wann seine Kräfte seine Leidenschaften zu vergnügen zu schwach sind, so trachtet es mit wutendem Geschrey zu erzwingen, dasz man ihm gehorche.⁷⁵

So it is evident that Haller believes moral evil to be responsible for human suffering. He does not attempt to explain the relationship, since he believes that God must determine the balance between evil and the suffering resulting from evil. He assumes, however, that suffering tends toward mitigating the bad and toward a reestablishment of that perfect spiritual harmony which was destroyed by the entrance of evil. Viewed in this way suffering is directly connected with the universal good.⁷⁶ That a seeming injustice exists in the case of individual suffering is quite apparent to Haller. Again, he reverts to man's inability to comprehend eternal wisdom until his powers of perception are

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 44, l. 21 ff.

⁷³ *Offenbarungsbriege*, I, p. 18.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁷⁵ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 159 ff.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 61.

strengthened by contact with the divine. The following quotation is evidence of his faith in the final explanation:

Dann werden alle dich, o Vater! recht verehren
Und kündig deines Raths, den blinden Spötter schmähn,
In der Gerechtigkeit nur Gnad und Weisheit sehn.⁷⁷

Haller's description of the gradual development of the human being into man's estate seems, at first glance, to be not altogether in keeping with his views regarding the origin of man's physical being. The description, however, refers to the spiritual development of man and can only be interpreted symbolically. Haller explains the creation of man just as he explained the origin of the world. Man is the vital word of God:

Ich ward nicht aus mir selbst, nicht, weil ich werden wollte;
Ein etwas, das mir fremd, das nicht ich selber war,
Ward auf dein Wort mein Ich.⁷⁸

From this beginning, man's spiritual being develops from lower stages to higher:

Zuerst war ich ein Kraut,
Mir unbewusst, noch unreif zur Begier;
Und lange war ich noch ein Thier,
Da ich ein Mensch schon heißen sollte,⁷⁹

An inner impulse urges him to exert his physical and mental powers, his feet learn to walk, his tongue learns speech, and the spirit grows with the body. He learns from external nature. He develops, by using his powers of reason, his ability to choose. Through error and through suffering he arrives at last at maturity.

Ich starrte jedes Ding als fremde Wunder an;
Ward reicher jeden Tag, sah vor und hinter heute,
Masz, rechnete, verglich, erwählte, liebte, scheute,
Ich irrte, fehlte, schlief und ward ein Mann!⁸⁰

Because of spiritual freedom, Haller believes that man is capable of self development, though he believes that the impulse for such development is a direct gift from God. In the constant struggle to make the best use of his spiritual powers in his efforts to combat the existing evil in the world,

⁷⁷ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 142, l. 230 ff.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153, l. 94 ff.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 153, l. 96 ff.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154, l. 114 ff.

in his suffering for wrongdoing, man is, according to Haller's conception, developing his immaterial soul in such a manner as to be pleasing to God.

Haller's attitude toward man is not modern. However much accurate knowledge he may obtain by scientific experiment relative to the physical structure of man, Haller's view of man's personality is not scientific but distinctly religious.

Man, Haller thinks, occupies the central place in the physical universe. He is God's masterpiece. The world of external nature exists for man's use. Of all physical being, man alone can appreciate the beauty and utility of nature. But man has a still higher mission. He is able vaguely to sense the glory of God. He possesses within his immaterial soul certain qualities which will survive his physical existence. This is his claim to immortality.

The responsibility for his future happiness Haller places upon man, not upon his creator:

Lern, dasz nichts selig macht als die Gewissens-Ruh,
Und dasz zu deinem Glück dir niemand fehlt als du.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 98, l. 221 ff.

III

HIS CONCEPTION OF ETERNITY AND IMMORTALITY

When we come to observe Haller's conception of time and of space as related to his thoughts concerning immortality and eternity, we see that he has taken leave of his empiricism. He regards both time and space as absolute entities and is not in the least concerned about subjecting his hypothesis to scientific investigation. In this instance of abandoning his doctrine of mathematical proof Haller may even be following the example set by his great predecessor Newton.

Newton held that in philosophical disquisitions we ought to leave out of account our senses, and to consider things themselves, distinct from what are only sensible measures of them. The following explanation of time and space as "things themselves" furnishes a succinct analysis of Newton's position. "Space and time are vulgarly regarded as entirely relative, that is, as distance between sensible objects or events. In reality, there is in addition to such relative spaces and times absolute, true, and mathematical space and time. These are infinite, homogeneous, continuous entities, entirely independent of any sensible object or motion by which we try to measure them; time flowing equally from eternity to eternity; space existing all at once in infinite immovability."¹ The reasons for this metaphysical explanation of time and space as absolute and immeasurable may be found in Newton's theology. To him, space and time were not merely entities implied by the mathematico-experimental method and the phenomena it handles; they had an ultimately religious significance which was for him fully as important; they meant the omnipresence and continued existence from everlasting to everlasting of Almighty God.²

We find an interesting parallel from Newton's definition of absolute time in the following lines from Haller's poem, *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*:

¹ Edwin Arthur Burt, *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (New York and London, 1927), p. 246.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 256.

Im Anfang jener Zeit, die Gott allein beginnet,
Die ewig ohne Quell und unversiegen rinnet.³

This thought of absolute time is more often expressed in Haller's language by the one word "Ewigkeit." Eternity is, to Haller, an absolute entity, continuous in the past, present, and future. Eternity is the original source of all time. In the following definition of eternity taken from Haller's unfinished poem *Ueber die Ewigkeit*, which has been called the most perfect and most finished product of his poetic muse,⁴ we are given a picture of that absolute time and space which transcends any measurement known to man:

Furchtbares Meer der ernsten Ewigkeit!
Uralter Quell von Welten und von Zeiten!
Unendlichs Grab von Welten und von Zeit!
Bestandigs Reich der Gegenwärtigkeit!
Die Asche der Vergangenheit
Ist die ein Keim von Künftigkeiten.
Unendlichkeit! wer misset dich?
Bei dir sind Welten Tag und Menschen Augenblicke.
Vielleicht die tausendste der Sonnen welzt itzt sich,
Und tausend bleiben noch zurücke.
Wie eine Uhr, beseelt durch ein Gewicht,
Eilt eine Sonn, aus Gottes Kraft bewegt;
Ihr Trieb läuft ab und eine zweite schlägt,
Du aber bleibst und zählst sie nicht.⁵

However firm is Haller's conviction of the existence of eternity, he is quite as certain that he is incapable of understanding eternity. It is obvious from the subsequent lines that he includes the problem of eternity among those questions which are unfathomable for man.

. . . wie sich die weiten Kreise
Der anfangslosen Daur gehemmt in ihrer Reise
Und ewig ward zur Zeit; und wie ihr seichter Flusz
Im Meer der Ewigkeit sich einst verlieren musz:
Das soll ich nicht verstehn und kein Geschöpfe fragen;⁶

One observes that Haller regards eternity as an entity quite separate from relative time. This is curious in the face of his definition of eternity as including *all* time. Again he seems unconscious of any dualism in his abstract thought and his concrete mathematical measurements. He thinks

³ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 125, l. 1 ff.

⁴ Cf. Maync, *Haller's Gedichte*, p. 39.

⁵ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 151 ff, l. 31 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 57, l. 319 ff.

of eternity as time apart from the present, beginning at the close of man's temporal life. Viewing eternity in this way it seems, as far as man is concerned, to belong to the future. He measures the duration of mortal and immortal existence in the following manner:

Der Mensch hat ein kurzes Leben in dieser Welt, und ein langes, ein unendliches in der Ewigkeit.⁷

We have observed that Haller conceives of the personality of man as compounded of both material and immaterial substance. The following quotations show that he thinks of man's position in relative and absolute time in much the same way.

Aus ungleich festem Stoff hat Gott es auserlesen,
Halb zu der Ewigkeit, halb aber zum verwesen.⁸
Zweideutig Mittelding von Engeln und von Vieh,
Es überlebt sich selbst, es stirbt und stirbet nie.⁹
Zu Gottes Freund ersehn, zu edel für die Zeit,
Vergessen wir zu leicht den Werth der Ewigkeit;¹⁰

This dual existence, Haller feels, augments man's difficulty in the matter of choice. The too vivid impressions gained from the sensible present cause man to forget the true value of eternity. He firmly believes that man's existence in absolute time, in eternity, is the essential purpose and vital reality of his immaterial soul.¹¹ He sums up the perplexing problem of the choice between temporal and eternal values thus:

Ich kan irren, mein Freund! aber wahrscheinlich scheint es mir doch, nicht nur die Endlichkeit der Geschöpfe mache sie fehlerhaft, sondern in einer Verbindung des Leibes mit einer Seele sey es vielleicht nicht möglich gewesen, dem zukünftigen eben die Kraft zu geben, die das gegenwärtige auf uns habe. Dieses letztere erschüttert unmittelbar unsere Nerven, und bringt alle unsere Kräfte in Wallung; das zukünftige schwebt nur vor der Seele, wirkt auf die Sinnen nicht, und verhält sich gegen das gegenwärtige, wie Licht zum Feuer, jenes leuchtet, aber dieses entzündet.¹²

Though Haller views eternity as the home of the immortal soul, he does not picture that soul as existing in clearly

⁷ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, III, p. 55.

⁸ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 129, l. 105 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 107 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127, l. 43 ff.

¹¹ Cf. *Offenbarungsbriefe*, p. 191.

¹² *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 61.

defined realms in space. The traditional concepts of a heaven and of a hell are not mentioned. Nevertheless Haller believes that the existence of the disembodied soul in eternity may be either happy or unhappy according to a wise or unwise selection of eternal values during temporal existence. In view of this fact, he regards eternity not only with reverence and awe; but also with an admixture of dread. The following pictures of eternity betray much of the latter feeling:

Ihn aber hält am ernsten Orte,
Der nichts zu uns zurücke lässt
Die Ewigkeit mit starken Armen fest.¹³
Hier eilt ein schwach Geschlecht, mit immer vollem Herzen
Von eingebildter Ruh, und allzu wahren Schmerzen,
Wo nagende Begier und falsche Hoffnung wallt,
Zur ernsten Ewigkeit;¹⁴

Again we find the same idea that eternity is a subject of most earnest contemplation expressed in the prefatory note of his poem *Ueber den Ursprung des Uebels*:

Jetzt da mir die nahe Ewigkeit alles in einem ernsten Lichte zeigt.¹⁵

The picture of eternity which Haller gives us in the beginning of his ode *Unvollkommenes Gedicht über die Ewigkeit* is more than earnest, it has all the sadness and solemnity of actual death:

Erstorbenes Gefild und Grausen-volle Gründe,
O dasz ich doch bei euch des Todes Farben fünde!
O nährt mit kaltem Schaur und schwarzem Gram mein Leid!
Seid mir ein Bild der Ewigkeit!¹⁶

Fearing that the above passage might be interpreted in a materialistic way, he added the following footnote:

Auf dasz sich niemand an den Ausdrücken ärgere, worin ich von dem Tode, als von einem Ende des Wesens, oder der Hoffnung spreche, so ist es nöthig zu berichten, dasz alle diese Reden Einwürfe haben sein sollen, die ich würde beantwortet haben, wann ich fähig wäre, diese Ode zu Ende zu bringen. Ein zweites Leben ist dennoch ausdrücklich angenommen.¹⁷

Despite his assumption of a "second life," Haller never thinks of eternity with happy assurance. The evils of mortal existence—his human imperfections as well as the unwise use

¹³ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 151, l. 14 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 79 ff.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 150, l. 6 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

which he has made of the divine gift of freedom—make him fearful of entering into the immortal realm of absolute time where he must face the perfection of God—because eternity, he believes, leads man inevitably before the supreme judge. A comparison of the picture which he draws of eternity with one which was a favorite of his day shows that Haller uses colors of much intenser value.

Einsam und dir allein überlassen wirst du mit unwiderstehbarer Macht in diese See fortgerissen, die keine Gränzen hat, wo kein Hafen sich zeigt, wo dir nichts übrig bleibt, als das Unermeszliche womit du umgeben bist. Aber dieses oftgebrauchte Sinnbild, das eben die angenehme Sevigné mitten in ihrem Vergnügen so kräftig erschütterte, hat nicht die Hälfte der Stärke des Urbildes. Der Strom, dessen Lauf du nicht hemmen kannst, dessen grossen Theil du wirklich durchschiffet hast, der Strom liefert dich in die Hände eines Richters, eines heiligen, eines vollkommenen Gottes.¹⁸

The following quotations evidence a markedly different conception of eternity. When Haller thinks of eternity as the home of his beloved wife Mariane, his description is untinted by dread. It approaches the orthodox concept of heaven.

Gefühl, das keine Worte findt!
O dort ist sie, im selgen Heere!
Beim Stuhl des Lamms, am Lebens-Flusz! ¹⁹

Das Leben einer Welt, verlebt in Ungemach,
Ist nur ein schwüler Tag, wo dich die Sonne stach;
Und eine kühle Nacht bringt eilends einen Morgen,
Wo nichts mehr übrig ist von Weltlust oder Sorgen.
Selbst Mariane denkt an dich und an ihr Band,
So wie ein Reisender zurück vom sichern Strand
Nach einem Freunde sieht, mit dem, in gleichen Fällen,
Er Wind und See geprüft und die Gewalt der Wellen.²⁰

It is interesting to note with what a calm spirit Haller can view the tragedy of Lisbon, a tragedy which caused Voltaire to utter such bitter invectives against the wisdom of God.²¹ In the answer to Voltaire's satire and his complaints concerning the injustice of the suffering occasioned by the earthquake, Haller responds:

Kan nicht die Ewigkeit mit unendlichem Ueberflusse—das kurze Leiden des Lebens bezahlen? ²²

¹⁸ *Offenbarungsbrieife*, p. 12 ff.

¹⁹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 166, l. 76 ff.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182, l. 145 ff.

²¹ *Le Poème sur le Désastre de Lisbonne* (1756); and *Candide* (1759).

²² *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 60.

Voltaire vergisst, dass der Mensch sterben muss, und dass alle solche Zufälle nur kürzere Wege zu einem Grabe sind, dahin wir dennoch unvermeidlich gelangen müsten.²³

Haller's attitude toward Lisbon may be explained by his theological views. He thinks of God's design as antedating eternity, just as God himself must precede eternity: "Wie Gott die Ewigkeit erst einsam durchgedacht."²⁴

Haller's conception of eternity, then, rests upon his religious conviction. He regards eternity as an entity of absolute time incapable of measurement in terms of relative time. He so rationalizes this concept of absolute time that it becomes a reality before his mental vision. Haller never succeeds, however, in synthesizing his conception of relative time, based upon sensible perception, and his conception of absolute time based upon his religious conviction. In this we note again the conflict between Haller's concrete and abstract thinking. Though Haller assumes that eternity is the embodiment of all time, still he draws a distinct line of demarcation between man's temporal life in the present and his continuous existence in eternity. Man's destiny, Haller believes, is inevitably linked with that absolute time known as eternity, but he does not think of his existence in eternity as beginning until his temporal life has ceased. Therefore eternity, in respect to man's existence in relative time, connotes the future life. Haller never succeeds in bridging this gap between his idea of the present temporal life and his conception of the future eternal life, nor does he succeed in making relative time seem an integral part of absolute time. This interferes in no way with Haller's belief that man's present existence is a direct path leading him to eternity. While Haller thinks of corporeal existence as measured by concepts of relative time, he regards incorporeal existence as connected with absolute time.

Man's material existence seems to Haller a preparation for his immaterial existence. Until he has done with his temporal, material existence, man appears to Haller a corporeal being standing in some way outside of eternity.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 22. Cf. also *ibid.*, III, p. 6 ff., p. 58.

²⁴ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 57, l. 313.

When considering eternity Haller finds that all the apparatus of scientific measurement is inadequate. His concept of eternity transcends mathematical proof. To Haller the boundaries of eternity are limitless and the measurements infinite, and yet eternity is a distinct entity, which lies before him as a complete and perfect whole:

Ich häufe ungeheure Zahlen,
Gebürge Millionen auf;
Ich welze Zeit auf Zeit und Welt auf Welten hin,
Und wann ich auf der March des endlichen nun bin

Und von der fürchterlichen Höhe
Mit Schwindeln wieder nach dir sehe,
Ist alle Macht der Zahl, vermehrt mit tausend Malen,

Noch nicht ein Theil von dir;
Ich tilge sie, und du liegst ganz vor mir.²⁵

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 152 ff., l. 67 ff.

IV

HIS CONCEPTION OF GOD

We have observed that Haller regards the manifestations of the physical universe as the expression of a divine will, which is the source of all being. Indeed the entire structure of Haller's reasoning may be based upon the following premise: "O Gott! du bist allein des Alles Grund!"¹ Beginning then with the assumption that God is the originator of all form and the giver of all life, he can view every created thing as evidence of God's will, of his power, or of his intelligent design. It is God, he believes, who has animated nature: "Du bist die Seele der Natur,"² and nature in turn declares the glory of God by exhibiting a perfect cosmic order, operating in a prearranged harmony according to the mandate of the divine will.

Genug, es ist ein Gott; es ruft es die Natur,
Der ganze Bau der Welt zeigt seiner Hände Spur.
Den unermessnen Raum, in dessen lichten Höhen
Sich tausend Welten drehn und tausend Sonnen stehen,

Erfüllt der Gottheit Glanz. Dasz Sterne sonder Zahl
Mit immer gleichem Schritt und ewig hellem Strahl,
Durch ein verdeckt Gesetz vermischt und nicht verwirret.
In eignen Kreisen gehn und nie ihr Lauf verirret,

Macht ihres Schöpfers Hand; sein Will ist ihre Kraft
Er theilt Bewegung, Ruh und jede Eigenschaft
Nach Maasz und Absicht aus.³

The beauty, the utility of nature Haller sees as the expression of God's intelligent design:

Doch geh durchs weite Reich, das Gottes Hand gebauet,
Wo hier in holder Pracht, vom Morgen-roth bethauet,
Die junge Rose glüht und dort im Bauch der Welt
Ein unreif Gold sich färbt und wächst zu künftigem Geld:
Du wirst im Raum der Luft und in des Meeres Gründen
Gott überall gebildet und nichts als Wunder finden.⁴

The most magnificent of all nature effects in the Alps, the sunset glow on the snow-covered peaks, appears to Haller the work of the divine artist:

¹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 153, l. 76.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4, l. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57 ff., l. 325 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 58, l. 351 ff.

Und ein Gott ists, der der Berge Spitzen
Röthet mit Blitzen.⁵

Though Haller can view the manifestations of God as revealed in nature, he believes it impossible to form a mental picture of the supreme Being:

Man kann sich Gott nicht vorstellen, er ist zu weit über alle Bilder erhaben, die aus den Sinnen entstehen können. So viel ist aber gewisz, dasz' er allmächtig, allweise, an allen guten Eigenschaften unumschränkt ist.⁶

Despite his assertion that God's infinity and his perfection defy human comprehension, Haller is constant in his attempt to make his abstract conception of God assume the character of a scientific reality rather than that of an arbitrary hypothesis. In this effort to make the abstract become more concrete, he takes the universe as a unit of measurement to demonstrate the incommensurable quality of God.⁷

Haller chooses eternity as the unit of measurement by which man may consider the duration of God's being, of his inconceivable age without youth or beginning. Man can, according to Haller's reasoning which assumes a descending scale of inadequacy in man's ability to comprehend, understand the duration of time in eternity more easily than he can imagine the infinity of the existence of God:

Selbst die etwas minder den Verstand betäubende Ewigkeit, die ohne Ende fortduert, ist gleichwohl ein Abgrund, worinn alle Kräfte der Seele versinken. Und dennoch ruft die Vernunft uns vernehmlich zu, Gott sei diese ewige Sonne, die ohne Anfang, ohne Untergang, in einem unveränderlichen, nie steigenden, nie fallenden Mittage steht.⁸

We note by the above quotation that Haller rests his final argument upon man's reason. In this he appears as a true child of the Illumination. His concept of God is a rational plan of creation. However insufficient be the light of reason, yet he believes that reason leads man through the dusk of uncertainty:

Vernunft kann, wie der Mond, ein Trost der dunkeln Zeiten,
Uns durch die braune Nacht mit halbem Schimmer leiten;

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77, l. 3 ff.

⁶ *Offenbarungsbriefe*, p. 14.

⁷ *Cf. Offenbarungsbriefe*, p. 136 ff.

⁸ *Offenbarungsbriefe*, p. 137.

Der Wahrheit Morgen-roth zeigt erst die wahre Welt,
Wann Gottes Sonnen-Licht durch unsre Dämmerung fällt.⁹

The subsequent lines are evidence that his religious convictions set up a definite barrier to limit the province of his rationalistic thought:

Zu stammelnd für den Schall geoffenbarter Lehren
Soll die Vernunft hier Gott mit eignem lallen ehren.
Sie führt uns bis zu Gott, mehr ist ein Ueberflusz.¹⁰

Though the infinity of God's greatness, wisdom, and perfection is beyond human comprehension Haller believes that man may gain accurate knowledge about the nature of God. This is made possible by the countless revelations of God's attributes. Haller finds in nature very definite evidence of God's kindness and of his wisdom.

Diesz weisz ich nur von dir, dein Wesen selbst ist Güte,
Von Gnad und Langmuth wallt dein liebendes Gemüthe;
Du Sonne wirfest ja, mit gleichem Vater-Sinn,
Den holden Lebens-Strahl auf alle Wesen hin!¹¹

Ja, alles, was ich seh, sind Gaben vom Geschicke!
Die Welt ist selbst gemacht zu ihrer Bürger Glücke,¹²

Nein, deine Huld, o Gott, ist allzu offenbar!
Die ganze Schöpfung legt dein liebend Wesen dar:
Die Huld, die Raben nährt, wird Menschen nicht verstoszen,
Im kleinen ist er grosz, unendlich grosz im groszen.¹³

In the following quotations from his letters to Zimmermann we find still more evidence of Haller's faith in the wise kindness of a guiding Providence:

Je suis persuadé, que la Providence m'acordera toujours le nécessaire sans me donner jamais du superflu.¹⁴

La providence a mille voies pour nourrir la lampe qu'elle a allumée, elle ne la laisse éteindre que lorsque le jour est venu.¹⁵

The perfection of the whole cosmic order testifies to the infinite kindness as well as the wisdom of God. For Haller preached as did Leibniz the "doctrine of the best world."¹⁶

⁹ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 59, l. 359 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, l. 363 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124, l. 127 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 121, l. 61 ff.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 142, l. 119 ff.

¹⁴ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller* (Berne, Jan. 28, 1759), p. 53.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* (Roche, Sept. 17, 1759), p. 58.

¹⁶ Cf. Merz, *Leibniz*, p. 189.

That God should have chosen the best from many possible patterns is a matter of conviction with Haller and yet another evidence of God's goodness.

Verschiedner Welten Risz lag vor Gott ausgebreitet,
Und alle Möglichkeit war ihm zur Wahl bereitet;
Allein die Weisheit sprach für die Vollkommenheit,
Der Welten würdigste gewann die Wirklichkeit.¹⁷

The kindness and wisdom of the creator is made manifest again in the perfection of man's physical structure:

Und unser ganzer Bau ein stâtes Muster scheint
Von höchster Wissenschaft, mit hochster Huld vereinet! ¹⁸

The following quotation is evidence of his faith that no error can result from the divine will:

Noch Unrecht, noch versehn kann vom Allweisen kommen,
Du bist an Macht, an Gnad, an Weisheit ja vollkommen! ¹⁹

It is evident that Haller finds no imperfections in the cosmic machine, which appears to him the perfect product of an infallible designer. In this view, he stands with Leibniz and in opposition to Newton, who thinks of God as occasionally tinkering with the machine and thereby keeping it in perfect repair.²⁰ Haller remains true to his conviction of the original perfection and infallibility of the pre-arranged natural laws, a conviction which Leibniz expresses in the following words:

Selon mon Sentiment, la même Force et Vigueur y subsiste toujours et passe seulement de matière en matière, suivant les lois de la Nature, et le bel Ordre préétabli. Et je tiens, quand Dieu fait des Miracles, que ce n'est pas pour soutenir les besoins de la Nature, mais pour ceux de la Grace. En juger autrement, ce feroit avoir une idée fort basse de la Sagesse et de la Puissance de Dieu.²¹

We observe that Haller, too, regards the laws of nature as eternal laws made perfect in the beginning by God,²² but he believes that God must stand ever in readiness to interfere with natural laws when moral laws are at stake:

¹⁷ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 125 ff., l. 5 ff.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141, l. 213.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142, l. 225.

²⁰ Cf. Burt, *Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (N. Y. and London, 1927), p. 289.

²¹ S. Clarke, *A Collection of Papers* (London, 1717), p. 4 ff.

²² Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 46, l. 55 ff.

Drum überliesz auch Gott die Geister ihrem Willen
 Und dem Zusammenhang, woraus die Thaten quillen.
 Doch so, dasz seine Hand der Welten Steur behielt,
 Und der Natur ihr Rad musz stehn, wann er befiehlt.²³

This assumption enables Haller to interpret the Biblical accounts of the destruction of Sodom and of the Flood literally. In answer to Voltaire's claim that the great changes in the earth's surface were not the manifestation of the divine will, nor yet an evidence of moral punishment, but rather the result of natural laws, Haller challenges Voltaire to prove that it would be impossible for the ruler of the world to combine the results of natural law with his moral purposes.²⁴ In the ensuing quotation we see that Haller regards the Flood as an historical evidence of God's interference with natural laws:

Und dann hat niemand gelehrt, dasz die Sündflut durch den gewöhnlichen Lauf der Natur sey bewürkt worden: die Schleussen des Himmels thaten sich auf, der Abgrund in der Erde gab sein Wasser dazu, sagt Moses: es waren also ausserordentliche Ursachen zur grossen Ueberschwemmung.²⁵

The subject of the Flood furnished a theme for continual argument between Haller and Voltaire.²⁶ The particular point of contention in this argument is not whether the Flood was the result of God's interference with natural laws, but whether the Flood could be proved an historical fact. Haller rests his argument upon the discoveries of natural science. He claims that the imprints of animals and herbs indigenous to southern climes, as well as the deposits of shells from deep-sea animals which have been found in the high Alps furnish unmistakable evidence that a Flood must have taken place.²⁷

Haller accepts the results gained from scientific investigations as proof of his theological assumption. If there was a Flood, then, Haller believes, it must have been an act of God. Voltaire, on the other hand, holds stubbornly to his argument that the evidence of imprints and shells in the rocks

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 127, l. 65 ff.

²⁴ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 68.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 127.

²⁶ *Cf. Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 68 ff., p. 87 ff., p. 90 ff.; II, p. 107 ff.; III, p. 127 ff. Also *Tagebuch*, II, p. 15.

²⁷ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 90.

of the Alps are no proof that the Flood mentioned by Moses took place. Haller reviews the letter which Voltaire wrote upon the occasion of his admission to the Academy of Bologna in 1745 in the following way:

Er schrieb an dieselbe bey dieser Gelegenheit einen italiänischen Brief (*Saggi intorno ai cambiamenti avvenuti sul Globo della terra*), worinn er durchaus die Zeichen der Sündfluth mit so schwachen Gründen verwirft, dass man erstaunt wenn man sie lieset. Ein auf den Hesizischen Gebürgen versteineter Fisch ist, sagt Herr von Voltaire, auf eines grossen Herren Tafel geliefert, und von ungefehr verworfen worden. Es müssen auf den wildesten Gebürgen sehr viele grosse Herrn gelebt, und an wunderlichen Essen Lust gefunden haben. Wie viele Millionen Muscheln findet man auf allen Bergen der Welt, und von solchen Arten, die niemals eszbar gewesen sind.²⁸

Haller shows a similar literal-mindedness in his attitude toward the story of the creation as told in Genesis.²⁹ We are informed by Zimmermann of Haller's belief in the special creation of the world:

Es scheint dem Herrn Haller der Wahrheit gemäsz, dass alle Berge, alle Flüsse, und alle Meere, mit einander auf der Erde von dem Zeitpunct an, gegenwärtig seyen, da sie aus der Hand des Schöpfers gekommen sind; alle Theile der Erdkugel beziehen sich auf die genaueste und vollkommenste Weise auf einander, eine Weise, die in dem System des Ungefehrrs, das der Herr von Buffon lehret, keinen Platz finden kann.³⁰

It is interesting to observe that Haller's view concerning Buffon's theory of creation is not as intolerant as that of Zimmermann. Though Buffon is opposed to the idea of special creation and of pre-formation of seeds and substitutes an evolutionary material as the basis of all creation, Haller does not regard his teaching as a "System des Ungefehrrs."³¹ He believes that Buffon's theory does not preclude a belief in God any more than did Newton's explanation that two forces control the wonderful structure of the universe and the secret laws determining the course of the stars.³²

Contrasting curiously with his arbitrary statements concerning the religious necessity of a belief in the theory of

²⁸ *Tagebuch*, I, p. 15.

²⁹ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 144 ff.

³⁰ *Das Leben des Herrn von Haller*, p. 333 ff.

³¹ *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 99 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 123.

pre-formation of all seeds, which we cited in the foregoing chapter, we find the following statement to allay the fears of those who regard Buffon's theory as too materialistic.

Ich bin hierüber noch ohne Sorge: das daseyn Gottes ist auf die körperliche Welt und auf die Offenbarung gegründet. Jene fordert von dem Gottes Verleugner einen Baumeister, diese zeigt in der Uebereinstimmung der Prophezeyungen und ihrer Erfüllung, in den Wunderwerken, in dem Zusammenhange des einmahl gegenwärtigen Christenthums mit seinen ersten Quellen eine unaufhörliche und überall sich selbst unterstützende Kette von Beweisen.³³

The subsequent lines furnish evidence that Haller's religious conviction stands firmer than his scientific theories:

Es ist also nicht eigentlich der Wachstum oder die Art der Erzeugung der Thiere, die uns von der Gottheit überführet, sondern die deutlichen Spuren der weisen Hand eines Schöpfers in der Uebereinstimmung des Baues mit seinen Absichten.³⁴

Haller thinks of God in his relation to man as a supreme ruler endowed with divine foresight and exercising constant care over his creatures. Just as God thought through eternity before eternity could exist, just as he chose the best possible world and determined the eternal laws of nature, in like manner, Haller believes, God foresaw the course of human events and planned for the exigencies pertaining to man. It is somewhat difficult to reconcile Haller's theory of free-will with his ideas concerning foreordination. We read in the following lines that the University of Göttingen was foreordained quite as certainly as were the thoughts of Plato:

Ein Geist, noch unreif zu dem Wesen,
Wird heut zur Grösze schon erlesen,
Verknüpft in dieses Tages Risz;
So lagen in Athens beginnen
Des späten Plato starke Sinnen
Verborgen, aber doch gewisz.³⁵

Even the dagger which is to kill the wicked tyrant is predestined for the purpose by an avenging God:

Doch Dolche sind, dich zu ermorden,
Vor Ewigkeit geschliffen worden,
Dawider nichts dich schützen kann! ³⁶

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127 ff.

³⁵ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 168 ff., l. 45 ff.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18, l. 214 ff.

Haller is consistent in his belief in foreordination with regard to the death of his beloved Mariane:

Hier lag mir Angst und Qual gezählet und bereit
Und Marianes Gruft gegründet vor Ewigkeit! ³⁷

Willst du, dasz Gott dann selbst die ewigen Gesetze,
Die er den Welten schrieb, aus Gunst für dich verletze?
Soll, wann ein Dichter weint, der zarte Leib ein Stein,
Ein Fieber ohne Wuth, Gift ohne Wirkung sein? ³⁸

Yet Haller seems to have believed that God might interfere with natural laws for the benefit of a sorrowing poet. In offering prayer to spare the life of Mariane, he shows a faith in a personal God which seems an emotional necessity.

Herr! was du willst das soll geschehen,
Auch weinend ehr ich deinen Rath;
Doch hört dein Will auf unser flehen,
So lasz auch mich die Gnade sehen,
Die oft ein reines Herz erbat! ³⁹

Vater es hat deine Gnade
Mit der Menschen flehn Geduld;
Aber gieb, dasz deine Huld
Nicht mehr Schulden auf uns lade! ⁴⁰

When Mariane does not recover Haller interprets her death as an act of God:

Gott ists, der dich der Welt genommen,
Der mich vielleicht dir schaden sah; ⁴¹
Der sie aus Güte gab, der nimmt mit Recht sie dir! ⁴²

The thought that God must take punitive measures in the interest of mankind looms large in the poet's mind. For however much Haller may assume infinite kindness as the chief attribute of God, nevertheless the picture which he draws of God appears both austere and uncompromising. We observe that Haller's God is a God of power. In the following lines he sees God as the absolute monarch punishing the proud kings of earth:

Weh ihm, wann ihn sein Stolz verwöhnet!
Der grösze Herr, der ihn belehnet,
Lehrt ihn, von wem die Krone sei;

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 179, l. 89 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 181, l. 135 ff.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 156, l. 24 ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 157, l. 53 ff.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 165, l. 69.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 182, l. 154.

Der Lorbeer schützt nicht vor dem Blitze,
Der Donner schlägt der Thürme Spitze,
Und Unfall wohnt Tyrannen bei.⁴³

Haller's God of power displays the sterner features of the Old Testament Jehovah, he is not unlike the God of the Jansenists whom Haller defends against Voltaire's attacks,⁴⁴ but above all he resembles the unforgetting God of Calvin.⁴⁵

Aber bey Gott ist kein Vergessen. Die Sünden der ersten Menschen sind auf die Tafeln seiner unveränderlichen Weisheit, fester als in diamantne Säulen, eingeschrieben.⁴⁶

It is man's sinful inheritance, Haller believes, which has erected an insurmountable barrier between him and God, for God can have no sympathy with evil:

Es ist nicht Zorn bey ihm, wie wir es allzumenschlich nennen, was du zu befürchten hast, er hat keine Leidenschaften, die sich nicht versöhnen lassen. Unumschränkt gut, hat er einen ewigen Widerwillen gegen die Sünde; gutes und böses kann bey ihm unmöglich gleich angesehen werden.⁴⁷

We have observed that he does not attempt to explain the reason for the existence of evil:

Gott fordert ja von uns zu thun und nicht zu wissen!
Sein Will ist uns bekannt, er heizt die Laster fliehn
Und nicht, warum sie sind, vergebens sich bemühen.⁴⁸

Haller is concerned about a means for reestablishing that spiritual understanding and harmony between God and Man which was disturbed by the entrance of evil into God's perfect world. He finds in Christ, the symbol of perfected humanity, a mediator to reconcile God and man. His conception of Christ is again part of his idea of predestination. The omniscience of God, Haller believes, foresaw that man would become contaminated by the sin of the world and therefore in his infinite kindness God foreordained a means of cleansing man from his contact with evil and of bringing him ultimately into harmony with divine perfection. Haller's statements concerning Christ are a recital of the orthodox plan of salvation:

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 14, l. 121 ff.

⁴⁴ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, p. 56.

⁴⁶ *Offenbarungsbriege*, p. 16 ff.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ *Hirzel, Gedichte*, II, p. 124, l. 144 ff.

Gott that also mehr, als die weisesten der Menschen gefodert hatten; er vereinigte, auf eine Weise, die wir nicht begreifen können, seine gottliche Eigenschaften mit der obersten Tugend eines unsträflichen Menschen: und durch diesen ausserordentlichen Abgesandten, der unter allen Sterblichen ohne Beyspiel ist, liesz er seinen gnädigen Willen der Welt verkündigen. . . . Der Gottmensch war aber nicht nur der Erfüller selbst, er war zugleich der Verkündiger des Gott versöhnenden Opfers, und das Opfer selbst, von Ewigkeit erwählt für die Sünden der Menschen genug zu thun.⁴⁹

According to Haller's reasoning, Christ is a theological abstraction quite as much as is God. Though Haller quotes the gospel record as scientific, historical evidence of Christ's existence upon earth in human form,⁵⁰ he lays less stress upon the circumstances of his temporal life and his teachings than upon his position as mediator.

Der grosse Auftrag, den er übernahm, war nicht bloss die Wahrheit zu lehren, er war vornehmlich, den Menschen mit Gott zu versöhnen.⁵¹

Haller sees Christ always illumined by a divine light. He endows him with all the attributes of perfection which he accords to God. Therefore he never portrays the figure of Christ in distinct outlines. He is, to Haller, an integral part of God's mind. He represents a rational plan of salvation and his existence is confirmation to Haller of the concept of a prearranged harmony.⁵²

The miracle of the resurrection of Christ does not trouble a man who can regard all the phenomena of nature as evidence of a miraculous guiding Providence; ⁵³ and he can interpret the symbolical words of Jesus with regard to his death as scientifically accurate from the point of view of a botanist:

Jesu hat es gesagt, dasz das Korn absterbe, dieweil es zu einer neuen Pflanze werden soll. Und dennoch ist dieser Ausdruck so physisch wahr, als es seine Vergleichung mit der Auferstehung ist. Die meisten Theile des Korns werden zerstört, die Hülsen verschwinden, das Häutchen bleibt zurück und vergeht, das Mark wird von der neuen Pflanze aufgezehrt, nur der unsichtbare, in dem Korne verborgenliegende Keim, bleibt allein leben, und entwickelt sich in ein neues und vollkommenes Daseyn.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ *Offenbarungsbriege*, p. 34 ff.

⁵⁰ *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, I, p. 81 ff., p. 129 ff.; II, p. 127 ff.; III, p. 51, p. 155.

⁵¹ *Offenbarungsbriege*, p. 153.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁵³ *Hirzel. Gedichte*. II. p. 58. l. 356

The above lines evidence again the fundamental contradiction in Haller's abstract and concrete thinking with regard to scientific proof in matters of religious conviction.

In the final analysis, Haller's conception of God is the essence of his entire thought. He thinks of God as the source of all being "O ewigs—Wesen Quell!"⁵⁵ Since the physical universe is the creation of God, he regards all physical phenomena with reverent contemplation. The whole world of science is, for Haller, ultimately dependent upon the God of his religious conviction.

Haller adjusts his abstract conception of God, the great creator of the universe, to fit the spiritual needs of man. In respect to man, Haller sees God as a beneficent ruler and a kind father. God, he believes, has foreordained the course of human events just as he has established the harmony and order of the universe. Between the Perfect God and imperfect man, he sees the figure of Christ as mediator. Christ's mission is to reestablish that spiritual harmony between God and man, which was destroyed by the entrance of evil into God's perfect world. Christ symbolizes to Haller the link between mortality and immortality, between the finite and the Infinite. Christ seems to Haller part of a rational plan in the mind of the Supreme Being.

⁵⁵ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 295, l. 45 A.

HIS RELIGION

It seems almost incredible that a man whose poetry reveals such earnest religious thought and emotion should have been accused of irreligion. Yet this was the case. A letter from Johannes Geszner, written August 13, 1729, in praise of the poems which Haller had sent to him, sounds a warning for Haller to the effect that some members of the Zürich clergy, who had read his poems, considered certain statements about religion too free.¹ Anticipating attacks from this quarter, Haller makes the following statement in the preface to the first edition of his poems.²

Sonderlich aber versichert der Verfasser, dass Er wider den geoffenbahrten Glauben weder Zweifel noch Vorurtheil jemahls gehabt und Er lediger Dingen, so oft Er vom Glauben redt, den falschen Glauben dadurch verstanden haben will.³

But the above words were not sufficient to conciliate the more orthodox of the Swiss Protestant clergymen. We find Geszner sending another warning. On November 3, 1732, he writes:

... eine Gesellschaft von Theologen hatte zwar u. a. den Ausdruck, "Seelenruh" in den *Gedanken über Vernunft* beanstandet, weil er an die Seelenruhe der Stoischen Philosophie erinnere, und hatte durch den Professor der biblischen Theologie den Buchhändler anweisen lassen das Buch nicht offen zu verkaufen.⁴

Again Haller tries to forestall criticism. In the second edition of his poems,⁵ he writes in the preface:

In vielen Stellen waren solche Redens-Arten, die manchem Leser einen Argwohn gegeben, als pflichtete ich denen nunmehr zur Weisheit in der Welt gewordenen Sätzen der Freygeister bey. Diese habe ich ausgestrichen, verwechselt und verändert. So wenig als ich mich schuldig erkenne, so sehr finde ich mich verbunden, allem auch ungegründeten Aergermüsz den Anlass wegzuräumen.⁶

¹ Ferdinand Vetter, *Der junge Haller nach seinem Briefwechsel mit Johannes Geszner aus den Jahren 1728-1738*, Bern, 1909, p. 22. Referred to as *Der junge Haller*. Haller's dedication to Geszner is cited on page 12 of the present study.

² Published anonymously, 1732.

³ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 241 ff.

⁴ Vetter, *Der Junge Haller*, p. 23 ff.

⁵ Published 1734.

⁶ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 243.

Haller likewise includes, in the same edition of his poems, an article *Schuttschrift wegen einigen meiner Gedanken*⁷ in which he seeks to vindicate himself against the attacks of the ultra-orthodox. The sins of omission and commission of which he was accused are significant. He attempts to clear himself from the following charges:

1. Revelation is omitted. The name of Christ does not appear in the poems.

2. The apathy of the Stoics is advocated. Exception is taken to the lines in *Vernunft*:

Uns ist die Seelen-Ruh und ein gesundes Blut
Was Zeno nur gesucht, des Lebens wahres Gut.⁸

3. The divine qualities of the first Christian martyrs are confused with the false virtues of certain Catholic saints. Reference is made to the lines in *Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden*:

Durch den erstaunten Ost geht Xaviers Wunder-Lauf,
Stürzt Nipons Götzen um, und seine stellt er auf;
Bis dasz, dem Amida noch Opfer zu erhalten,
Die frechen Bonzier des Heiligen Haupt zerspalten:
Er stirbt, sein Glaube lebt und unterbaut den Staat
Der ihn aus Gnade nährt, mit Aufruhr und Verrath.⁹

4. Epicurean philosophy, making nature the guide for man's actions, is extolled. Exception is taken to the lines in *Falschheit menschlicher Tugenden*:

O Schooskind des Geschicks! Erlauchter Epicur,
Du fandest uns zuerst der wahren Tugend Spur;
Nicht jenes Wahlgespenst das Zeno sich erdichtet,
Das nur auf Dornen geht, zum Elend sich verpflichtet,
Die Welt zum Kerker macht, mit Müh sich Qual erkiest,
Und unerträglicher als alles Uebel ist.
Nein, nein, sie scherzt mit dir in deinen stillen Gärten,
Sie gab dir Lust und Ruh zu ewigen Gefehrten.
Sie theilte jedem Stand sein eigen Glücke zu;
In der Gesundheit Lust und in den Schmerzen Ruh.
Wie Bienen süszen Saft aus herbem Wermuth tragen,
So brauchte sie zur Lust, worüber andre klagen.
Du nahmst mit gleichem Aug, was die Natur dir gab,
Die Schmerzen mit Gedult, die Wollust freudig ab;
Du lieszest ohne Wunsch in stetigem Genieszen
Dein Leben ungezählt nach seinem Ende flieszen.
Ihr, die den Weisen hasst, weil er euch übertrifft,
Speyt nur auf seinen Ruhm der Missgunst schwachcs Gift;

⁷ Written 1738.

⁸ Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 59, l. 376 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 67, l. 117 ff.

Die Tugend, die er lehrt, gefällt der wildsten Jugend,
Und seine Wollust ist so keusch als eure Tugend!¹⁰

According to Heidegger's statement in the fifth edition,¹¹ the above lines were in the original manuscript, before it was made ready for print. They appear again in the sixth edition of Haller's poems.¹² The publication of these lines made it necessary for Haller to include them as variants in his edition of the following year. He affixes a note of explanation:

Diese Reime schrieb ich hin, eh ich den Epicur kannte. Da ich aber theils seine gelehrte Diebstähle und theils sein Bekenntnisz antraf, dasz die Lüste des Leibes doch das einzige wahre Gut wären, da ich endlich den unendlichen Unterscheid reifer ermasz, der zwischen der Sittenlehre Jesu und den Rathen der Weisen ist, so strich ich das ganze Stücke durch, ehe es gedruckt worden, das mein ungebettener Verleger wieder auferweckt hat, und ich nun, um keine Klagen uber die mangelnden Stellen zu lassen, als ein verworfenes und weder nach der Dichtkunst noch nach der Wahrheit eines Beyfalls würdiges Fragment anhange.¹³

The above statement may serve as a fair sample of the tone of Haller's explanatory remarks. We find the succeeding editions even more crowded with explanations. It must be noted, however, that his apologies are not confined to matters of religious controversy. He was peculiarly sensitive to all criticism. In a letter to Zimmermann, dated December 20, 1763, Haller alludes to his sensitive temperament as responsible for his lack of serenity:

Je voudrois bien avoir cette serenité inalterable qui fait la perfection du chretien et du philosophe: Mais cela est difficile dans mon temperament sensible: ce que je puis faire c'est empecher les souvenirs desagrees de passer de mon entendement dans ma volonté.¹⁴

It is difficult to tell in reading the many explanatory notes which testify to the writer's orthodox religious faith, just how far his dislike of censure may have influenced the interpretation of his original expressions. The fact that Haller's

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹¹ Printed at Zürich, 1750.

¹² Printed by Heidegger.

¹³ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, II, p. 315.

¹⁴ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller* (Hanover, 1885), p. 68. Some accent marks are missing in the quotation from Bodemann's book given above, and in other quotations to follow. I have cited passages *verbatim et literatim*.

subjoined notes do not seem adequate interpretations, but rather contradictory statements of opinion, is quite apparent. Karl Zagajewski, who has made a critical analysis of the textual changes in Haller's poems, comes to the following conclusion concerning the poet's early religious ideas:

Es kann kein Zweifel sein dasz Haller in seiner Jugend ein Zweifler, ein "Freigeist" war.¹⁵

An undated letter from Haller's daughter Emilie Haller Wildenstein to Zimmermann makes the ensuing guarded statement with regard to her father's early religious beliefs.

De retour dans sa patrie ses premières poésies sur tout *Aberglauben und Unglauben und die Falschheit der menschlichen Tugenden* lui attirèrent la reputation d'un Deiste. Il est sur, qu'il eut des doutes, mais qui furent dissipés par l'examen critique qu'il fit de la religion chretienne.¹⁶

Zimmermann touches very lightly, in his biography, upon the controversy regarding Haller's deistic leanings. He states:

Herr Haller musz sich zum voraus vermuthet haben, man möchte ihn bey der Religion zu erst angreifen, wie oft sind nicht die Aerzte die Windmühlen der Theologen gewesen, und wie sehr waren nicht dieselben zu allen Zeiten gereizet, Don Quixotte maszig gegen dieselben anzureiten?¹⁷

In a footnote Zimmermann alludes to the fact that there is a division of opinion concerning Haller's religious views as expressed in his poems. He adds that the poems were censored by Professor Rengier in Bern.

ein orthodoxer, aber zugleich (welches sich selten beysammen findet) sehr scharfsichtiger und bescheidener Theologus.

Zimmermann considers this censorship sufficient proof that the poems contained nothing heretical. In striking contrast to Zimmermann's attitude we find a later judgment to the effect that the changes in sense in the different versions of the Haller poems show the revision in his change from an enlightened deist to a painfully strict orthodox Christian.¹⁸

A letter from Haller, written October 30, 1754, to Zimmermann is interesting because of its noncommittal character.

¹⁵ Karl Zagajewski, *Albrecht von Hallers Dichtersprache*, Strassburg, 1909, p. 97.

¹⁶ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 155.

¹⁷ Zimmermann, *Das Leben des H. V. Haller*, p. 181.

¹⁸ Cf. Erich Schmidt, *Charakteristiken* (Berlin, 1886), p. 118.

Haller is evidently not clear, or he does not wish to be definite, concerning the changes in his attitude:

L' article de la religion de ma jeunesse est trop difficile pour etre touché par un autre que moi meme, qui sait seul, sans pouvoir bien m'en ouvrir, les changemens qui se sont faits chez moi.¹⁹

In his novel *Usong*,²⁰ Haller makes rather pointed allusions to the persecution which he suffered at the hands of the Swiss clergy, as well as to the misunderstandings incident to his dealings with the leading spirits of the Aufklärung. An account of the struggles of the Chinese mandarin Oel-fu reflects the author's own unhappy experiences. We may recognize the features of the orthodox clergymen in the "Bonzen," and in "Zongtu" a marked resemblance to the illustrious Aufklärerkönig, Frederick the Great. We note that Oel-fu is made the innocent victim of unjust persecution. We assume, therefore, that Haller wished to imply that the mandarin's faith was unassailable.

Ich kam in eine andere Provinz, wo man mir eine angemessene Stelle versprach. Aber die Bonzen lehnten sich wider mich auf: der Zongtu war ihnen ergeben. Der Mann glaubt an keinen Gott, riefen sie, und mein Glück verschwand mir unter den Händen. Die Bonzen schütteten tausend Verleumdungen wider mich aus. Ich tröstete mich, weil die Beschuldigung ungegründet war: und kam nach Fokien, wo die Bonzen verhaszt waren. Der Zongtu nahm mich unter seine Freunde auf, und ich war der Gefährte seiner Abendstunden. Er glaubte aber selbst den Tien [Gott] nicht, und nach seiner Meinung war kein Richter der Menschen, und kein Unterschied des Guten und des Bösen. Er hielt mich für einen Anhänger des Laokings (Des chinesischen Epicurs). Da ich aber nicht verbergen wollte, dass ich den Tien verehrte, und die Tugend dem Laster vorzog, so verlohr ich auch diese Stelle: der Zongtu erniedigte sich so weit, dass er in harten Ausdrücken wider mich schrieb, ob er wohl meine Schriften niemals gelesen hatte.²¹

Though Haller published no definite statement concerning his early religious views, we must interpret his words in the preface to *Auszug aus Herrn Ditton's durch die Auferstehung Jesu bewiesener Christlichen Religion*, which appeared in 1772, as indicative of religious doubt.

Aus wahrer Dankbarkeit lasse ich diese Arbeit meiner Jugend abdrucken. Es sind vierzig Jahre, dass ein längst in der Ewigkeit

¹⁹ Bodemann, *Von und ueber Haller*, p. 25.

²⁰ Bern, 1771.

²¹ Albrecht von Haller, *Usong* (Bern, 1778), 9th edition, p. 177 ff.

belohnter Freund mir rieth, im Ditton die Ueberzeugung der Wahrheiten der christlichen Religion zu suchen. Ich fand sie in solcher Stärke, daz ich zu meinem eigenen Gebrauche, und zur bequemen Wiederholung des Beweises diesen Auszug, zwar auf französisch für mich schrieb, der nunmehr übersezt worden ist: und gesegnet wird die geringe Arbeit mir scheinen, wenn nur ein einziger Mensch die Kraft der Grunde so lebhaft fühlt, als ich sie gefühlt habe.²²

Ditton's treatise is a mathematical proof *per reductionem ad absurdum*. The purpose of the author²³ is to show that those deists who deny revelation must also renounce reason and truth. Ditton is concerned about a rational proof of the resurrection of Christ. His entire argument rests upon the premise that the resurrection has been established as an historical fact. To the statement by Ditton:

So wunderbar auch die That sey, so hat sie für diejenigen keine Unmöglichkeit, welche Gott als die wirkende Ursache davon angeben,

Haller adds the following note:

Sie hat eine für die Deisten, sie halten sie ihrer Natur nach für unmöglich, aber diese Unmöglichkeit ist nur ein Trugschluss, der aus einer unvollkommenen Induction entsteht. Sie halten die Wiederherstellung der Bewegung des Herzens für unmöglich, weil sie sie niemals nach einigen Tagen gesehen haben. Aber keine Induction schlieszt die Fälle aus, die übrig seyn können. An gewissen Thieren ist eine noch weit ungläublichere Auferstehung natürlich, und tausendmal gesehen worden. Sie streitet also nicht wider die Natur des Lebens. Bey Jesu ist sie ein Wunder weil sie versprochen, vorhergekündigt, ohne menschliche Hülfe, und in Umständen geschehn ist, bey welchen ein Mensch ohne Wunder nicht auferstehen kann.²⁴

We might question why Haller is so eager to explain the fact of the resurrection as not contrary to nature's laws, when he is chiefly concerned in proving the resurrection as a miraculous event, according to the records in the gospels.

Whatever Haller's deistic tendencies, whatever his doubts concerning revelation may have been, there is no uncertainty with regard to his attitude toward the practical results of freethinking. He is definitely opposed to the dissemination of the deistic doctrines. To Haller, the pillars of the moral social order have their foundations within the orthodox Protestant church. His review of François-Vincent Tous-

²² Haller, *Kleine Schriften*, III, p. 201 ff.

²³ Humphrey Ditton, English mathematician, (1675-1715).

²⁴ *Kleine Schriften*, III, p. 280 ff.

saint's book *Moeurs* (1748), a book which was burned by the censor in Paris, is typical of his attitude toward all naturalistic philosophers. He does not object to their system of ethics, but he has no faith that it can be enforced. Haller's convictions concerning man's heritage of sin are firmly rooted. He believes that sin and its consequences can not be regarded lightly and that the freethinkers are undermining the social order by their disregard of existing evil and the necessity of punishment.

Wir bedauern den Verfasser, der vermutlich aus Mangel einer genugsamen Erkenntnis des göttlichen Worts, und bey dem beständigen Anblicke überflüssiger und übertriebener Ceremonien ein Naturaliste geworden ist. Sein Lehrgebäude ist dasjenige, das bey vielen in seiner Kirche lebenden Gelehrten herrscht. Gott sey ein gütiges vollkommenes Wesen, das allerdings an seinen vernünftigen Geschöpfen das Gute liebt, und das Böse aus Liebe strafft, seinen Zorn aber nicht in die Ewigkeit erstrecken wird, auch kein Blut eines Mittlers verlangt, und keine weitere Ehren fodert, als die im Herzen ihm gezeigt wird, die aussern Feyerlichkeiten aber mit Gleichgültigkeit ansiehet. Aus dieser bequemen Lehre werden aber schwerlich die Folgen gezogen werden, die der Verfasser aufs eifrigste anbefiehlt. Er will Tugend, so gar Liebe, Enthaltung von den natürlichsten Wollusten, vom Richten und Verachten seines Nächsten, und andern dem menschlichen Verderben ganz unschätzbaren Vernügen haben. Bey einem so gefälligen obersten Richter, werden ihm andre sagen, der die eigene Gerechtigkeit für vollzählig annimmt, wird dieses alles nicht so genau genommen werden.²⁵

Haller's translation made from Formey's abridgment of Pierre de Crousoz' book *Examen du Pyrrhonisme ancien et moderne* (La Haye, 1733),²⁶ is further evidence of Haller's attitude toward freethinkers. In the preface, he states that he has undertaken a translation of Formey's work, not merely in the interest of philosophical truth, but because of his hatred of "Unglauben."²⁷ By "Unglauben" we may understand all liberal philosophical ideas opposed to orthodox Christian dogma. For Haller uses the term "Unglauben" with such breadth of meaning as to include each of the several ideas expressed by the terms atheism, deism and naturalism. He is troubled by the laxness of morals which he considers the logical outcome of scepticism. He takes his stand against

²⁵ Haller, *Tagebuch*, I, p. 58.

²⁶ Published under title, *Prüfung der Secte, die an allem zweifelt* mit Vorrede des Herrn von Haller (Göttingen, 1751).

²⁷ *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 9 ff.

the exponents of freethinking in an earnest effort to stem the tide of doubt.

Ein Shaftsbury, ein Baile mag die theoretische Atheisterey beschönigen, sie mögen eine Gesellschaft von Gottesleugnern so tugendhaft abmahlen als sie wollen, die lebhaftesten Farben können ihrem Gemähde eine Schönheit, aber keine Aehnlichkeit geben. Erfahrung und Vernunft stimmen hier zusammen, und wir wollen ihre vereinigten Beweisthümer kürzlich vortragen. Was ich zu sagen habe, ist tausendmal dem Wesen nach gesagt worden, aber die Ursachen es zu wiederholen, werden täglich stärker.²⁸

Haller employs Ditton's method of attack by reducing the arguments of the new philosophers to absurdities, in an effort to show that a practical application of their theories would cause the destruction of our social order. He claims that a belief in revealed religion leads to the opposite state of affairs. Faith, Haller asserts, unites all the conflicting forces and desires in one central idea, in God, and thereby furthers the universal good of mankind. He compares the moral tone in England during the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the land was free from scepticism, with the age of Charles II, after the freethinkers had become powerful, much to the detriment of the latter age. Finally Haller sums up his reasons for denouncing "Unglauben" in the following statement:

Es ist also unser Streit mit den Freygeistern nicht eine blossе theoretische Zwigigkeit, ein Krieg über den vollen und leeren Raum, wobey der irrende eben so rechtschaffen bleiben kan, und der rechthabende keinen näheren Weg zur Tugend erwählt. Es ist ein Krieg zwischen dem Guten und Bösen, zwischen dem Glücke der Welt und ihrem Elende.²⁹

To this radical definition of the boundaries of right and wrong Haller adds the question:

Und solte nicht ein jeder Christ in seinem eigenen Busen den Keim des Uebels auszurotten sich bestreben, und bey sich selbst anfangen, dem Unglauben das überzeugende Beyspiel eines wahren Christen entgegen zu stellen, gegen welches die Götzen des Heidenthums, und die Pralereyen der Weltweisen wie der Schatten der Nacht bey'm Anbruch der Morgenröthe, verschwunden sind.³⁰

If Haller is stating his own problem, we feel that he is sincere in his conviction concerning the only possible solution of that problem. He believes that any philosophy which in-

²⁸ *Kleine Schriften*, I, p. 10.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

terferes with his moral obligations must be wrong. Here we find a parallel between Haller's opposition to freethinkers and his opposition to his own personal doubts. He fears the practical consequences of scepticism for the individual as well as for society. We may, therefore, attach to his polemic writings against freethinkers a disciplinary significance. In a letter to Zimmermann, January 29, 1756, Haller makes the following statement:

Non, Monsieur, il ne faut pas laisser aller le monde comme il va. C'est par ses sentimens que toutes les republiques ont péri. L'honnête homme fait son devoir et agit selon les mouvemens de sa conscience.³¹

Haller's frequent reference to the writings of J. J. Rousseau³² indicate a marked interest in the ideas of his fellow countryman. Though Haller never fails to accord Rousseau due praise for his wit and forceful style, he has no sympathy with Rousseau's radical views. We have observed that Haller fears the consequences of freethinking. In addition, he is by nature a conservative. Though he preaches reform, he has no desire for revolution in order to accomplish the betterment of mankind. He does not wish to overthrow the established order of either church or state. Above all, he distrusts what he terms Rousseau's "angebörne Unbeständigkeit."³³ In announcing *Fabius und Cato* (Bern, 1774), Haller gives the following reason for writing his novel:

des J. J. Rousseau *Contrat social* zu beleuchten, der überall in den Republikanischen Regierungen viel Unruhen verursacht und namentlich an den Genfischen Unruhen einen grossen Antheil gehabt.³⁴

He is equally concerned about Rousseau's religious views, which he considers dangerous. He takes especial exception to Rousseau's inconsistency in calling himself a Christian and at the same time denying revelation.³⁵ In his *Briefe über die wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung* (Bern, 1772), Haller again assumes his definite stand against all doubters

³¹ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 43.

³² Cf. *Tagebuch*, I, pp. 111, 169, 223, 245, 247; II, p. 36.

³³ *Tagebuch*, II, p. 39.

³⁴ Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, I, p. cdxliv.

³⁵ *Tagebuch*, I, p. 224 ff.

of revealed religion. He wishes to be classed with those scientists who held to an orthodox faith:

Wo ein Hobbes zweifelte, da glaubte ein Newton, wo ein Ofrai spottete, da betete Boerhave an.³⁶

We have already observed in the quotations from this book, that Haller explains the resurrection of Christ, and the position of Christ as mediator, according to the teachings of the orthodox church and that he attempts to prove his convictions by means of rationalistic argument. An enthusiastic commentary on Haller's book by A. V. Störck³⁷ is evidence that Haller's stand against "Unglauben" was not without effect.

Ich kann nicht umhin, noch etwas von Hallers Briefen über die Offenbarung zu sagen, das eins meiner liebsten Bücher geworden ist, das mich in meinem Glauben befestiget, manchen Zweifel gehoben und in mancher bangen Stunde mich beruhiget und gestärkt hat. Wir haben wenige Verteidigungen unsers Glaubens die so kurz, so bündig und doch so wahr und kraftvoll geschrieben wären wie diese; man sieht gleich, dasz die Religion bey Haller nicht aus dem Kopfe, sondern aus dem Herzen floss. . . . Er wagte es nicht, die Bibel aus der Vernunft zu verbessern, sondern er zeigte die Vernunftmässigkeit ihrer Lehren mit aller der bescheidenen Demuth, die Menschen bey Untersuchungen über die Gottheit und deren Wege nie aus den Augen verlieren sollten. Das Zeugnis eines Laien wie Haller für die Wahrheit der christlichen Religion musz Jedem wichtig seyn.³⁸

In his letters to Gemmingen, Haller laments the increasing religious liberalism. He is distressed by Wieland's change of attitude and fears for the cause of religion in general. A letter of April 30, 1772, shows his concern:

Wir haben hier mit dem Prinzen von Darmstatt einen Herrn Leuchsenring, Wielands Anbeter. Aus dessen unbedachten Reden merken wir, dasz eine förmliche Verschwörung wieder die Religion in Deutschland gemacht ist. Man musz, sagte der Mann zu mir, indem er Wielands Leichtsinigkeiten entschuldigte, eine Generation aufopfern, auf dasz die folgende vernünftiger werden möge.³⁹

In a later letter, June 26, 1774, Haller anticipates his next book in the interest of religion.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁷ 1741-1803. Imperial physician in ordinary and president of the medical board, in Vienna.

³⁸ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 210 ff.

³⁹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Albrecht von Haller und Eberhard Friedrich von Gemmingen, 1747-1777*, herausgegeben von H. Fischer (Tübingen, 1899), p. 22.

Man treibt mich sehr, wiederum etwas deutsches, und wie man wünschte, der Religion zu dienen abzuwekendes zu schreiben. Ich bin aber kränklich, oft sehr unmunter, und ob ich wohl nicht glaube, dasz man um Ruhm schreiben soll, so ist doch der Tadel eben auch unangenehm, und hat seine bösen Folgen, durch die Wirkung die er bey minder kundigen oder nachdenkenden machen kann. Mich dünkt es wäre Zeit zu schweigen.⁴⁰

But in the face of Voltaire's vicious attacks against revealed religion against the authenticity of the Mosaic Pentateuch, and above all against an unkind God, Haller is not able to maintain silence. In the following year he publishes his *Briefe über einige noch lebenden Freygeister Einwürfe wider die Offenbarung* (1775-1777), which were especially directed against Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des Amateurs* and his *Mélanges historiques*. It is evident that Haller found little joy in his undertaking. On November 15, 1775, he writes:

Gegen Voltaire habe ich den zweiten Band eben zu Ende gebracht. Tausenmahl habe ich es bereut, dasz ich mich mit dem Manne eingelassen habe. Sein Trotz, seine Verdrehungen, seine abscheulichen Scheltwörter haben mir unendlichen Ueberdruß verursacht, ich weisz sogar nicht, ob ich mich entschliessen kann, einen dritten Band, wie ich wohl sollte, anzufangen, und eine Bitterkeit wider Gott und Jesum, die Juden nicht mitzurechnen, die mir unerträglich ist. Ich höre nun auch He. Göthe sey zu Weimar: alles läuft nach Witz und niemand nach Wahrheit.⁴¹

There is a profound pathos in Haller's stubborn fight against Voltaire. He feels himself obliged to defend the truths of religion against a man whom he regards as his superior in wit. For Haller recognized the unusual talents of his adversary. He considered Voltaire one of "God's favored creatures,"⁴² and his admiration for Voltaire's gifts augmented, in great measure, his concern about Voltaire's influence. Haller states in his preface that he fears the influence of Voltaire:

1. Upon the youth, who willingly embrace the doctrines of unbelief in order to be rid of hated discipline;

2. Upon the aristocrats, who do not bother to read the answers to Voltaire's questions;

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴¹ *Briefwechsel zwischen Haller u. Gemmingen*, p. 86.

⁴² *Briefe gegen Voltaire*, Vorrede zur zweiten Auflage, p. xiv ff.

3. Upon the women, who think that they may become wise by believing the new philosophy.⁴³

We find that Haller's letters against Voltaire contain a repetition of the arguments used in his letters concerning revelation. To these, he adds like arguments in support of a literal interpretation of the Scriptures and of a belief in the foreordination of all being by a divine will. Before Haller had finished his *Briefe*, Voltaire's *Bible enfin expliquée* (1776) had appeared. Haller tells us that Voltaire has surpassed himself in this work. He does not feel equal to answer this new and bitter challenge. He states that he would be daily shaken in his very soul, were he forced to consider the zeal with which Voltaire had attempted to overthrow the foundations of his faith. Haller is consoled by the thought that a new work is unnecessary, since the important questions have already been answered in his *Briefe*.⁴⁴

We find an interesting comment in a letter from Haller's daughter to Zimmermann concerning the end of Haller's quarrel with Voltaire:

Il s'est depouillé longtems avant sa mort de tout sentiment de mécontentement, d'inimitié envers qui de soit, Voltaire même, contre lequel il écrivoit; il ne haïssoit de lui que ses erreurs; quand on lui disoit: tel ou tel a été à Ferney, a vu Mr. de Voltaire, Voltaire se port bien, mon père disoit: tant mieux, Dieu veuille lui donner la vie pour reconnoître et reparer en partie, s'il le peut, tout le mal qu'il a fait au genre humain par ses écrits.⁴⁵

Despite his earnest efforts in the defense of religion, Haller's belief was again to be the subject of question. Zimmermann records the following circumstance:

Unmittelbar nach Haller's Tod erregte mit einer so schrecklichen, als grundfalschen Anekdote ein junger Edelmann aus Bern, durch einen nach Göttingen geschriebenen Brief, den ich gelesen habe das grösste Aufsehen in Deutschland. Haller, hiesz es in diesem Briefe, habe in seinen letzten Lebenstagen allen um ihn her versammelten Theologen rund heraus gestanden: er glaube nichts, und es sey ihm unmöglich etwas zu glauben, so gern er es thäte! ⁴⁶

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. xiii ff.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xi ff.

⁴⁵ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 153.

⁴⁶ *Ueber die Einsamkeit*, II (Leipzig, 1784), p. 218 ff.

According to Zimmermann Haller's recantation was the result of religious melancholia and an abnormal fear of final judgment. He states that Haller became hyperorthodox.

Bei Haller hätte in musziger Einsamkeit die religiöse Melancholie vom Morgen bis in die Nacht gewüthet. Er verdrängte sie durch Opium und Arbeit. Aber sie kam mit der schrecklichsten Gewalt in verschiedenen Jahren täglich wieder, so oft er in Gesellschaft seiner Pastoren von seiner Melancholie sprach; auch so oft er allein war, und nicht arbeitete.⁴⁷

Johann Georg Heinzmann, the editor of Haller's *Tagebuch seiner Beobachtungen über Schriftsteller und über sich selbst* (1789), takes decided exception to Zimmermann's statement concerning the hyperorthodoxy of Haller's declining years. He believes that Haller was a man of deep religious faith from early youth to old age and that his interest in the salvation of his soul showed itself throughout his lifetime not merely during the final period when he was obliged to take opium in order to allay the pain of a fatal disease.⁴⁸

In an effort to dispel all doubts concerning the tenets of Haller's theology, Heinzmann publishes a diary in which Haller has set down his religious emotions. This diary appears under the title *Fragmente Religiöser Empfindungen*. We regret with Hirzel⁴⁹ that the original manuscript is missing, since Heinzmann has published the diary in fragmentary form. Heinzmann states in a prefatory note, that the dates of the manuscript extend from 1734 to the year of Haller's death, 1777, and that the excerpts from the diary are representative of the author's mood at different times, in different environments, during periods of sickness and of health. He assures us that nothing which is characteristic of the author's religious emotions has been suppressed.⁵⁰

Haller's diary is a most interesting document. In it, we find the writer revealing emotions which appear to stand in striking contradiction to the expressions of his philosophical and scientific thought. We are granted an intimate revelation of the personality of a man, the universality of whose

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91 ff.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

⁴⁹ *Gedichte*, I, p. CLXVIII, N. I. The spelling *Religiöser* with *o* instead of *ö*, in the Heinzmann publication, is that of the printed title.

⁵⁰ *Tagebuch*, Vorrede, p. xv ff.

genius marks him as one of the great figures of his age. The diary likewise sketches for us a vague picture of the many cross currents which agitated the century in which Haller lived. For Haller's struggle seems to epitomize the terrific spiritual conflict of his age between life and a religion inherited from the theology of a preceding century.⁵¹

In the reaction against this seventeenth century theology we find deism contending against orthodox revelation; we find the scientific minds of the Illumination insisting upon reasonable thoughts about God and at the same time banishing all the romantic mysticism of the middle ages; we find the investigations of natural science changing the ideas concerning the relation of God to man, and of nature to man, resulting in a belief in naturalistic religion; and withal we find the demands of religious feeling asserting themselves after long suppression in a pietistic movement which was destined ultimately to soften the rigid lines of early Protestantism into a more modern mould.⁵²

Haller's diary lays bare a soul which is the battleground of many contending forces. Beginning by asking God's blessing upon his undertaking, he sets down an humble confession of his human shortcomings, his doubts and his lack of feeling. In justice to the spirit of the whole, one can not place too much emphasis upon any single quotation, because one must bear in mind that, in writing the diary, Haller reveals thoughts which he believes are never hidden from the all-seeing eye of God. The searching honesty of Haller's "Sündenregister" may even be attributed to a belief that a confession of sin is the first requisite for obtaining salvation by means of Grace.

The conflicts that stand out with most vividness in Haller's diary seem traceable to that dualism in his thinking of which

⁵¹ Cf. Hirzel, *Gedichte*, I, p. CLXVIII.

⁵² Cf. Cay v. Brockdorff, *Die deutsche Aufklärungsphilosophie* (München, 1926), p. 9 ff.; E. Blösch, *Geschichte der schweizerisch-reformierten Kirchen* (Bern, 1899), II, p. 32; A. B. Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus* (Bern, 1880), I, 511 ff.; Friedrich August Gottreu Tholuck, *Vorgeschichte des Rationalismus* (Berlin, 1861), I, p. 14; Haller's *Tagebuch*, I, p. 18 ff., p. 78 ff.; Ernst Troeltsch, *Protestantism and Progress* (tr. W. Montgomery, London and New York, 1912), p. 169. Secondary reference, Paul Wernle, *Der Schweizerische Protestantismus im XVIII Jahrhundert* (Tübingen, 1923-1925), I-III.

he was apparently unconscious. The abstract God of Haller's deep religious conviction, which he attempts to prove by scientific argument and by the observation of natural phenomena, satisfies neither his "Wirklichkeitssinn" nor his emotional heart. The following quotation is evidence that Haller is unable to see or to feel the perfect God of his abstract reasoning:

12 Okt. (1777)—Die Vernunft, die Offenbarung—alles hat mich an Gott gewiesen.—Aber das Herz—ich zittre es zu sagen! Mein Herz ist von Gott entfernt! . . . Ich glaube Herr, hilf meinem schwachen Glauben! Gieb doch deinem Worte die Krafft, dasz ich recht erkenne, dich aller Orten, auch hier um mich herum, auch in meinen Leiden als meinen gütigen Gott erkenne, und immer und einzig nur bey dir Hilfe und Trost suche. O Vater, hilf mir beten, erhörlich beten, mit Glauben beten.⁵³

In the next quotation we observe that the man, who two years before wrote *Briefe über die wichtigsten Wahrheiten der Offenbarung* in an earnest effort to convert the naturalistic philosophers, and who views Christ as mediator between a perfect God and sinful humanity, finds no joy in the celebration of the Easter festival:

11 April (1773)—Heute is [*sic*] das Osterfest, der Tag, an welchem der Heiland seinem prophetischen Amte das Siegel aufgedrückt hat, wo jeder, der von seinem Tode etwas hofft, voll Dankbarkeit gegen seine Rettung seyn sollte. Aber wie kalt bin ich gegen diese grosze Nachricht! Es ist doch nicht recht begreiflich, wie ein Mensch zugleich glauben, zugleich eine Offenbarung erkennen und sich von der Wahrheit überzeugen, und noch so kalt bleiben könne! Meine Unwürdigkeit hält mir die Vernunft selbst vor, und überzeugt mich, dasz ich nicht in dem Stande bin, worinn ich vor Gott erscheinen könne!⁵⁴

In the same year in which the first volume of Haller's *Briefe über einige noch lebenden Freygeister Einwürfe wider die Offenbarung* appeared we observe the following statement in his diary:

29 Okt. (1775). Thöricht habe ich mir das Gedächtnisz mit den Schwierigkeiten angefüllt, die die Freygeister gegen die Religion zusammenhäufen. Aber gieb o Vater, dasz die Vertheidigung des Glaubens womit ich mich beschäftige, ihre Kraft und Wahrheit an mir selber äussere; dasz ich nicht verwerflich werde, indem ich es unternehme andere stärken zu wollen!⁵⁵

We observe that the ideas propounded by the naturalistic

⁵³ Haller's *Tagebuch*, II, p. 316.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

philosophers stimulate his intellectual interest, however much he may struggle against the dissemination of these ideas. The following quotation indicates that it was necessary for him to fortify himself against a philosophy which he considers harmful. He summons all his theological concepts to aid him in his conflict with "*Unglaube*."

27 März (1746). Obwohl der Unglaube mich bestürmet, so weisz ich doch, dasz es wirklich eine Ewigkeit, einen Gott, und einen Widersacher des Guten giebt. Ich bin davon überzeugt, nicht aus der Vernunft allein, noch aus der Offenbarung, sondern auch aus der Empfindung des wider alles Gute wütenden Bösen.⁵⁶

The ensuing quotations evidence yet another dualism in Haller's singularly problematic nature. He struggles against a fear that the scientific work which was the absorbing interest of his life might be a barrier to his religious thought. It is evident that he regards religion as a separate classification.

25 Jul. (1741). Ich lese in der Bibel, durchgehe die Geschichte des leidenden Erlösers, und denke zugleich an meine Pflanzen, oder an andre Possen. Kömmt ein weltlich Blatt, das mich von den Betrachtungen abrufft, so lege ich das Wort Gottes hin und lese so viel, dasz mir von dem Samen unmöglich ein Körnlein übrig bleiben kann. Ists dann Wunder, dasz ich am gleichen Orte stehen bleibe, und nicht den geringsten Wachsthum des Guten fühle.⁵⁷

The following statement in a letter to Zimmermann gives us a hint that the man who sought so earnestly to find happiness in religion, was able to find his only genuine tranquillity in work.

Je m'amuse à ma Bibliotheque de medicine, je trouve dans moi meme une tranquillité qui vaut bien le bonheur que l'on recherche avec tant de peine.⁵⁸

We have already observed Haller's attitude toward eternity. One of his most unhappy spiritual conflicts seems traceable to his repeated efforts to abstract his mind from present temporal interests in order to prepare himself more adequately for his future existence in eternity.

27 März (1746). . . . Da ich also eine Ewigkeit und alles andere glaube, was die Offenbarung bekannt macht, warum bin

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁵⁸ Undated, except for a note by Zimmermann: Reçue le 29 Aout 1769. Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 82.

ich denn so sorglos, so eitel, warum setze ich mein grösstes Wohlgefallen in die Welt, in meine Thorheit, in meine Studien, in meinen Eigenwillen und andere geringfügige Dinge.⁵⁹

11 Okt. (1772). Meine Gesundheit hat gelitten. Aber Gott soll ich danken, dass sie gelitten hat: das ist das kürzeste Mittel die auffallenden Begierden zu dämpfen, die Uebermacht des Gegenwärtigen zu bezwingen, und die Wünsche des an die Erde gebundenen Herzens der Ewigkeit zu nähern.⁶⁰

That Haller's theological convictions, his rational concepts of God and of eternity did not satisfy the emotional needs of an earnest and sensitive nature is evidenced by innumerable confessions of unhappiness in his diary. The man who preached so conscientiously the personalization of religion according to Protestant doctrines in his *Offenbarungsbriefe* is tortured by his own lack of feeling:

Man muss die Beweise der Religion selbst einsehen, selbst fühlen, selbst mit allen den Kräften des Verstandes und des Herzens bejahen wenn sie unsern Leiden widerstehen sollen.⁶¹

33 Okt. (1740). Ich weisz gar nicht wie ich werde; so kalt, so unempfindlich, so entfernt von aller Lust an geistlichen Sachen; dass ich über mich selbst erschrecke.⁶²

2 Nov. (1776). Hilf o Vater! dass dein Wort das ich lese, auf mein dürres empfindungsloses Gemüthe, einen tiefen Eindruck mache, dass ich glaube!⁶³

The following words written in the year of Haller's death, constitute one of the rare evidences of genuine religious exaltation to be found in his diary. Feeling has broken through the confines of reason.

9 Nov. (1777). Meine Seele ist aufgeheitert. Wie entzückend sind diese Strahlen von dem himmlischen Lichte, wie erquickend ist die Hoffnung, die in diesem Augenblick mein ganzes Wesen belebt. . . . O mein Gott, lass mich doch nicht wieder in die vorige Finsternisz zurücksinken, sie ist allzuschrecklich; lass den glimmenden Tacht von Hoffnung nicht wieder auslöschen.⁶⁴

This mood of religious exaltation was not sustained. The shadows assert themselves again. The last diary entry, written a week before Haller's death, shows him adhering to his orthodox theological conceptions. In his great fear of

⁵⁹ Haller, *Tagebuch*, II, p. 263.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁶¹ *Offenbarungsbriefe*, p. 4.

⁶² *Tagebuch*, II, p. 244 ff.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

death, he clings to his idea of a mediator, who will stand between him and an avenging God.⁶⁵

Haller's struggle to make his religion a matter of intenser feeling, his desire to experience divine grace by actual physical sensation lead us to inquire in how far he may have been affected by influences resulting from the pietistic movement of his day.

There is evidence that Haller had a great admiration for his fellow countryman Beat Ludwig von Muralt, author of the famous *Lettres sur les Anglais et les Français* (1725), who was banished from his native city, because his belief in the pietistic teachings had caused him to sever his connections with the state church.⁶⁶ To what degree Haller may have sympathized with Muralt's religious views is not known. It is quite certain, however, that he was greatly influenced by Muralt's views concerning the need of social rejuvenation.⁶⁷

The influence which was exerted upon Haller by his boyhood tutor A. Baillod might likewise be a matter of question. Zimmermann states:

. . . des Knaben Albrechts erster Lehrer war ein alter waadländischer Pfarrer namens Abraham Baillodz, der wegen Verweigerung des Abendmahls von seiner Pfarrstelle gekommen war.

He likewise calls him "einen vortrefflichen Lehrmeister."⁶⁸ Later we are told that Haller's first poem, written in his tenth year, was a satire against "seinen allzustrengen Lehrmeister."⁶⁹ Blösch gives the following information:

. . . der gewesene Pfarrer Baillod aus dem Waadtlande der als Hauslehrer den Knaben unterrichten sollte, flosste durch finsternes Wesen nur Furcht und Abneigung ein.⁷⁰

Hirzel seems to agree with the opinions stated above. He states that the letters from Baillod which are still extant show him to be

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 318 ff.

⁶⁶ Hirzel, *Gedichte*, I, p. LXI ff.

⁶⁷ Cf. Otto V. Greyerz, *Albrecht Haller als Dichter* (Bern, 1908), p. 46 ff.

⁶⁸ *Das Leben des Herrn von Haller*, p. 7.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁷⁰ A. v. Haller *Denkschrift* (Bern, 1877), p. 4.

einen für seinen Zögling besorgten Mann, aber einen religios beschränkten eiteln Pedanten.⁷¹

Haller makes the following statement concerning his teacher:

Ich kam selbigen Tag nicht weiter als Burgdorff, wo eben Mr. Baillodz sich aufhielte, bey deme den Grund meiner Wissenschaften belegt und manchen übeln Tag zugebracht hatte.⁷²

Paul Wernle asks for a revision of these judgments concerning Baillod. He believes that the influence of this man of pietistic faith was both healthful and good and that he taught his pupil

die Herzensreinheit, das strenge Gefühl der Verantwortung, die demütige Ergebung in Gott.⁷³

The organization of the Moravian Church, in 1727, by Count von Zinzendorff, godson of Philip Jacob Spener, and the establishment of Protestant missions were the notable achievements of the pietistic movement in the eighteenth century. The influence of the Moravian Brethren, or "Herrenhuter" as they were called from the name of the city which had become their stronghold, was felt to a marked degree in Zürich, where congregations were established in 1748.⁷⁴ It is more difficult to estimate the extent of their influence in Bern. No congregations were established there, but many so-called societies. Those interested remained in their own churches, showing the effect of pietistic influence by a greater religious fervor and devotion. Members of some of the most aristocratic families in Bern were interested in the teachings of the Moravians. Count Zinzendorff was a guest in the home of Friedrich von Wattenwyl in 1740, 1751 and 1757. Although there was great objection made by the orthodox church to Moravian teachings in 1744, by 1774 we find that the practical goal of the "Herrenhuter" had been recognized and the "Obrigkeit und Geistlichkeit" of Bern were giving them all the desired help.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Gedichte*, I, p. v.

⁷² *Reisetagebuch*, p. 5.

⁷³ *Der Schweizerische Protestantismus im 18. Jahrhundert*, I, p. 175 ff.

⁷⁴ Ritschl, *Geschichte des Pietismus*, I, p. 517.

⁷⁵ Cf. E. Blösch, *Geschichte der Schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche*, II, p. 105.

The revelation of Haller's diary, as well as the fact that Haller was led by a spirit of investigation to examine all religious views of his time, lead us to the conclusion that he could not have been unaffected by the ameliorating influence of the Moravians. We hold this view in the face of Zimmermann's statement that Haller was an ultra orthodox Calvinist, who earnestly resisted any change in church dogma.⁷⁶ Haller's desire to feel his religious convictions more deeply, to love God more, his longing for a change of heart, with subsequent holiness of life, might easily be attributed to pietistic teachings, which placed more stress upon a love of God than upon a belief in church dogma.

In later years Haller showed a vital interest in the Herrenhut missions, concerning which he wrote informative essays.⁷⁷

In summing up Haller's religious views we observe no gradual development of thought leading to a settled philosophy of faith. His ideas were in continual ferment, owing to a curious mixture of several conflicting tendencies: orthodoxy, rationalism, scepticism and pietism. The tragedy of Haller's religious struggle is his inability to hold to an unfaltering faith in the tenets of the theological belief which he openly accepts. The deistic tendencies of his poems, the references to "Unglauben" and to lack of religious feeling in his diary, the rumors concerning his uncertainties, current at the time of the appearance of the poems and immediately after his death, all lead us to the conclusion that his religious faith was subject to doubts.

In striking contrast to this scepticism, the diary likewise reveals the writer's pietistic tendencies. Haller's essays concerning the "Herrenhut" missions are further manifestation of his interest in this faith. There seems to be convincing evidence that the influence of pietism upon Haller's religious thought is stronger than has been generally assumed.

⁷⁶ Bodemann, *Von und Ueber Haller*, p. 217.

⁷⁷ Cf. Blösch, *Geschichte der Schweizerisch-reformierten Kirche*, II, p. 128. Cf. Haller *Kleine Schriften*, III, p. 241 ff.

CONCLUSION

An investigation of the various expressions of Haller's attitude toward religion and science leads to the conclusion that the dualism of his abstract and concrete thought makes for inconsistencies in both fields. Haller's attitude toward science is ultimately dependent upon his religious convictions. He regards all natural phenomena as the result of the intelligence and purpose of a divine will. His religious ideas are strongly affected by his desire for scientific proof. His abstract conceptions of God, of eternity, and of prearranged harmony do not seem to satisfy his "Wirklichkeitssinn." He was always an earnest and devout seeker after truth. His critical, analytical mind was constantly investigating. The man who believed in applying mathematical proof to all investigations of natural phenomena and who insisted upon frequent experiment as the only means of ascertaining truth, the man who insisted that an hypothesis should never be confused with actual truth, could hardly have been content with meagre rationalistic arguments in proof of his religious hypotheses. The conflict between Haller's religious convictions and his desire for concrete proof led to tremendous mental unrest which exhibited itself finally in his religious melancholia.

Haller's diary of his religious emotions is ample evidence that his abstract conceptions did not satisfy his emotional nature. Apparently there was a constant conflict within him between what he wanted to believe and what he was actually able to believe. The orthodox dogma of seventeenth-century theology did not meet the practical needs of his mind or of his heart.

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SIGNS, OMENS, AND PORTENTS IN NEBRASKA
FOLKLORE

BY
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PREFACE

For the material in the following study the writer is indebted to many informants, but especially to Dr. Louise Pound from whose collection of Nebraska folklore many of the beliefs were obtained. Much of the material was gathered by students in Miss Pound's classes at the University of Nebraska, particularly those in American literature, and the interest and generosity of these contributors is gratefully acknowledged.

The signs have been given *verbatim et literatim* as far as possible. They are recorded as originally reported unless slight changes seemed necessary for the sake of clearness.

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INTRODUCTION

The signs, omens, and portents in the following collection have been reported by inhabitants of Nebraska and most of them are beliefs or sayings commonly known in the central western region. Although the list must be far from complete, it is probably representative of the bulk of current superstitions of Nebraskans. Informants have been persons from practically every part of the state, so that the beliefs presented are not limited to any particular region. No attempt has been made to indicate from what community the different signs were reported, since a sign which may be common in the Sand Hills may be equally well known in the southeastern corner of the state. Since mountain barriers do not separate the inhabitants of Nebraska into distinctive groups, and travel and communication are not difficult, lore of any kind cannot remain long isolated in the present day.

In the introductory paragraphs prefixed to the various sections some distinction has been made in the use of the terms *omen*, *portent*, and *sign*, and a definition of the meanings given them may be necessary in order to explain the inclusion of certain of the beliefs listed. The words *omen* and *portent* have been used in their common English meanings, an omen being an indication of some future event, while a portent is an omen of ill, a warning of the approach of evil or calamity. The word *sign* has been used according to the broader definition of Professor N. N. Puckett in his *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*¹ and thus includes various small magical practices and taboos.

The terms "prophetic sign" and "positive and negative control signs" have also been borrowed from Professor Puckett's terminology. The "prophetic signs" are causal relationships in which the human individual has no free play.² Beliefs of this variety are particularly common in weather lore and are represented by such signs as, "If the sun is red when it rises you may expect rain," and "Sun-dogs are a sign of a storm." The signs are merely observed, man has done nothing to

¹ Page 811.

² *Ibid.*, p. 818.

cause them and can do nothing to bring about or to avert the events they predict. He is a victim and must submit.

"Control signs," on the other hand, come within the power of man.³ Those of the positive type indicate pleasant or at least not unwelcome results of actions within human control, such as, "If you kill a spider it will rain," or "Plant leafy vegetables in the light of the moon to insure a good crop." Other positive control signs are divinations in which a rite is performed for the express purpose of discovering mysteries past, present, or future. Under this classification falls such a sign as, "Light a match. The direction in which the tip bends shows the direction in which your true love lives."

The "negative control signs" indicate the unpleasant results which certain actions bring about. They may be regarded as warnings not to do certain things and constitute a set of taboos.⁴ "If you pass some one on the stairs you will have bad luck," is another way of saying, "Do not pass any one on the stairs." The bad luck attendant upon signs of this nature may be averted simply by refraining from certain actions.

The task of classifying the signs and finding for them an orderly arrangement offered the difficulties to be expected in attempting to find logic in something which is essentially illogical. There is a constant overlapping of superstitions and superstitious sayings. Those which have been placed in one section might, when viewed from another standpoint, be placed quite as consistently in another. The classification is at best an inadequate effort to show some order and relationship in the beliefs, and must be admitted to be somewhat arbitrary.

There has been no consistent or thorough effort to trace the origin of the superstitions. Such a study would be endless and beyond the purpose of this collection. Only occasionally have comments been made as to the possible ancestry of certain of the signs, and these have been offered with the idea of suggesting the complexity of our heritage of folk beliefs rather than with any notion of proving definite origins

³ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

or developments. It is of interest to remember that our signs and omens have come to us from probably every part of the world and are of inconceivable age, but it is not possible to analyze individual superstitions.

Nor has the attempt been made to discover exactly how much belief is placed in the lore preserved in Nebraska. Some of the signs are repeated with a seriousness which suggests a lingering trace of credulity, while others are commonly regarded with scorn or quoted with facetious intent. The fact that more than six hundred signs, omens, and portents have been preserved for us might at first suggest that superstitions are still fairly common. When we compare our collection with the thousands of signs which have been gathered in other parts of the country, however, we may be justified in concluding that folk beliefs are less current in Nebraska than in certain regions of the South and East.

I

WEATHER SIGNS

Weather signs bulk large in the folklore which has survived in Nebraska. Their number indicates the importance of rain and wind, heat and cold, to an agricultural state and suggests something of the anxiety with which the farmer watches the changes of the weather. By far the greater number of the signs listed here pertain to rain, a fact which may have some significance. In a region where drought is constantly menacing, the clouds, the moon, and even domestic animals are closely watched with the hope of finding in their appearance or behavior some promise of the desired moisture. Undoubtedly many of the signs are of European origin, but others are generalizations based on observation and experience. They represent an effort to find reliability and order in the behavior of winds and clouds.

As to the powers of domestic and wild animals to forecast the weather, there is disagreement even among naturalists. Many authorities deny to animals the prophetic powers with which they are so often credited. They assert that while some of the sayings referring to birds and animals hold good, quite as many do not. Other students of the problem maintain that there are few animals which do not afford timely and sure prognostications of changes in the weather. Whichever view may be correct, it is quite evident that animal signs have been regarded with some seriousness since so many of them have survived.

It is interesting to note that the greater number of weather signs are of the prophetic type. There are very few signs in this group which admit human control. Man has learned to submit to the caprices of the weather.

In view of the former importance of magical practices relating to weather and in particular those pertaining to the control of the rain,¹ it is somewhat surprising that such slight traces of them remain in the central western region. Only two of the signs (No. 5 and No. 23) in the following list

¹ Frazer, Sir J. G., *The Golden Bough*, pp. 60-83.

have a hint of the rainmaker's magic. The latter, with its use of the snake, suggests an interesting connection with a North Australian practice of killing a snake and singing over its body to bring about rain.²

1. If the rooster crows when he goes to bed,
He will get up with a wet head.
2. If the rooster crows in the night, it is a sign of falling weather.
3. Red sky in the morning,
Sailors take warning.
Red sky at night,
Sailors' delight.
4. Rainbow in the east,
Sign of a farmer's feast.
Rainbow in the west,
Sign of a farmer's rest.
5. At the beginning of the year, take a Bermuda onion, cut it into twelve equal parts, and sprinkle them with salt. The water drops which appear on the parts foretell the distribution of the rainfall throughout the months of the year.
6. When the rain crow calls, it is a sign of rain.
7. If it rains on Easter Sunday, it will rain on seven Sundays after.
8. If the sun is red when it rises, you may expect rain.
9. If your hair curls, expect rain.
10. To kill a spider is a sign of rain.
11. If the moon is tipped over, it is a dry moon; if straight, a wet moon.
12. If the new moon has one of its horns tipped toward the earth, the weather will be rainy until the moon changes again.
13. If an Indian can hang his tomahawk on the new moon, it will rain during the month.
14. Mackerel scales and mares' tails
Make lofty ships carry low sails.
15. Mackerel sky, mackerel sky,
Never leaves the ground dry.
16. Mackerel sky, mackerel sky,
Never long wet, never long dry.
17. If the sun shines when it rains, it will rain tomorrow.
18. Rain before seven,
Dry before eleven.
19. If it rains before ten o'clock, it will rain every day for a week.
20. Mare-tail clouds signify rain within three days.
21. If you can hang a powder horn on the new moon, it will be a dry moon; if not, it will be a wet one.
22. If the wind blows from the east for three days, it is a sign of rain.
23. When a snake is killed and hung up, it will rain. The higher the snake is hung, the harder it will rain.
24. When the Indians move their homes from a low place to the hills, it is a sign of thirty days of rain.

² Frazer, Sir J. G., *op. cit.*, p. 72.

25. The croaking of frogs is a sign of rain.
26. The rainbow is a sign the rain is over.
27. If the water pitcher sweats, it is a sign of rain.
28. If chickens seek shelter during a rain, the rain will be only a shower.
29. If chickens do not seek shelter during a rain, it will rain all day, or at least for some hours.
30. Domestic fowls oiling their feathers foretell rain.
31. If guineas cry in the afternoon, there will be rain.
32. Large drops of rain indicate that it will not rain long.
33. Evening red and morning gray
Helps the traveller on his way.
Evening gray and morning red
Brings down rain upon his head.
34. If red the sun begins his race,
Expect that rain will flow apace.
35. If the first of July it be rainy weather,
'Twill rain more or less for four weeks together.
36. If the rain makes large bubbles on the ground, it is a sign the rain will be long and heavy.
37. If the leaves on a maple tree turn in the wind so that the white side can be seen, it is a sign of rain.
38. When the flies sting, expect a rain.
39. If flies try to get in, it is a sign of rain.
40. If a cat eats grass, it is a sign of rain.
41. If rain crows gather together in great flocks, it is a sign of rain.
42. If the smoke comes down, it is going to rain.
43. If a dog lies on its back, it is a sign of rain.
44. A dog sitting with crossed fore-paws indicates rain.
45. A cat washing its face is a sign of good weather.
46. If the sun sets clear, the next day will be fair.
47. If everything cooked for one meal is eaten, the next day will be fair.
48. If there is enough blue in the sky to make a pair of Dutchman's breeches, it is going to clear up.
49. If the smoke goes straight up, it is a sign of clear weather.
50. If barnyard stock romp and play, it is a sign of a change in the weather, usually of a storm.
51. If the smoke falls to the ground, it is a sign of a storm.
52. A ring around the moon is the sign of a storm.
53. If there is a ring around the moon, it will storm within three days.
54. If there is a circle around the moon, the number of stars within the circle indicates the number of days before the storm.
55. If the swallows fly close to one, it will storm.
56. If pigs gather straw, it is a sign of a storm.
57. When the wind is in the east,
It's good for neither man nor beast.
58. When the cat runs about the house and plays, storms may be expected.
59. If your feet hurt, expect a change in the weather.
60. Rheumatic pains indicate a change in the weather.

61. A cat sleeping on its head is a sign of a storm.
62. Sun dogs are a sign of a storm.
63. If the tips of the ears of corn stick out of the husks, the winter will be light.
64. Ducks and geese flying north indicate warm weather; flying south, cold weather.
65. Many berries on kinnikinic portend a hard winter; few berries indicate a mild winter.
66. When the moon runs high up north, colder weather may be expected during the season than is usual.
67. If the new moon is first seen toward the south, the weather will be warmer; if it is first seen toward the north, colder weather is coming.
68. Many husks on corn are a sign of a cold winter.
69. If a cat sits with its back to the fire, cold weather may be expected.
70. When muskrats build extra large houses, there will be a hard winter.
71. When the ducks go south early, there will be a hard winter.
72. A January fog will freeze a dog. (The meaning is that colder weather may be expected to follow.)
73. If the moon is dish-shaped so that it will hold snow, it portends a hard winter.
74. If the moon is tipped so that it makes a shed, it indicates a mild winter.
75. Heavy coats of fur on animals portend a cold winter; light coats indicate a warm winter.
76. If February 2 is a bright day so that the groundhog can see his shadow, there will be six more weeks of cold weather.
77. If March comes in like a lion, it will go out like a lamb; if it comes in like a lamb, it will go out like a lion.
78. The weather of the first three days of December indicates the weather for the three months of winter.
79. If Christmas is white, Easter will be green; if Christmas is green, Easter will be white.
80. When there is an early Easter, there will be an early spring; when Easter is late, the spring will be late.
81. If flakes of snow are large, it is a sign that people in Scotland are picking geese.
82. Large flakes of snow mean that it is going to stop snowing.
83. Winter thunder bodes summer's hunger.
84. Thunder at night,
 Sailors' delight.
 Thunder at morning,
 Sailors take warning.
85. A green cloud is a sign of hail.
86. Frost may be expected six weeks from the time the goldenrod first blooms.
87. Frost may be expected six weeks from the time the locust first sings.
88. Expect frost six weeks from the time the cricket first sings.
89. Frost will come six weeks from the time the katydid first sings.

II

MARRIAGE AND COURTSHIP SIGNS

The survival of so large a number of marriage signs gives some hint of the vast number of superstitious practices which have clustered about the ceremony from remotest antiquity. Remnants of the oldest beliefs come to us but slightly disguised in the lore of marriage and courtship. It is quite obvious that but few of the signs are of the prophetic type. Most of them are definitely under human control, and a large proportion are of the nature of divinations.

Many of the rites performed in the effort to learn the identity of a future mate are carried out at any time, while a few, such as the throwing of the bride's bouquet, are directly connected with the wedding ceremony. The antiquity of such practices is suggested by the fact that a picture found in Herculaneum shows a sorceress at a wedding in the act of casting five stones, supposedly for the purpose of divining. Many of the charms and spells seem originally to have been used only at Hallowe'en, but curious or impatient lovers have become less meticulous in their observances and the ceremonies may be performed with effectiveness whenever information is desired.

Love divinations, known as "projects" in New England and as "trying tricks" in Canadian provinces,¹ are commonly called "telling fortunes" in Nebraska, and are practiced with varying degrees of seriousness, especially by young girls. The fact that most of the charms will reveal, not a future "mate," but a future "husband" or "the man you will marry," indicates quite clearly by whom the practices have been kept alive.

Perhaps we may not be justified in drawing from this fact any conclusions as to the relative credulity of love-lorn men and maids, nor may we be certain that feminine curiosity and care for the future are responsible for the existence of the greater number of signs by which a woman may learn her fate. Without attempting any interpretation, however, we must observe that so long as daisy petals may be plucked,

¹ Bergen, Fanny D., *Current Superstitions*, p. 38. 1896.

rails walked, and white horses counted, no maiden need wonder long about her future. With but little activity on her part everything conspires to reveal what is in store for her. She is directed at every turn. It is the destined man who is at a loss unless, independent of the aid of spells and charms, he is content to learn his fate by more direct if less subtle means.

1. If some one meets you and tells you that he did not know you, it is a sign that you are going to be married.
2. To fall or stumble going up stairs is a sign you will not be married for seven years.
3. If you sit on the table,
You'll be married before you're able.
4. If you sit on a table you will never be married.
5. If your initials form a word you will marry well.
6. If the lines in your hand form a letter *M* you will make a happy marriage.
7. It is good luck to be married on a bright sunny day.
8. A woman that loves a cat will be an old maid.
9. Rain on the wedding day indicates future tears for the bride, the number of tears being in proportion to the number of drops of rain.
10. The number of creases on the wrist shows the number of times one will be married.
11. If you receive two pieces of any kind of silverware, it is a sign you will be married.
12. If four people accidentally cross their hands when shaking hands, one of the four will soon be married.
13. Dishwater splashed on the apron indicates that one's future husband will be a drunkard.
14. If your shoe-string comes untied, your sweetheart is thinking of you.
15. If the bottom of a woman's skirt is turned up, and a kiss be placed on it, she will marry a widower.
16. If a hairpin is put inside a girl's shoe, the first man she speaks to is the man she will marry.
17. Walk ten rails on a railroad track and the next man you meet wearing a red necktie you will marry.
18. If you walk seven rails on a railroad track without falling off, the first man you meet you will marry.
19. Count nine stars for nine nights and the first man you shake hands with you will marry.
20. If a girl takes the last piece of bread or cake from the plate, her marriage will be postponed seven years.
21. Hang a wishbone over the door. The first man that comes in the door you will marry.
22. Happy is the bride that the sun shines on.
Sorry is the bride that the rain rains on.
23. Happy is the bride that the sun shines on.
Happy is the dead that the rain rains on.

24. If a girl sits on a chair while some one sweeps under it, she will be an old maid.
25. Change your name and not the letter,
Change for the worse and not for the better.
26. Where the cob-webs grow
The beaux will never go.
27. A bride should wear,
Something old, something new,
Something borrowed, something blue,
And a penny in her shoe.
28. The day of the week on which a marriage takes place indicates the future of the married pair according to the following rhyme:
Monday for health,
Tuesday for wealth,
Wednesday the best day of all.
Thursday for losses,
Friday for crosses,
Saturday no day at all.
29. If you see the moon over your right shoulder, it is a sign you will see your sweetheart.
30. When a birthday cake is brought in it is placed before the girl having the birthday. She is to blow out the candles. If she blows all of them out, she will be married within the year. If not, the number of candles left burning indicates the number of years it will be before she is married.
31. When a newly married pair are leaving, if an old shoe is thrown after them, it will bring good luck.
32. A white satin slipper tied to the luggage of a newly married couple will bring good luck.
33. Rice thrown after a newly married couple increases the probability of their having children.
34. The girl who catches a bridal bouquet thrown by the bride will be the first girl to be married.
35. If you put a four-leaved clover in your shoe, you will marry the first man you meet.
36. If a man catches a girl under the mistletoe, he has a right to kiss her.
37. If a girl puts on a man's hat, it is a sign the owner of the hat may kiss her.
38. Marry in May,
The bairns will die and decay.
39. The color of the wedding dress indicates the future of the bride according to the following rhyme:
Married in gray, you'll go far away,
Married in black, you'll wish yourself back,
Married in brown, you'll live out of town,
Married in red, you'll wish yourself dead,
Married in green, ashamed to be seen,
Married in white, you'll always fight.
40. If a girl takes the last piece of cake or bread from a plate she will be an old maid.
41. If a girl takes the last piece of bread or cake from a plate she will get a million dollar man.

42. It is bad luck for a bride to cry at her wedding.
43. For good luck a bridegroom should carry his bride across the threshold.
44. It is bad luck to postpone your wedding date.
45. It is bad luck to take off your wedding ring.
46. It is bad luck to start the wedding ceremony late.
47. If you wish to get married, tie a string around the wedding finger and you'll soon have a husband.
48. If you are three times a bridesmaid, you will never be a bride.
49. Name the four posts of the bed the first time you sleep in it, and the one you look at first when you awake indicates the name of your future mate.
50. The first time you sleep in a new bed, name the corners of the room, and the first one you see in the morning will indicate the name of your future husband.
51. When you spend your first night in a house, name the four corners of your pillow. The corner that you look on first in the morning indicates the person you will marry.
52. Count and stamp ninety-nine white horses, then find a white mule making a total of one hundred animals. The first man with whom you shake hands will prove to be your future husband.
53. Count and stamp ninety-nine white horses and one white mule. The first man you meet will be your future husband.
54. On Hallowe'en throw an apple or potato peeling over your head, and whatever letter it seems to resemble when it falls will be the initial of your future mate.
55. On Hallowe'en throw an apple or potato peeling over your right shoulder, and whatever letter it seems to resemble when it falls will be the initial of your future mate.
56. A ring, thimble, and penny should be put in a birthday cake. The guest receiving the piece containing the ring will be the first one married. The one receiving that with the penny will be rich, and the one receiving the thimble will work for her living.
57. Put a penny, a ring, and a button in a wedding cake. The person receiving the piece with the ring will soon be married. The one who receives the penny will become wealthy, while the one who receives the button will be an old maid or a bachelor.
58. Two unmarried people pull a wishbone. Each makes a wish. The one getting the shorter will be married first, the other gets his wish. Place the short piece of the bone over the door and the first man or maid to enter is the destined one.
59. Look in a mirror at midnight on Hallowe'en and the reflection of your future husband will appear.
60. Pull a hair from your head. Curl it by drawing it through the fingers. Hold it up. The loose end will point in the direction of your future husband.
61. If a number of girls shake a black cat in a new quilt and the cat jumps out, the girl at whom the cat jumps is the next to be married.
62. Light a match; hold it upright. Whichever way the flame points is the direction in which your beau lives.
63. Light a match. The direction in which the tip bends shows the direction in which your true love lives.

64. Cut off the point of a piece of pie. Eat it last; roll it around the tongue three times. You will get a letter from your sweetheart.
65. Have some one snap and name your apple for some man friend. When the apple is eaten count the seeds to divine your future relationship, thus,
One I love, two I love, three I love I say;
Four I love with all my heart, five I cast away;
Six he loves, seven she loves, eight they both love;
Nine he comes, ten he tarries;
Eleven he courts and twelve he marries;
Thirteen they quarrel, fourteen they part;
Fifteen they die with a broken heart.
66. The same rhyme may be used in plucking petals from a daisy or sunflower.
67. Look over your right shoulder at the new moon and repeat,
New moon, true moon,
I hail thee!
Whosoever I dream of
Shall wed me.
The color of his hair,
The clothes that he'll wear
On the day that he weddeth me.
68. Count the buttons of a dress repeating the following rhyme. The word which falls on the last button indicates the occupation of your future husband.
Rich man, poor man,
Beggar man, thief,
Doctor, lawyer,
Merchant, chief.
69. Gather the edges of a rose petal and pop it on the back of the hand. If it pops loudly the person in mind loves you.
70. Pop a rose leaf which some one else has named for a boy, not telling you the name. If it pops loudly he loves you.
71. To find the initials of one's future husband, insert a key in the Bible at the Song of Solomon. Tie the book shut with the flat end of the key protruding. Two people then support the book by balancing it with their index fingers. Then one repeats, "My beloved is mine, and I am his: He feedeth his flock among the lilies. Until the day be cool, and the shadows flee away, turn my beloved, and be thou like a roe or a young hart upon the mountains of Bether." If the Bible turns the first time the verses are repeated, the husband's name will begin with A. If it turns the second time, his name will begin with B, and so on.
72. The same procedure is followed as in Number 71. One person asks questions. If the Bible turns, the answer is "Yes"; if not, "No".
73. Name apple seeds and stick them to the face. The one that stays on longest indicates the person you will marry.
74. Think of your sweetheart as you pluck the petals from a daisy and repeat, "He loves me; he loves me not." The words on which the last petal is plucked show the state of his affections.
75. Name two apple seeds. Put them on a hot stove. If they hop together the people for whom they were named will marry.
76. It is bad luck for a bridegroom to see his bride before the ceremony on the wedding day.

77. If a girl names apple seeds for various men friends and sticks them to her face, the seed which stays on longest indicates the name of her future husband.
78. Light a match. If it burns entirely, your lover is true; if the flame goes out before the match is all burned he is faithless.
79. Take a man's name and a girl's name and cancel similar letters. Then count the remaining letters saying, "Love, hate, friendship, courtship, marriage." The word which falls on the last letter indicates the future relations of the pair.
80. Pull up a leaf of plantain, breaking it so that the fibers curl. The direction in which they point shows the direction in which your beau lives.
81. If a girl blows on the back of a man's neck, he will fall in love with her.
82. If you put a pod containing nine peas over the door, you will marry the first man who comes in.
83. Stub your toe, kiss your thumb,
 See your beau before one.
84. If you stub your toe and kiss your thumb, you'll see your beau before night.

III

DEATH AND BAD LUCK SIGNS

Signs of evil portent are among the most common of surviving folk beliefs in Nebraska. In number and currency they rival the popular omens concerned with weather and marriage and they are regarded with perhaps a greater degree of seriousness than signs of the latter type. Such a mass of superstitions having to do with death and bad luck hints at underlying pessimism in human beings. It suggests a preoccupation with the idea of death and a constant dread of inevitable calamity. Possibly thoughts of melancholy are not so pervasive as the signs might lead us to believe, and it is reassuring to note that open credulity has almost disappeared. The mere survival of the signs, however, is a poignant reminder of a fear-ridden past, and such modern taboos as those against counting cars in a freight train and turning in a funeral car are evidence that superstitions are still in the making.

There is much confusion in the signs. Those which are regarded as bad luck omens by many people have become portents of death to others. The shift may be the result of a natural tendency to make omens specific rather than to leave them merely general indications of good or ill fortune.

Many of the signs seem to be based on a rather obvious association of ideas. Funerals bring to mind the common fate of man. Almost any incident connected with a burial may be looked upon as a sign of another death or an impending disaster. The hooting of an owl has an ominous sound. It causes a shudder, inspires fear, and becomes linked with thoughts of future afflictions. Although the howling dog may not as in legend see the goddess of death,¹ he wakens with his mournful falsetto thoughts of gloom, and quite naturally may become to the superstitious a messenger of approaching distress.

Other signs indicate the connection between ignorance and fear, the tendency to look with dread upon the unknown, and

¹ Kelly, Walter K., *Curiosities of Indo-European Tradition and Folk-Lore*, p. 110. 1863.

to find in the unusual cause for anxiety. The most commonplace occurrence may become a menace, if it takes place at an unexpected time. When standards of appropriateness are violated, when the incongruous is noted, suspicion and fear are aroused.

If the cock crows in the morning, he is only the harbinger of guests, but if he lifts his voice at night, he is announcing a death. If the hen is contented to remain in her own realm, she is harmless enough, but if she tries to usurp the rights of her mate and crows, she is associated with evil, bad luck, and death. Birds which may be symbols of joy out of doors, become messengers of ill fortune if they fly into the house. Garden tools carried through a room, an open umbrella indoors, an unaccountable shiver, anything which partakes of the strange or unusual, may be sufficient cause for fear and becomes an omen of calamity.

In such signs the psychological basis seems obvious enough. In others the roots of belief are more difficult to suggest. Possibly the Romans are responsible for many omens associated with birds;² the belief in the ill luck attendant upon salt-spilling may come from the Jewish and pagan use of salt in sacrificial rites,³ and the fear inspired by breaking a mirror may be traced to the use of mirrors by magicians in sorcery,⁴ but the origin of many of the symbols seems lost to us entirely. Like the events they predict, they are obscure, and they are perhaps more interesting because of the element of mystery which surrounds them.

1. If a dog howls at night, it is a sign of the death of a friend.
2. If a dog sits and howls at the moon, it is a sign of death.
3. One death will be followed almost immediately by two more in the family or the neighborhood.
4. If a bird flies into the house, it is a sign of a death in the family.
5. If an owl hoots near the house, some one in the house will die within a short time.
6. If an owl hoots three times on the property of anyone, it is a sign that there will be a death in the family of the person who owns the land.
7. If you hear an owl hoot at night, you will soon hear of the death of a friend.

² Brand, J., *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, p. 701.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 670.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 673.

8. If a loaf of bread be found upside down, there will be a death in the family.
9. If a light on the order of a will-o'-the-wisp passes around the house, it is the sign of a death in the house within a short time.
10. If a mirror falls, there will be a death in the family.
11. If you break a mirror, there will be a death in the family within a year.
12. If two people in a family die within a year, a third death will occur before the year is out.
13. If a child is unusually bright and good, it will die.
14. If a cock crows at midnight, it is a sign that the death angel is passing overhead.
15. If you sneeze before breakfast on Sunday morning, you will hear of a death before the end of the week.
16. If lighted candles are placed at each plate, the person at whose place the candle burns longest will live longest, the one whose candle goes out first will be the first to die.
17. If a bird pecks at the window of a home, it is a sign of a death in that family within a year.
18. If a ticking sound is heard in the wall, a death may be expected in the family.
19. A sparrow flying around the house is a sign there will soon be three deaths in the family.
20. If you meet a funeral, there will be a death in the family.
21. The first person the cat looks at after washing its face will die soon.
22. If it rains into an open grave, another member of the family will die within a year.
23. If a baby cuts its upper teeth first, it is digging its own grave; that is, it will soon die.
24. If you look into a mirror at a funeral, you will be dead before the end of a year.
25. If three lights are accidentally placed on the table, it is a sign of a death in the family before the end of the year.
26. To carry a pan of coals through the house is a sign that there will be a death in the family.
27. Carrying a spade through the house forebodes a death.
28. A spade, a hoe, or a shovel should not be brought into the house. If they are, there will be a death in the family.
29. To carry a sharp instrument through the house is a sign of a death in the family.
30. If you open an umbrella in the house, some one in the family will die soon.
31. If you count the cars of a freight train, some one in your family will die.
32. If you count the number of carriages in a funeral procession, some one in your family will die soon.
33. If a person counts the number of cars in a funeral procession, he will cause a death in his family within a month.
34. After a funeral the first person to leave the graveyard will be the first to go back; that is, to die.
35. If you cross in front of a funeral procession, there will be a death in the family.

36. A funeral on Sunday means another death in a short time unless a wedding follows the funeral.
37. If you knock at your own door, some one in the family will die.
38. If a baby under a year old sees itself in a mirror, it will die before the year is over.
39. If you pass anyone on the stairs going in the opposite direction, there will be a death in the family.
40. If all the members of the family are not home at Thanksgiving, there will be one death in the family before the next Thanksgiving.
41. If a child is named for someone who is dead, he will die young.
42. A green Christmas makes a black graveyard.
43. To rock an empty rocking-chair forebodes a death.
44. If you break a needle while making a garment, you will hear of a death before the garment is worn out.
45. If a hen crows, there will be a death in the family.
46. To grieve over the death of a pet is a sign of a death in the family.
47. If a funeral procession crosses your path, you will have bad luck.
48. If it rains during the funeral procession, the relatives of the deceased will have bad luck.
49. It is bad luck to cross between the carriages of a funeral procession.
50. If a tug comes unhooked going to the grave, it is a sign of bad luck.
51. It is bad luck to count the cars in a freight train.
52. It is bad luck to turn around in a car, if you are a member of the funeral party.
53. Friday the thirteenth is an unlucky date.
54. It is bad luck to begin a job on Friday.
55. If a garment is begun on Friday, you won't live to wear it out.
56. If a garment is begun on Friday, you won't live to finish it.
57. Never cut out a garment on Friday, unless you finish it that day. Otherwise you will have bad luck.
58. It is bad luck to set out on a journey on the thirteenth.
59. If you break a looking glass, it means bad luck for seven years.
60. Don't sweep dust out of the door on Monday. It brings bad luck.
61. You must not sweep with a broom across the threshold after dark or you will sweep away your luck.
62. If you sweep dust over the threshold after dark, you are sweeping away your wealth.
63. Don't sweep dust out of the door on New Year's day. It is bad luck.
64. It is bad luck to move a broom.
65. When sweeping the floor, don't brush the broom against any one else or it will bring that person the worst of luck.
66. It is bad luck to carry ashes out after sundown.
67. It is bad luck to carry a hoe through the house.
68. Carrying a garden tool through the house is a sign of ill luck.
69. If you drop a fork, you will have bad luck.
70. If you drop a knife, you will have bad luck.
71. It is bad luck to spill the salt.
72. It is bad luck to have a picture hanging crooked in the house.
73. It is bad luck not to have the Christmas tree down by January 2.

74. It is bad luck to rock an empty chair.
75. It is bad luck to watch a person out of sight.
76. It is bad luck to tell any one "good luck".
77. Never walk under a ladder. It is the worst of luck.
78. It is bad luck to shut an open gate as you pass by.
79. If you see the moon over your left shoulder, you will have bad luck.
80. It is bad luck to carry a two-dollar bill.
81. If you pick up a pin with the head toward you, you will have bad luck.
82. The opal brings misfortune except to those born in October.
83. If the first person to enter your house on New Year's day is a woman, you will have bad luck for the year.
84. If Christmas day on a Sunday fall,
 A troublous winter we shall have all.
85. Wearing pearls is a sign of sadness or misfortune.
86. It is unlucky to seat thirteen people at the table.
87. If you put a garment on wrong side out,
 Do not change it back all day
 For that would drive your luck away.

IV

ANIMAL SIGNS

A great number of animal and insect omens have been grouped for convenience in the sections on weather signs and death portents. The following list contains animal lore exclusive of signs which fell naturally under those headings. The beliefs are, in general, superstitions concerning the good or bad luck which attends various animals and insects, with a few signs which give very definite information. The references are almost entirely to the familiar household pets or to the various forms of animal life common to every farm and garden.

Here, as well as in the signs dealing with the weather and death, it is the cat which enjoys the greatest reputation. Whether its position of importance is due to its mythological occupation of drawing the chariot of Frigg, the Germanic Venus,¹ may be doubted; and the fact that it was, according to a common European belief, often considered the embodiment of the corn-spirit² may have little to do with its present popularity. It seems probable, however, that its association with ill luck in many of the signs which have come down to us is the result of the belief that cats are the animals into which witches are usually supposed to have transformed themselves.³ Hence, they may be endowed with sinister powers and are to be shunned.

The dog, which holds a place in the household and on the farm of at least equal importance to that of his traditional enemy, sinks to a minor position in the realm of superstition. Although he, too, was sometimes the embodiment of the corn-spirit,⁴ and was even crowned at the Festival of Diana,⁵ he has lost caste and appears in only a few signs. He may be looked upon with some respect as a judge of character, but his ability to foretell future events is limited to his doleful howl-

¹ Fogel, E. M., *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans*, p. 12. 1915.

² Frazer, Sir J. G., *The Golden Bough*, p. 453.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 657.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 448.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

ing before bad luck, and in only one sign is he associated with good fortune. The horse is likewise of little value as a prophet in the lore which remains to us. The magical properties attributed to him in Gaelic tales⁶ are lost and he is superseded by the foolish domestic fowls, the spider, and the cricket.

1. If a black cat comes into your house, it brings good luck.
2. It is bad luck for cats to come to your house, especially black cats.
3. If a black cat crosses your path, you will have bad luck. If it crosses back again, it will bring good luck.
4. If a white cat crosses your path, it is a sign of good luck.
5. If a black cat crosses your path, it is a sign of bad luck. If it follows you home, the spell is broken.
6. If a cat of any light color comes to your home, it brings bad luck.
7. It is bad luck to move a cat.
8. It is bad luck to kill a cat.
9. If a cat washes its face, someone will come.
10. If the cat washes its face in the sunshine, pleasant guests may be expected. If it washes its face in the shadow, unpleasant guests will come.
11. If a dog eats grass, it is a sign he needs a tonic.
12. If a dog does not like a man, it is a sign the man has a bad character.
13. A dog howling at night is a sign of bad luck.
14. It is good luck for dogs to come to your house.
15. If the inside of a dog's mouth is black, it is a sign he is well-bred.
16. If you stamp one hundred white horses, you will have good luck.
17. The number of times a horse turns over when it is rolling indicates the number of hundreds of dollars it is worth.
18. If a horse has four white feet, it is a sign he is a good horse.
19. If you see a white horse, you will see a red-haired woman.
20. If you stand on a crossing when a team crosses, you will have bad luck.
21. A whistling girl and a crowing hen
Always come to some bad end.
22. Whistling girls and a flock of sheep
Are the best things a man can keep.
23. Whistling girls and good fat sheep
Are the best things a man can keep.
24. Whistling girls and bleating sheep
Are the best things a farmer can keep.
25. Whistling girls and Merino sheep
Are the best things a man can keep.
26. A whistling girl and a crowing hen
Always end in the Devil's den.

⁶ Campbell, J. F., *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. 1, Introduction, p. lxxix. 1890.

27. Whistling girls and blind sheep
Are the poorest property a man can keep.
28. If a rooster crows at your back door in the morning, he is bringing you company that day.
29. If a rooster crows on the doorstep, it is a sign of unexpected company. One person is indicated by every crow.
30. If a hen goes around with a straw hanging to her tail, company may be expected.
31. If a bird flies into a room it brings good luck, the bigger the bird the better the luck.
32. If a bird flies into the house, it is a sign of bad luck.
33. A raven is a sign of bad luck.
34. If you kill a cricket, you will receive a letter from a friend.
35. If a cricket chirps in the house, your clothes will wear out in a month.
36. If you kill a cricket, you will have bad luck.
37. A cricket chirping in the house is a sign of good luck.
38. A cricket in the house brings good luck.
39. To kill a spider is a sign of bad luck.
40. If a spider crawls on you, you will have a new dress.
41. In order to find lost cattle, repeat the following words to a spider or daddy-long-legs:
Cow-hunter, cow-hunter,
Tell me where my cows are,
Or I'll kill you today
And bury you tomorrow.
The spider is supposed to raise one foot and point in the direction in which the cattle are to be found.
42. The first butterfly you see in the spring is the color of your new dress.
43. If a centipede gets into one's ear, it will leave him deaf.
44. If a green measuring worm gets on your dress and crawls, it is measuring you for your wedding dress.
45. If a green measuring worm gets on your dress and measures it, you will get a new dress.
46. If a green measuring worm gets on your dress, it will measure off the number of yards in your new dress.
47. If you kill a toad, your cow will give bloody milk.
48. If you play with a toad, you will get warts.
49. A dragon fly attaching itself to a fish line signifies good luck in fishing.
50. A fly in the house at Christmas is a sign of good luck.
51. When you see a lady bug, blow on it and repeat:
Lady bug, lady bug,
Fly away home,
Your house is on fire
And your children will burn.
If the bug flies off, you will have good luck.
52. If the locusts of a country have the letter *W* on their wings, that country will have war.

V

DREAMS

So mysterious is sleep and so interesting are the thoughts and images which may enliven it, that we can not wonder at the number of superstitious beliefs which cluster about the process of dreaming. In dreams there is a challenge to man's powers of explanation. He is impelled to find a meaning, obvious or veiled, in the experiences of his sleeping hours, and his efforts to interpret them have resulted in elaborate systems and formulas. There was Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica* of the second century, and there is the dream psychology of today.

Among primitive people the doctrine of dreams is related to both religion and magic.¹ The belief in the divine origin of dreams is common, while reliance upon their prophetic character seems almost universal. Among the Greeks, if we may draw conclusions from statements in Homer, Pindar, and Aeschylus, dreams were looked upon as communications from the gods.² The Jews often credited Jehovah with appearing in "a dream of the night." There are the visions of Abimelech,³ and Jacob,⁴ and the dream of Solomon.⁵ To the Teutons dreams were significant but only as prophesies, there being no hint that they played a part in religion.⁶ Likewise, among the Babylonians and Egyptians dreams were regarded as omens. The American Indians attempted divinations from dreams, relying on special priests or medicine men for the correct interpretations.⁷

That dream omens still receive some credulity must be acknowledged when we remember that dream books are still published and sold, and that popular almanacs still contain a section on the meaning of dreams. Here there is no talk of

¹ Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, vol. 1, pp. 121-122.

² Taylor, A. E., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5 (1912), "Dreams and Sleep", (In Greek Literature), p. 30 ff.

³ Genesis, Chapter 20.

⁴ Genesis, Chapter 31.

⁵ I Kings, Chapter 3.

⁶ Phillpotts, B. S., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5 (1912), "Dreams and Sleep", (Teutons), p. 37 ff.

⁷ Spence, L., *ibid.*, vol. 4 (1912), "Divination", (American), p. 780.

the unconscious, of repressions, or of wish fulfillments. Dreams are interpreted according to traditional signs; complex analysis is unnecessary. It is lore of this type which is included in the following section. Its ancestry has only been hinted at, and its destiny may only be conjectured, but its present popularity cannot be doubted by one who gives any attention to surviving folk beliefs.

1. To dream of white horses is a sign of bad news or death.
2. To dream of money portends hard times.
- 3 To dream of teeth forebodes a death.
4. A dream of flowers is a sign of death.
5. A dream of a death is a sign of a birth.
6. A dream of a birth is a sign of death.
7. To dream of muddy water is a sign of bad luck or death.
8. If you dream of the dead, you will hear from the living.
9. If you dream that you speak with a deceased person, you will receive a letter from a person from whom you have not heard for a very long time.
10. A dream of a marriage is a sign of a death.
11. A dream of eating is a sign of future bothers or perplexities.
12. It is bad luck to dream of falling.
13. A dream of a bed is a sign of a death.
14. To dream of a child is a sign of a death.
15. To dream of combing your hair portends a death.
16. Count nine stars for nine nights, the ninth night you will dream of your future husband.
17. Sleep on a piece of wedding cake and you will dream of your future husband.
18. If you sleep six nights with a slice of wedding cake under your pillow, you will dream of the one you will marry.
19. If you sleep three nights on a piece of bride's cake, you will dream of your future husband. If you do not dream you will not marry.
20. If you dream of coffins, there will be a wedding in the family.
21. If you dream of a death, you will hear of a wedding.
22. Eat a salt cake before going to bed. Do not speak to anyone or take a drink of water. In your dream the man who brings you a drink will be your future husband.
23. If you dream of a wedding ring, you will be married within a year.
24. Whatever you dream the first time you sleep in a place will come true.
25. If one tells of a dream of a death before breakfast, it will come true.
26. Tell your dream before breakfast, and it will not come true.
27. Tell your dream before breakfast, and it will come true.
28. Friday night's dream on Saturday told
 Is sure to come true be it ever so old.
29. If you dream the same dream three nights in succession, it will come true.

30. If you sleep on a piece of wedding cake, your dream will come true.
31. If you tell Saturday night's dream Sunday morning before breakfast, it will come true.
32. The dreams you have when sleeping under a new cover for the first time will come true.
33. It is good luck to dream of climbing.
34. A dream of rocks is a sign of good luck.
35. If you dream of a fire, you will have a quarrel.
36. To dream of fire is a sign of hasty news.
37. If you dream of combing your hair, you will lose a friend.
38. If you dream of a snake, it is a sign you have an enemy.
39. If you dream of a white horse, you will receive a letter.
40. Dreams go by contraries.
41. If you dream of snakes, it is a sign that a friend is betraying you.

VI

PHYSICAL SIGNS

The signs and omens in the following section are of several distinct types but since they all refer more or less directly to the human body, they have been grouped together. A number of them deal with character reading and represent popular fragments of the pseudo-sciences of physiognomy and palmistry. A second type of signs exhibits the attempt to forecast future events by endowing almost every sensation of the body with meaning. Itching and burning of the eyes and ears are particularly ominous, and belief in such signs must be of great age. As far back as the time of Pliny the tingling of a person's ear was thought to denote that he was being talked about. Sneezing which might denote either good or ill fortune seems also to have held its position as an important sign over all the world, both primitive and civilized.¹

A third group of physical signs relates to prediction by means of various actions and appearances. The fingernails which play an important part in primitive superstition retain their place in a number of our signs. Significance is attached to the days on which they are cut, and sayings concerning the white spots under the nails survive in spite of the skepticism of such divination expressed by Sir Thomas Browne almost three centuries ago.²

Signs concerning the hair are equally popular. Those which suggest the proper time for combing, cutting, and singeing are reminiscent of savage beliefs concerning the dangers which ordinarily attend haircutting, and at least one sign (No. 45) suggests the old rites for the disposal of cut hair. Although the penalty for carelessly throwing away combings is only a headache in the sign known to us, there is in the notion a hint of the fear of sorcery which it was thought might be practiced on any severed portion of the body. The sign is probably a survival of the widespread belief in the sympathetic connection which persists between a man and anything which has once been a part of his person.³

¹ Brand, J., *Observations on Popular Antiquities*, pp. 650-653.

² *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, p. 276.

³ Frazer, Sir J. G., *The Golden Bough*, p. 233.

A few of the signs are closely related to cures. They indicate the definite physical results which may be obtained by eating certain foods or following certain formulas. Since they are not practiced against disease, however, they have been regarded as positive control beliefs and therefore included in this collection.

1. Big ears indicate a generous person.
2. Small ears indicate a stingy person.
3. A long nose indicates an inquisitive person.
4. A pointed nose indicates a meddlesome person.
5. Dimple in the chin,
Devil within.
6. Red hair is a sign of a fiery temper.
7. Cold hands mean a warm heart.
8. If the eye-brows meet, they indicate that the person has a bad temper.
9. A deep hole in the back of the neck is a sign of courage.
10. Sneezes foretell the future according to the following rhyme:
Sneeze on Monday, sneeze for danger,
Sneeze on Tuesday, kiss a stranger,
Sneeze on Wednesday, get a letter,
Sneeze on Thursday, something better,
Sneeze on Friday, sneeze for sorrow,
Sneeze on Saturday, joy tomorrow.
11. If you sneeze before breakfast, you will have company before you sleep.
12. If your left eye itches, you will be laughing. If your right eye itches, you will be crying.
13. If your left eye burns or itches, some one is talking evilly of you. If your right eye burns or itches, some one is speaking well of you.
14. If your left ear burns, some one is saying something good about you. If your right ear burns, some one is saying something bad about you.
15. If your left ear burns, some one is saying something bad about you. If your right ear burns, some one is saying something good about you.
16. An itchy nose indicates that a letter is coming.
17. If your nose itches, you are going to kiss a fool.
18. If your nose itches, company is coming.
19. If your nose itches, you will meet a friend.
20. If your nose itches, your friend is in danger.
21. If your nose itches,
Somebody's coming with a hole in his breeches.
22. If your palm itches, you will receive money.
23. If the left hand itches, you will receive money. If the right hand itches, you will spend money.
24. If your left hand itches, you are going to get money. If your right hand itches, you are going to shake hands with some one.
25. If the lines in your hand form an *M*, it is a sign you are to have lots of money.

26. If your foot itches, you will walk on strange ground.
27. Cutting the nails on the various days of the week may indicate the future according to the following rhyme:
Cut them on Monday, cut them for health,
Cut them on Tuesday, cut them for wealth.
Cut them on Wednesday, cut them for news,
Cut them on Thursday, a pair of new shoes,
Cut them on Friday, cut them for sorrow,
Cut them on Saturday, a fellow tomorrow.
But he who on Sunday cuts his horn
Better that child had never been born.
28. He who on Sunday cuts his horn
Will live to rue the day he was born.
29. Pare your nails on Sunday, evil you seek,
For the devil will have you the rest of the week.
30. If you cut your fingernails on Sunday, you will do something during the week that you will be ashamed of.
31. White spots on the fingernails are given by the angels.
32. The white spots under the nails indicate the number of lies you have told.
33. If the white spots on the nails are working out, it is a sign of meanness going out. If the spots go in, it is a sign of meanness going in.
34. Counting from the thumb to the little finger, the white spots on the nails indicate friends, foes, letters (or presents), beaux, journeys to go.
35. A sty on the eye is a sign that meanness is working out.
36. Mole on your neck, money by the peck.
Mole on your arm, your husband will do you no harm.
37. Mole on your arm,
You'll live on a farm.
38. Comb your hair after dark,
Comb sorrow into your heart.
39. If you cut your hair at the new moon, it will grow.
40. If you singe your hair at the time of the full moon, it will grow.
41. If you trim the ends of your hair the first Friday of the new moon, it will grow.
42. If you wash your hair in the first rain of April, it will become soft, curly, and will grow rapidly.
43. If you pull a white hair, two, three, seven, or ten will grow in its place (according to various versions of the superstition).
44. If a person is worried or badly frightened, his hair may turn white.
45. If a bird gets your combings and puts them in its nest, you will have a headache.
46. If you shiver unaccountably, someone has stepped on your grave.
47. An unaccountable shiver is the sign of a hen walking over your grave.
48. If you get a long scratch, you'll take a long journey.
49. If you receive a scratch which leaves a scar, you'll have a ride before the scar is gone. The length of the ride depends upon the length of the scratch.
50. The number of times your fingers crack when you pull them shows the number of lies you have told.

51. If the fore-fingers are placed together and the ends turn outward, the person is dishonest; if they are straight, the person is honest.
52. If, when a person clasps his hands, he folds them with the right thumb on the outside, he is "boss" in the household, but if he folds them with the left thumb on the outside, his mate or future mate will be "boss".
53. Long fingers indicate musical capacity.
54. If two people bump heads, one of them will have a headache.
55. If you cry on New Year's day, you will cry a lot during the year.
56. If you weep on your birthday, you'll weep every day until your next birthday.
57. If you can keep from putting your tongue in the place of a lost tooth, a gold tooth will grow there.
58. Tangles in your hair are a sign the rats have slept in it.
59. A fever blister is a sign you have been kissed.
60. A blister on the tongue is a sign you have told a lie.
61. If a child is good looking when it is small, it will be homely when it grows up.
62. If a child is homely when it is small, it will be good looking when it grows up.
63. If a baby sleeps with its hands thrown up over its head, it is a sign it is thriving.
64. If a baby smiles in its sleep, it is a sign the angels are talking to it.
65. If a person sleeps in the moonlight, he will become blind.
66. If a person sleeps in the moonlight, he will become insane.
67. If you show a baby its reflection in the mirror before it is six months old, it will have a hard time cutting its teeth.
68. If you step over a child, it will stop growing.
69. If you laugh to excess early in the day, you'll cry before night.
70. If you eat crusts, your hair will become curly.
71. If you eat chicken gizzards, you will become good looking.
72. Before going to bed tie a string around the finger to keep freckles away.

VII

PLANTS AND CROPS

The lore included in the following section has been limited to signs and omens connected with plants and planting. Closely related to these superstitions is the vast field of folk-medicine in which herbs play so prominent a part. Beliefs of such nature have been omitted, since they could not be given adequate treatment in a study of this kind. A number of love divinations which employ flowers and fruits were listed in the section on marriage and courtship and are not repeated in the following list.

Several of the signs shade off into children's games. The dandelion, the plantain, and the clover are the favored plants. The popularity of the last named may be traced to the fact that the four-leaved clover was regarded as sacred in Germanic legend, but no doubt it is the commonness of the dandelion and plantain which accounts for their use in childish divinations. We can not believe that the young seers are influenced by the fanciful German story which describes the plantain as the embodiment of the spirit of the faithful maiden waiting for her lover by the roadside. Nor is it probable that they are concerned with the history of the name of the "lion's tooth" and puzzle as to whether it is derived from the appearance of the sharply pointed leaf or the white root. They are merely using the materials which are at hand and which generations of children have used before them. They have found a practical use for the weeds which crowd one another in the garden and along the country roads.

Although the signs which have to do with planting are discredited by scientific farmers, there is still a lingering tendency to regard them with some seriousness. The belief in the growth and dwindling of crops with the wax and wane of the moon is an astrological doctrine which has held its place with tenacity.¹ It is suggested in several of the signs. The very popular custom of planting potatoes on Good Friday is probably connected with the celebration of the old vernal festival of the dead and risen God. The idea may then be

¹ Tylor, E. B., *Primitive Culture*, vol. 1, p. 180.

traced not only in Christian practices but in the Adonis ceremonies which were intended as charms to promote the growth and revival of vegetation.² Thus a belief connected with one of our most humble vegetables may have its origin in the romantic "Adonis gardens" of Greece and Sicily.

1. If a child blows the seeds off a dandelion in three breaths, it is a sign that its mother does not want it. If any remain she does.
2. Blow a dandelion top three times. If nothing is left, your mother doesn't want you. If two seeds are left she wants you at two o'clock, if three seeds remain she wants you at three o'clock and so on.
3. The number of breaths it takes to blow the seeds off a dandelion head tells the hour when the mother wants the child to come home.
4. Take a dandelion in seed and blow, saying, "She wants me." If all the seeds are not blown away, blow again saying, "She wants me not." Keep this up until all the seeds are gone and the last blow will tell whether or not the child should go home.
5. Children blow the seeds from a dandelion head. If they all go at one breath, the mother does not need the child. If more than one breath are needed to blow away all the seeds, the child is wanted.
6. If you hold a dandelion under your chin and the yellow reflects on the chin, it is a sign that you love butter.
7. If two people pull a leaf of plantain in two, the fibers which hang from either half indicate the number of lies the holder has told. The longer fibers are the big lies and the shorter fibers are the little lies.
8. When you break the stem from a plantain leaf, if strings show beyond the end, the long ones are the big lies and the short ones are the little ones that you have told.
9. To find a four-leaved clover is good luck.
10. If you find a four-leaved clover, put it in your left shoe and you will have good luck.
11. To pick a five-leaved clover is bad luck; but if you give it to another, it brings good luck to both giver and receiver.
12. Plant root vegetables in the dark of the moon to insure a good crop.
13. Leafy vegetables should be planted in the light of the moon.
14. Potatoes should be planted in the dark of the moon to insure a good crop. If planted in the light of the moon they will be all top.
15. Potatoes should be planted on Good Friday.
16. If you plant turnips the twenty-fifth of July,
You will have turnips, wet or dry.
17. Cucumbers should be planted May 23 so that insects will not eat the vines.
18. If a woman eats any kind of twin fruits, she will have twins.
19. If you thank a person for cuttings or "slips", they will not grow.
20. If you gently stroke a nettle,
It will sting you for your pains.
Grasp it like a man of mettle
And it soft as silk remains.
21. If corn leaves point up, it is a sign the corn is growing.
22. If you get a devil's darning needle in your clothes, you will sew for a living.

² Frazer, Sir J. G., *The Golden Bough*, pp. 341-345.

VIII

DOMESTIC SIGNS

Many signs which are based upon common domestic happenings are scattered through various sections, particularly those dealing with omens of marriage, death, and bad luck. They were so classified rather than in the following group because their concern was not primarily with household life and the significance of its events. The interest was in broader issues. It was not strictly confined to the intimate life of the home, to domestic tasks, and the prophetic powers of the humble utensils which play so important a part in the signs grouped together here.

Except for the beliefs concerning the dire results of Sunday needlework, and the few which point to disappointment and loss of friends, the omens listed here are rather cheerful in tone. They suggest the comfortable, if uneventful, life of the household in which signs of guests are looked for with concern, bubbles on the teacups are hailed as forerunners of wealth, and such minor idiosyncrasies as singing in bed are regarded as indications of flaws in character.

A number of the omens give evidence of the type of mind which enlivens ordinary tasks and finds interest in monotonous routine. To the matter-of-fact mind the utensil which drops during the process of table-setting or dish-washing is merely an evidence of clumsiness. To the more imaginative worker it has another meaning. First it becomes the precursor of a guest. Then the fancy leads to further interpretations. The age and sex of the guest are deduced from the particular type of the implement, and finally, the direction in which the tool points comes to reveal from what quarter the company is to be expected. The dropped dishcloth, too, becomes a prophet and there is a touch of humor in the idea that it indicates the approach of a poor housekeeper.

The domestic signs are no longer regarded with great seriousness. No expert in home economics is influenced in planning her schedule by baseless superstition. Her scientific training forbids belief, yet perhaps one may be justified in lamenting the loss of credulity. With a store of household

omens in her mind no woman should have found mere drudgery in her daily tasks. Her world was animated by well meaning informants. She knew when to prepare for guests, how to insure for future prosperity, and why she must not sew or iron on Sunday. Surely no modern conveniences or efficient methods can compensate for the loss of such assurance.

1. If you drop a utensil on the floor, company is coming.
2. If you drop a knife, a fork, or a spoon on the floor, some one is coming to see you from the direction in which the utensil points. A knife means a man or boy, a fork, a woman or girl, and a spoon, a child.
3. If you drop a spoon, a crowd is coming.
4. If a fork falls to the floor, a man will come from the direction in which the prongs point.
5. If a knife falls to the floor, a woman will come from the direction in which the blade points.
6. Go in the front door and out the back,
 And you will bring company to the shack.
7. If you drop a dishcloth on the floor, some one is coming to see you who is a dirtier housekeeper than you are.
8. If you drop a dishrag, a bigger slouch than you are is coming before the day is over.
9. Drop a dishcloth and an untidy person will make you a visit.
10. If a broom falls across the door, it is a sign a stranger will come.
11. If a straw falls out of the broom a stranger is coming.
12. If you take butter when you already have some, some one hungry is coming.
13. If you take a slice of bread when you already have one, some one hungry is coming.
14. Tea leaves floating on a cup of tea indicate that company is coming. Each leaf denotes one guest.
15. When you go visiting, if you enter at one door and leave by another, you will never return.
16. It is good luck for a man to enter the house first on New Year's day.
17. If the hem of your dress is turned up, a stranger is coming.
18. If you leave the bastings in a dress, it is a sign the dress is not paid for.
19. If you sew on Sunday, when you die you must rip all the sewing out with the end of your nose.
20. If you sew on Sunday, you'll have to do every stitch in hell with a red hot needle.
21. Every stitch you sew on Sunday you'll have to take out with your teeth in hell.
22. If you sew something on yourself, a lie is told about you for every stitch you take.
23. For every hour you iron on Sunday you will burn a day in hell.

24. If a pair of scissors dropped sticks in the floor, it is a sign you have an enemy.
25. If you drop your comb, you will have a disappointment.
26. If you look over your left shoulder into the mirror, you will be disappointed.
27. If you drop a comb, you will lose a friend.
28. If you rock an empty chair, you will have a quarrel with a friend.
29. Bubbles which collect when tea is poured are a sign of money.
30. If you consume at once the bubbles formed on the top of your coffee, you will come into the possession of money. The amount will be according to the number and size of the bubbles.
31. If there is a bubble in your tea cup and you can get it into your mouth before it breaks, you will soon be rich.
32. If you drop a piece of bread, the price of wheat is coming down.
33. If you cut thick slices of bread, you will make a good step-mother.
34. If you butcher a hog when the moon is shrinking, your meat will shrink when it is cooking.
35. If you sing in bed, you are lazy.
36. If you sing in bed,
 The devil will get you before you are dead.
37. Saturday's flitting
 Is a sign of short sitting. (Applied to moving.)

IX

WISHES

Although we may be indebted to older people for keeping alive much of our folklore, we must thank the children for preserving for us most of the beliefs connected with wishes and wish-making. It is they who remind us to wish on the first star, to save the wishbone, and to stamp white horses. The ceremonies which accompany wish-making have an important place in the child's life. They suggest the romance of the fairy tale and are surrounded by an atmosphere of mystery. Usually the wish must be kept secret if the rites are to be effective. The admonition, "Tell no one what you have wished", should be added to every formula.

Wishing horns which provide any wish when played upon may no longer be available, and magic rings which give the wearer power to obtain anything he may wish cannot be had in our prosaic world, but the child may be transported to a realm in which anything is possible, if he follows a given ritual, makes his wish, and keeps it secret. He is assured by the authority of tradition that under the proper conditions his wish must come true.

That children have not only preserved but added to our wish-making rules may be guessed when we discover such modern makeshifts as stamping Model-T Fords when white horses are scarce, and wishing under arc-lights regardless of the time of the moon. Wishes must be made, and some sanction must be found for expecting that they will come true. The picturesque wishing well of Wooler of Northumberland which exacts its toll of pins from the passers-by¹ has no counterpart in Nebraska, nor are stone wishing-chairs to be found,² but new sidewalks are not uncommon, loads of hay pass frequently down country roads, and not too rare are the occasions on which a piece of pie points in the right direction.

Ridiculous as are many of the ceremonies, and commonplace as some of the excuses for wish-making may seem, there

¹ Henderson, William, *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, p. 230. 1879.

² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

is a lingering hint of beauty and romance in others. The four-leaved clover, the new moon, and gleaming birthday candles may well offer temptation for trying a charm. The meteor, likewise, seems to deserve its place as an omen, and although the wishes made in our region when a star shoots across the sky may be harmless and personal, they indicate a trace of the same belief in the supernatural which prompts the Egyptian to mutter, "May God transfix the enemy of religion",³ as the light disappears. Like our other superstitions, our rules for wish-making have travelled from far countries. They have taken on new forms, but the same persistent desire underlies them all.

1. If you stamp one hundred white horses and say, "Give, give me good luck," and make a wish, your wish will come true. In stamping white horses a white mule counts for ten horses. A horse is stamped by licking the right thumb, touching the left palm with it, then striking the right fist on the place the thumb has touched.

2. When you see a white horse say, "Lucky, lucky white horse, one, two, three," and make a wish. Tap the forefinger of the right hand on the palm of the left hand when saying, "one, two, three".

3. When you see a white horse make a wish and say,

White horse, white horse,

Ding, ding, ding.

On my way I'll find something.

When saying, "Ding, ding, ding", hit the fists together with the right and left alternately on top.

4. If you stamp one hundred Model-T Fords and make a wish, your wish will come true.

5. When two people say the same words simultaneously, if they lock their little fingers and make a wish before either of them says a word, their wishes will come true.

6. When two speak the same word simultaneously, they must not speak another word but crook their little fingers together and make a wish. The silence may then be broken by the two saying alternately, "Needles, pins, triplets, twins." The thumbs are then put together and the first person says, "When a man marries", while the second answers, "His trouble begins."

7. When two people say the same word simultaneously they must crook their little fingers together and remain silent while making a wish. They then say, "Longfellow, Shakespeare," and pull. The one who succeeds in pulling the other's finger straight gets his wish.

8. If two people say the same thing in concert, the little fingers of their right hands must be locked, then the thumbs put together, and a wish made by each. One says, "Needles", the other, "Pins". Both say, "Thumbs". The wish will then come true.

9. Make a wish and open the Bible. If the Bible opens to a verse beginning, "And it came to pass," the wish will come true.

³ Lean, Vincent S., *Lean's Collectanea*, vol. 2, p. 280. 1902.

10. Make a wish, open the Bible at random, and whatever you read will be the answer as to whether or not you will get your wish.
11. To pick a five-leaved clover is bad luck, but if you make a wish and throw the clover over your shoulder, the wish will come true.
12. If you find a four-leaved clover, place it in your shoe, and make a wish, the wish will come true.
13. If you wish on a load of hay and look away, your wish will come true.
14. Load of hay, load of hay,
 Make a wish and turn away.
15. If you make a wish on a hay stack and do not look at it again, your wish will come true.
16. When you see the first star at night, make a wish and say,
 Star bright, star light,
 First star I've seen tonight,
 Wish I may, wish I might
 Have the wish I wish tonight.
17. When you see a meteor fall say, "Money, money, money," until the star disappears and you will have one hundred dollars for each time you say the word *Money*.
18. Wish while a meteor is falling.
19. Make the same wish for seven nights while standing under an arc-light, and your wish will then come true.
20. If the first time you see the new moon, you happen to look at it over your right shoulder, make a wish and it will come true.
21. When you walk on a new sidewalk for the first time, spit on it and make a wish.
22. If the hem of your skirt is turned up, you can make a wish and it will come true if you kiss the place where it turned up three times.
23. If a piece of pie served to you points directly toward you, cut off the point, place it aside and make a wish on it. Eat this last and your wish will come true. If the person who serves the pie to you consciously places it with the point toward you the charm will not work.
24. Walk ten rails on the railroad track without stepping off. make a wish, and it will come true. (The number of rails varies. It may be ten, seven, nine, or thirteen.)
25. When you put on any part of your clothing wrong side out, if you make a wish before you change, it will come true.
26. Make a wish for every pin you pick up.
27. If two people pull the ends of a wish-bone and it breaks, the person who gets the larger end gets his wish.
28. If you put a ring on the finger of a friend and wish at the same time, your wish will come true, if your friend does not take off the ring. It is permissible to tell your friend how long to wear the ring before it can be taken off.
29. Make a wish and blow three times on the lighted candles on a birthday cake. If the candles are all blown out, your wish will come true.
30. Turn your tea cup up side down and make a wish while turning the cup around in the saucer three times. If a tea leaf comes close to the rim of the cup, you will get your wish.
31. Make a wish the first time you kiss a new baby and your wish will come true.

X

EXORCISMS AND CHARMS

While exorcisms and charms may not, in the strictest sense, be classed as signs, their relationship to these superstitions is so close that they have been included in the following section. The exorcisms are connected with bad luck signs, and the charms may be regarded as positive control beliefs and hence a part of our subject.

In the narrowest sense, exorcisms are adjurations or rites for driving away evil spirits. We have broadened the use of the term to include any bit of magical practice used to ward off, not only evil spirits, but bad luck in general. The exorcisms in this list are usually rather simple rites used to avert the ill luck portended by some sign.

Charms and exorcisms may be considered identical in so far as both are used as protective and preventive measures, but the word *charm* has a somewhat more extensive meaning. Charms are used to insure protection against evil and also to bring about good fortune. In addition to the incantations and ceremonies connected with charms, is the practice of carrying various small talismans or amulets, and the reliance on mascots as bearers of good luck.

The oldest charms and exorcisms are closely bound up with the practice of sorcery, with ideas of primitive medicine, and with the belief in witchcraft. The ceremonies were used to end disease or ill fortune by casting out devils and witches and may be regarded as the matching of one kind of sorcery against another.

The remnants of the beliefs left to us are but faint reminders of the elaborate rites of the past. Although the ages of individual charms and exorcisms may not be determined, the idea back of them all must be of great antiquity. It represents something fundamental in human nature; that is, an instinct for self-protection and a desire to control the future. Material remains in the form of amulets are brought to light by excavations and from their testimony it is concluded that the use of luck charms is not confined to any single place or

period. It is universal and persists rather commonly even today.

There is little trace in the practices listed in this collection of the incantations which were an important part of ancient rites. In only a few of the charms is it necessary to repeat a short phrase in order to work the spell. The ceremonies have come to us much simplified, they contain little suggestion of their ancestry of sorcery and magic, and their efficacy may commonly be doubted. They still offer satisfaction, however, to those who are unwilling to play an entirely passive rôle in life. For such bold spirits there is pleasure in the thought that through the charm or exorcism one may become a contributor to destiny.

1. If a black cat crosses in front of a moving car, you should knock on wood or you are liable to have a puncture or blow-out.
2. If a black cat crosses your path when you are setting out on a journey, you must turn back and wait for another day to avoid bad luck.
3. If a black cat crosses your path, jumping over the track or path will break the bad luck.
4. To break the evil spell carried by a black cat, say, "Happy surprise is come to me," when you see the animal.
5. If a black cat crosses your path, you must catch it to avoid bad luck.
6. To avert the death which must follow the crowing of a hen, kill the hen.
7. If you forget anything and have to go back after it, be sure to sit down to keep bad luck away.
8. If you leave the house and have to come back, you must always sit down and rock before leaving again else you will have bad luck.
9. If you start out for some place and forget something and come back, you'll have bad luck unless you sit down and make a wish that you do not want to come true, before starting out again.
10. If you have to return to the house after starting somewhere, you may avert bad luck by sitting down on the stairs before starting the second time.
11. If you stumble, go back and walk properly over the obstruction, or you will have bad luck.
12. If you stub your toe, kiss your finger and you will have good luck.
13. One must step off a cross walk when a horse is passing over it or he will have bad luck.
14. If the hem of a woman's skirt is turned up, spit on it and she will have a new dress.
15. If you must change a garment which has been put on wrong side out, make a wish while you are doing so, to avoid bad luck.
16. If you spill salt, you must burn some of it or you will have a quarrel.
17. If you upset the salt, throw a little over your left shoulder at once in order to keep witches away.

18. In order that a friendship may not be broken because of giving a sharp or pointed article to a friend, have him pay a penny for it.
19. If two people walking together allow a tree to come between them, they must say, "Bread and butter," or their friendship will be broken.
20. If two people walking together allow a tree to come between them, they must say, "Needles and pins," or the friendship will be broken.
21. If two people say a word at the same time, instantly they must lock their little fingers or they will quarrel.
22. A ringing in the ear indicates that someone is talking about you; but if you wet your finger with saliva and rub it on your ear, the speaker will bite his tongue.
23. If you wear a string of beans around your neck, you will never have bad luck.
24. Mascots to ward off ill luck—goat, kitten, football.
25. A buckeye will ward off the evil eye.
26. A rabbit's foot worn about the neck brings good luck.
27. There is good luck in odd numbers, except 13.
28. The number 7 is a lucky number.
29. The left hind foot of a rabbit killed at midnight in the graveyard in the dark of the moon will bring good luck.
30. Carry a horse shoe for good luck.
31. Put a horse shoe over the door to keep witches out of the house.
32. On getting out of bed, put the right foot foremost for good luck.
33. If you see a white horse and spit over your little finger you'll have good luck.
34. To pick a five-leaved clover is bad luck. But if you spit on it and throw it over your left shoulder, it will bring you good luck.
35. If when you churn, the butter will not come, the witches cause the trouble; so heat a horseshoe or a poker and put it in the churn and it will drive the witches out.
36. Put salt on the stove to make the butter come when churning. It drives away the witches.
37. To keep witches away, tie up the head in newspapers at night.
38. If you make any sort of a boast, rap on wood, or ill luck will come.
39. To keep a person from asking for a drink at night, place a glass of water under the bed; do not tell the person, have faith, and he won't ask for a drink.
40. Walk around your chair to change your luck at cards.
41. To change luck at cards, take another deck, throwing the old one away.
42. Sit on a handkerchief to change luck at cards.
43. Crossing the fingers when playing tag makes you immune from capture.
44. If you cross your fingers, you can tell a lie with a clear conscience.
45. On moving into a newly built house, first carry into the house enough salt in your pocket to sprinkle lightly the four sides of every room, reading the Bible as you go. If you do this, you will have good luck in that house.

46. To find any lost article, first spit in your hand; then say, "Spit, spit spy, tell me where that (article) is or I'll hit you in the eye." Strike the spit with the first finger. The direction in which it flies indicates the direction in which to look.
47. To avoid the bad luck brought by a crowing hen, take her to the cross roads and let her go.
48. Pass a new baby three times around a table leg, to insure good luck.
49. If you drop a bite of food, you must pick it up and eat it because it is the "lucky bite."
50. On a child's birthday he should be spanked once for each year of his life, once for good luck, and once for growth.
51. After sneezing say, "God bless us," to bring good luck.
52. Spit on new shoes for good luck.

XI

MISCELLANEOUS SIGNS

Among miscellaneous signs are grouped sayings and beliefs that could not consistently be classified in any of the preceding sections. Although several related groups might be discovered in the list, none of them are large enough to justify separate treatment. A number of the signs have to do with friendship, several are connected with child life, while others stand alone, unassociated with other beliefs in this collection. Some of the most common and interesting signs are gathered together here. The list may be regarded as a catalogue of almost every kind of folk belief. Here are taboos and divinations as well as the simpler omens and portents. A taste or sample of each is offered.

Childish games appear as well as serious directions to the worried for finding solace or guidance in the Bible. Theatrical lore and signs suggestive of rural environment have places of equal importance in the collection. Sayings both serious and facetious may be found. Perhaps no other group is more indicative of the wide range of folk beliefs, the various attitudes with which they are regarded, and the prominent part they play in every-day life.

1. If you find a hairpin, you will find a friend.
2. If you find a crinkled hairpin, you will find a curly-haired friend.
If you find a straight hairpin, you will find a straight-haired friend.
3. If you lose a hairpin, you will lose a friend.
4. To draw a ring from a person's finger severs friendship.
5. If you give a friend anything sharp, it will cut the friendship.
6. When you see the first star at night repeat:
I see specks, specks sees me,
I'll see somebody tomorrow
I don't expect to see.
7. A raveling on your garments predicts a letter.
8. If a boy's shirt-tail hangs out, he has a letter in the post office.
9. It is good luck to put a garment on inside out.
10. If you see a pin and let it lie,
You'll need a pin before you die.
11. See a pin and pick it up,
All that day you'll have good luck;
See a pin and let it lie,
Before the evening you will cry.

12. See a pin and pick it up,
All the day you'll have good luck;
See a pin and let it lay,
You will have bad luck all day.
13. He that sings on Friday will weep on Sunday.
14. Sing before you eat,
You'll cry before you sleep.
15. If you sing before eating,
You'll cry before sleeping.
16. If you sing before breakfast, you'll cry before night.
17. Don't go into a group of people when you are eating or carrying peanuts with you, or it will cause a quarrel.
18. When a general pause comes in the conversation, it is a sign that the time is twenty minutes before or after the hour.
19. If you laugh when someone tickles your knees, it is a sign you like the boys.
20. If your initials spell a word, you will become rich.
21. No news is a sign of good news.
22. If worried open the Bible. The first verse the eyes fall upon will tell whether your worry is necessary or not.
23. If you step on a crack,
You'll break your mother's back.
Step in a hole,
You'll break your mother's sugar bowl.
Step on a nail,
You'll break your mother's pail. Or,
You'll put your father in jail.
24. It is good luck to find a penny with the head up.
25. If you meet a good looking woman in the morning, you will have good luck all day.
26. Pearls reflect the mood of the individual wearing them. If the lustre is bright, a happy mood is indicated. If the pearls are dull, a sad mood is indicated.
27. If you play solitaire, it is a sign you are playing with the devil.
28. You can tell what a child will be in its future life by placing before it the day it is one year old, a bottle, a dollar, and a book. If he picks up the bottle, he will be a drunkard; if he chooses the dollar, he will be a financier; and if he picks up the book, he will be a student.
29. The day of the week on which a child is born indicates its characteristics according to the following rhyme:
Monday's child is fair of face,
Tuesday's child is full of grace,
Wednesday's child is merry and glad,
Thursday's child is sour and sad,
Friday's child is loving and giving,
Saturday's child works hard for a living,
But the child that is born on the Sabbath day
Is blithe and bonny and good and gay.

The third and fourth lines may read—

Wednesday's child is full of woe,
Thursday's child has far to go.

30. If you clap at a dress rehearsal, the performance will be a failure.
31. If a dress rehearsal is poor, the performance will be good.
32. If you break the first brake,
 And kill the first snake,
 You'll do everything
 That you undertake.
33. Children divine the length of life by the following rhyme, repeated while skipping rope:
 Mother, mother, I am sick,
 Send for the doctor, quick, quick, quick.
 Doctor, doctor, shall I die?
 Yes, yes, yes, but do not cry.
 How many years before I die?
 One, two, three, etc., until he misses.

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PROVERBIAL LORE IN NEBRASKA

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LINCOLN, NEBRASKA

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PREFACE

The following study attempts to list and to classify the proverbs and proverbial phrases in current oral use in Nebraska. My chief source for the collection was the talk of persons with whom I have been in contact for the last six months. The amount of proverbial lore on the lips of representatives of many walks of life is astonishing; one can have no conception of its extent until he consciously listens for it and keeps a record of what he hears. Further, friends in Lincoln and in other parts of the state gathered and sent to me many lists of the current proverbial expressions that they knew. The members of classes in American Literature at the University of Nebraska, classes made up of students coming from many different communities, contributed a considerable number. I also consulted collections of proverbial lore and the sayings that I immediately recognized as current were incorporated into my lists. I have lived most of my life in Nebraska so that I felt confident that any expression with which I was very familiar is in circulation in the state. In instances where there was the least doubt, however, I had the sayings identified by other Nebraskans.

My collection in no sense represents an exhaustive study of the subject. The very nature of proverbial lore makes a complete and finished list an impossibility. Proverbial lore, like all other lore, is a growing, living thing, changing from day to day. The figurative language popular today may become proverbial tomorrow, or it may pass into oblivion.

The organization of material that I have used is arbitrary; it was fixed upon for convenience in arranging a large number of proverbs and proverbial phrases. It is based on two types of groupings. The first type brings together a collection of proverbs concerning a certain subject, such as the section on Women, Love, and Marriage. In the other type, the sayings listed together are all derived from a common source, though they apply to many phases of life; e.g., the aphoristic sayings from animal life are significant chiefly as interpretations of human nature. In some cases, notably the section on weather, both types of classification are utilized.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. Louise Pound, Professor of English at the University of Nebraska, for suggesting this study and for encouragement and practical aid while it was in preparation. I owe sincere appreciation also to the many persons who helped me in my compilation of lists of proverbial expressions in Nebraska.

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INTRODUCTION

To define a proverb is a difficult task because of the many elements involved. Two characteristics, however, seem essential; proverbs must be aphoristic and they must be in wide oral currency. They are written as well as spoken, of course, but it is chiefly by word of mouth that they gain and hold their surprisingly large place in the language.

Proverbs and proverbial phrases are grouped separately in this collection; the differentiation between them is based on their form. The rigidity of the form of the proverb is one of its salient characteristics. The phrase, on the other hand, may vary according to its application. The proverbial phrases listed in this collection, such as "to eat humble pie," may assume any of several forms, varying in tense and person, determined by the way they are used. Perhaps it is because of their brevity, and this very characteristic of greater freedom in form, that stock proverbial phrases are more numerous than proverbs themselves. It is, perhaps, a commentary on the modern desire for speed and brevity, even in conversation, that phrases, rather than proverbs, make up most of the proverbial lore of recent origin in this collection.

A study of the history of the proverbial lore current in Nebraska reveals the fact that a very large percentage of it came from England. A smaller percentage has come from other European and Asiatic folklore. An astonishing number of imported expressions have been adopted in their entirety, even when they preserve archaic allusions or customs no longer in existence. Many Nebraskans use sayings such as "to carry coals to Newcastle" and "to look both ways for Sunday" that certainly have no experiential significance to them. Others of these expressions have been made over; e.g., the popular Americanism, "An apple a day keeps the doctor away" was doubtless modeled on the English proverb, "Eat an apple on going to bed and you'll keep the doctor from earning his bread." The fact that many proverbs are centuries old, however, does not mean that the day of proverb-making is past. New occupations, new sports, even new inventions offer opportunities for the birth of new proverbial expres-

sions. The phrases "to step on the gas" and "to broadcast one's troubles" are obviously of recent origin.

One of the most interesting aspects of the study of proverbial language is the manner in which it is constantly employed by persons who have no conception of its original meaning. Often when an individual says "as busy as a beaver," he is not reflecting his knowledge of the industrious character of the beaver; rather, he is using a saying, the metaphorical force of which has been impressed on his mind through hearing it employed many times to convey a certain meaning. Even expressions, the origins of which are unknown, such as "to be at sixes and sevens" and "as queer as Dick's hatband" are used by a speaker with perfect confidence that his meaning will be well conveyed. Through years of wide circulation, such proverbial phrases have gained a strong connotative significance.

Occasionally the oral use of a proverb is prefixed by some remark, such as, "as the saying goes," or the colloquial and facetious "as the feller says." Usually, however, proverbs have become so fixed a part of the language of Nebraskans that their users seem unconscious that they are employing stock sayings.

The various groupings used in arranging the proverbs listed in the following pages suggest the wide scope of proverbial lore in source and content. From every class of life, from every occupation and field of human endeavor are derived stock sayings which, because of certain almost indefinable, yet real, qualities of memorableness, have become a part of the everyday language of Nebraska folk.

I

PROVERBIAL LORE FROM THE BIBLE

Biblical proverbs and proverbial sayings form a sizable portion of the proverbial lore of Nebraskans. Such lore, like other folklore, is largely oral. The stories, the characters, the very terminology of the Bible have formed a staple part of the language experience of the inhabitants of Nebraska from their early childhood.

In the proverbs themselves, the Biblical terminology seems to have been preserved with varying degrees of success. There are often minor modifications in wording or sentence order but sometimes the change is so great that the identity of the proverb as a Biblical product is almost entirely lost. An instance is "Man proposes but God disposes," the long and varied history of which is discussed by Taylor.¹ In some cases the inadvertent loss of a word or two in the oral version causes a change in meaning. For example, the oral proverb, "Money is the root of all evil" is a misquotation of "The love of money is the root of all evil." Occasionally in oral speech, only a part of a Biblical proverb is used, with the understanding on the part of the speaker that his hearers are familiar enough with it to complete it for themselves. Examples of such curtailed sayings are, "The sins of the fathers" and "Cast your bread upon waters."

The proverbial phrases of Biblical origin are of two definite classes: those using the exact phraseology of the Bible and those suggested by Biblical stories and lore. To the former class belong such familiar expressions as "casting pearls before swine" and "the blind leading the blind." The group suggested by the characters or incidents in Bible stories is very large. Its size is a commentary on the widespread appeal of Bible lore. Many of the important persons in these stories have managed to get themselves and their characteristics into permanent currency in our everyday language. Old Testament figures are represented in such expressions as "as meek as Moses," "the patience of Job," and "He's a Jonah." From the stories of the life of Christ we have such

¹ Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, pp. 55-56. 1931.

widely used sayings as "thirty pieces of silver" and "to wash one's hands of a thing."

It is obvious that the various authors of the Bible made use of figurative expressions in current use in their own periods. This means that many of the proverbial sayings occurring in the Bible probably had their origin in another literature or oral speech.

In the following list of proverbial sayings of Biblical origin, no attempt is made to distinguish the two classes.

Proverbs

1. A friend loveth at all times.
2. A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches.
3. A kingdom divided against itself cannot stand.
4. A little child shall lead them.
5. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.
Very often in oral usage, this is reduced to the proverbial saying, "a little leaven."
6. A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.
7. A soft answer turneth away wrath.
8. Answer a fool according to his folly.
9. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.
10. As ye would that men should do to you, do ye unto them.
11. Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?
12. Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?
This is an interesting example of the effectiveness of a proverb cast in the form of an interrogation.
13. Cast thy bread upon the waters and it shall be returned to thee after many days.
Often only the first clause of this proverb is used.
14. Charity covers a multitude of sins.
15. Eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow you die.
The wording in the Bible is, "Let us eat and drink for tomorrow we shall die."
16. Get thee behind me, Satan.
17. God is not mocked.
18. Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise.
In oral usage often only the first part of this proverb is used.
19. He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone.
20. He that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city.
21. Hide not your light under a bushel.
22. Honor thy father and thy mother.
23. Hope deferred maketh the heart sick.
24. I have fought a good fight; I have finished the course.
The proverbial sayings, "to fight a good fight" and "to finish the course," are shortened portions of this proverb.
25. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.
26. It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.
This is an example of the use in the Gospels of a proverb of non-Christian origin. The expression was current among the Romans of Jesus' day and was used by the Greek dramatists, Æschylus (525-456 B. C.) and Euripides (480-406 B. C.).²
27. Judge not that ye be not judged.

² Dwight E. Marvin, *Curiosities in Proverbs*, pp. 119-120, 1916.

28. No man can serve two masters.
29. Physician, heal thyself.
This "seems to have been a current proverb when the Nazarenes quoted it against Jesus as a rebuke."³
30. Pride goeth before a fall.
This is a misquotation. The wording in the Bible is "Pride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall."
31. Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.
32. She hath done what she could.
33. Spare the rod and spoil the child.
34. Strain at a gnat and swallow a camel.
35. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.
36. Take my yoke upon you.
37. The laborer is worthy of his hire.
38. The Lord loveth a cheerful giver.
39. The poor ye have always with you.
40. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.
41. The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath.
42. The tree is known by its fruit.
43. The wages of sin is death.
44. The way of the transgressor is hard.
45. The wicked flee when none pursue.
46. Train up a child in the way he should go.
47. Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord.
Commonly this proverb is shortened to the first three words; the curtailment greatly alters the meaning.
48. We have an advocate with the father.
49. Where there is no vision, the people perish.
50. What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?
51. Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.
52. Whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth.
53. Whosoever hath, to him shall be given.
54. Wine is a mocker.

Proverbial Phrases

1. a coat of many colors.
2. a Judas kiss.
3. a pearl of great price.
4. a prisoner of hope.
5. a Samson shorn of his strength.
6. a thorn in the flesh.
7. an abomination unto the Lord.
8. an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.
9. as meek as Moses.
10. as old as Methuselah.
11. as poor as Job.
12. as poor as Job's turkey.
This singular proverb seems to be a variant of the preceding one, on the assumption, one supposes, that since Job is poor, his turkey will be poorer.
13. as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians.
14. balm of Gilead.
15. by precept and example.
16. forbidden fruit.
17. Garden of Gethsemane.
18. in the twinkling of an eye.
This is probably an example of the chronicler's use of a current proverbial expression. It is found in 1 Corinthians XV:52.

³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

19. like David and Jonathan.

This is said of two men who are close friends.

20. like manna from heaven.

21. loaves and fishes.

22. no room in the inn.

23. out of the mouths of babes and sucklings.

24. precept on precept.

25. the city of Rachel.

This refers to the city of a mother bereft of her children.

26. the day of judgment.

27. the foolish virgin.

28. the mark of Cain.

29. the prodigal son.

30. the promised land.

31. the salt of the earth.

32. the strength of Samson.

33. the tree of knowledge.

34. the weaker vessel.

This metaphorical expression is used in 1 Peter III:7 to refer to women.

35. the widow's mite.

36. the wisdom of Solomon.

37. the writing in the sand.

38. the writing on the wall.

39. they that are born of woman.

40. thirty pieces of silver.

41. to be a doubting Thomas.

42. to be a good Samaritan.

43. to be a Jezebel.

44. to be a Jonah.

A "Jonah" is a person who brings bad luck.

45. to be a Judas.

46. to be a Magdalene.

47. to be an Ananias.

48. to be eyes to the blind.

49. to be hanged as high as Haman.

50. to be no respecter of persons.

51. to bear one's cross.

52. to build one's house on sands.

53. to cast pearls before swine.

54. to cast the first stone.

55. to dig a pit for one's self.

56. to have the patience of Job.

57. to heap coals of fire on his head.

58. to kill the fatted calf.

59. to look as if it came out of the ark.

This is said of a thing of great age.

60. to return good for evil.

61. to rob Peter to pay Paul.

62. to sell one's birthright for a mess of pottage.

63. to serve God and Mammon.

64. to turn the other cheek.

65. to wash one's hands of a thing.

66. when Gabriel blows his horn.

II

LORE FROM ANIMAL LIFE

Animal life seems to offer the greatest single source of proverbial lore in Nebraska. This is a natural outcome of the predominance of agricultural life in the state. The use of animal proverbs is not confined to rural regions, of course. Much animal proverbial lore, especially that of domesticated animals, is common to all sections of Nebraska. Expressions concerning prairie-dogs and jack rabbits are found most often in western Nebraska where these animals are most numerous.

The many comparisons taken from animal life are usually employed to illustrate some characteristic of human nature; it is in this application to human beings that their chief importance lies. The majority of these comparisons refer to undesirable human traits; "as greedy as a pig," "as contrary as a mule," and "as dumb as an ox," are examples. Less disparaging are such comparisons as "as busy as a bee" and "as gentle as a lamb." Some animals are used for both commendatory and abusive comparisons. From the equine family we have both the expressions, "to have good horse sense" and "to eat like a horse." On the whole, however, one particular characteristic seems to be attached to each animal. This tendency is illustrated in such common metaphorical names as "cur," "hog," "bear," and "cow."

Most of these sayings refer to the animals themselves, but a few are concerned with their relations with man. Instances of this kind are "Love me, love my dog" and "Do not look a gift horse in the mouth."

The horse leads all other animals in the proverbial lore of Nebraska. The dog and the cat vie with each other for second place. Cattle, pigs, and sheep also provide a large number of proverbs. Small wild animals, such as rabbits and squirrels, form a surprisingly prolific source, whereas foxes, bears, and wolves figure less prominently in everyday speech. Least common of all are animals not in-

digenous to this part of the country, yet these are not entirely unrepresented. Very well known, indeed, are such expressions as "as bold as a lion" and "as big as an elephant."

Included in this group dealing with lore from animal life are fowls, insects, birds, reptiles, and fish. These offer material for a large number of comparisons. Here, too, there are such pronounced characteristics that metaphorical expressions such as "snake," "bird," and "sucker" convey definite meanings. In this section all of the expressions relating to one animal or animal group are placed together. Alphabetical arrangement is preserved within these subdivisions.

(1) Dogs

Proverbs

1. A dead dog tells no tales.
2. A dog that will bring a bone will take one away.
3. Barking dogs do not bite.
4. Dog eat dog.
5. Every dog has his day.
6. Give a dog a bad name and you may as well hang him.
7. His bark is worse than his bite.
8. I have a bone to pick with you.
9. Let sleeping dogs lie.
10. Love me, love my dog.
11. The hair of the dog is good for the bite.

Proverbial Phrases

12. as crooked as a dog's hind leg.
13. as much use for a thing as a dog has for two tails.
14. as playful as a puppy.
15. as sick as a dog.
16. as sleepy as a dog.
17. as sound as a hound's tooth.
18. as thick as fleas on a dog's back.
19. bulldog tenacity.
20. dog days.
21. enough to make a dog laugh.
22. gone to the dogs.
23. like a scared hound.
24. puppy love.
25. since Hec was a pup.
26. to be a dog in the manger.
27. to die a dog's death.
28. to dog his footsteps.
29. to eat like a dog.
30. to fawn like a dog.
31. to go off with one's tail between one's legs.
32. to have a bulldog jaw.

- 33. to lead a dog's life.
- 34. to lick one's chops.
- 35. to make no bones about a thing.
- 36. to put on dog.
- 37. to work like a dog.

(2) CATS

Proverbs

- 38. A cat may look at a king.
- 39. A singed cat avoids the fire.
- 40. Care killed a cat.
- 41. Cats that wear gloves catch no mice.
- 42. Curiosity killed a cat.
- 43. There are more ways to kill a cat than to choke it on hot butter.
- 44. When the cat's away, the mouse will play.
- 45. You have to catch a cat before you skin it.

Proverbial Phrases

- 46. a different breed of cats.
- 47. as black as a stack of black cats.
- 48. as common as a back-fence cat.
- 49. as green as cat's eyes.
- 50. as harmless as a kitten.
- 51. as high as a cat's back.
- 52. as nervous as a cat.
- 53. as playful as a kitten.
- 54. as sick as a cat.
- 55. as weak as a cat.
- 56. like a cat caught licking cream.
- 57. like a cat licking paste.
- 58. not room enough to cuss a cat in.
- Variant: not room enough to swing a cat in.
- 59. to bell the cat.

This means to undertake a difficult task.

- 60. to grin like a chessy cat.
- The word "chessy" is a mispronunciation of the word "Cheshire" but the incorrect form is that common in current usage.
- 61. to hate water like a cat.
- 62. to have as many lives as a cat.
- 63. to let the cat out of the bag.
- 64. to live a cat and dog life.
- 65. to make a cat's paw of.
- 66. to make the fur fly.
- 67. to purr like a cat.
- 68. to rain cats and dogs.
- 69. to rub one's fur the wrong way.
- 70. to see how the cat jumps.

(3) HORSES

Proverbs

- 71. A short horse is soon curried.
- 72. Every horse thinks his own pack the heaviest.
- 73. Never look a gift horse in the mouth.
- 74. Sit tight.
- This expression comes from horseback riding.
- 75. There is life in the old horse yet.
- 76. You can drive a willing horse to death.
- 77. You can lead a horse to water but you can't make him drink.

Proverbial Phrases

78. a horse laugh.
79. a mare's nest.
80. as coarse as a horse's tail.
81. as contrary as a mule.
82. as frisky as a colt.
83. as poor as a race horse.
84. as skittish as a colt.
85. as sick as a horse.
86. as silly as an ass.
87. head up and tail over the dashboard.
This expression is used of one who is anxious to go.
88. hoss and hoss.
This is an expression used in gambling It means equal.
89. kicked by the same mule.
90. one-horse town.
91. the nerve of a government mule.
This expression is a legacy from Civil War times. The government had a large number of mules in the service.
92. to be a dark horse.
93. to be a horse of a different color.
94. to be a horse for work
95. to be close on the heels of.
96. to be on one's high horse.
97. to be raring to go.
98. to bridle one's tongue.
99. to browse through a library.
100. to die in the harness.
101. to eat like a horse.
102. to feel one's oats.
103. to get the bit in his mouth.
104. to give him line enough.
105. to go Shank's mare.
This means to walk.
106. to have good horse sense.
107. to have her tail over the line.
This means to be ready to go.
108. to hold one's horses.
109. to hold the whip hand.
110. to hoof it.
111. to kick over the traces.
112. to lock the stable door after the horse is stolen.
113. to put the cart before the horse.
114. to put the saddle on the wrong horse.
115. to ride for a fall.
116. to work for a dead horse.

(4) Hogs

Proverbs

117. Root, hog, or die.
118. You can't make a silk purse from a sow's ear.
119. You can't make a whistle out of a pig's tail.

Proverbial Phrases

120. a hog-killing time.
This means a pleasant, exhilarating time. An illustration of its use is, "We had a hog-killing time at the party."
121. as dirty as a pig.
122. as fat as a pig.

- 123. as greedy as a pig.
- 124. as independent as a hog on ice.
- 125. to be left to dance in the hog trough.
- 126. to bleed like a stuck pig.
- 127. to buy a pig in a poke.
- 128. to eat like a pig.
- 129. to get a good scald on a thing.
This means to do a thing well. It comes from the butchering of hogs.
- 130. to go whole hog or none.
- 131. to have the wrong sow by the ear.
- 132. to make a pig of one's self.
- 133. to wait as one pig waits for another.

(5) SHEEP

Proverbs

- 134. Anybody that would take a dare,
Would kill a sheep and eat the hair.
- 135. He might as well be hung for a sheep as a lamb.
- 136. His mind is a-wool-gathering.
- 137. There is one black sheep in every flock.

Proverbial Phrases

- 138. as dumb as a sheep.
- 139. as gentle as a lamb.
- 140. as meek as a lamb.
- 141. to be a black sheep.
- 142. to cast sheep's eyes.
- 143. to fleece anyone.

(6) CATTLE

Proverbs

- 144. Don't swallow the cow and worry with the tail.
This proverb is related in meaning to the Biblical saying, "Strain at a gnat and swallow a camel."
- 145. Give that calf more rope.
- 146. That will bring her to her milk.
This expression means, "That will convince her."

Proverbial Phrases

- 147. as dangerous as a mad bull.
- 148. as dumb as an ox.
- 149. as fat as a cow.
- 150. as graceful as a cow.
This ironic comparison is sometimes made more ridiculous by changing it to "as graceful as the bird they call the cow."
- 151. as safe as a cow in the stock yards.
- 152. as strong as an ox.
- 153. like a bull in a china closet.
- 154. like a red rag to a bull.
- 155. till the cows come home.
- 156. to draw in one's horns.
- 157. to kick like a bay steer.
- 158. to look like a dying calf.
- 159. to take the bull by the horns.

(7) FOXES, BEARS, AND WOLVES

Proverbs

160. A sleeping fox catches no poultry.
161. The strength of the pack is the wolf and the strength of the wolf is the pack.

Proverbial Phrases

162. a bear hug.
163. a wolf in sheep's clothing.
164. as clumsy as a bear.
165. as cross as a bear.
166. as hungry as a bear.
167. as rough as a bear.
168. as sly as a fox.
169. like a bear after wild honey.
170. to cry "wolf" too often.
This expression comes from the story of "The Boy who Cried Wolf," one of Aesop's fables.
171. to eat like a wolf.
172. to keep the wolf from the door.
173. to wolf one's food.

(8) RODENTS

Proverbs

174. Rats desert a sinking ship.

Proverbial Phrases

175. as busy as a beaver.
176. as fast as a jack rabbit in front of a prairie fire.
177. as flip as a prairie dog.
This expression which comes from the sandhill region of Nebraska is used especially to refer to a girl who swishes her skirts as the dog flips his tail.
178. as perky as a rabbit's ears.
179. as poor as a church mouse.
180. as quick as a prairie-dog.
181. as scared as a rabbit.
182. as slick as a rat.
183. as thin as a rat.
184. as wet as a drowned rat.
185. as wild as a March hare.
186. as timid as a mouse.
187. as tiny as a mouse.
188. like a rat in a trap.
189. to chatter like a chipmunk.
190. to die like a cornered rat.
191. to fight like a rat in a corner.
192. to jump like a rabbit.
193. to look like a drowned rat.
194. to run like a scared rabbit.
195. to scamper like a squirrel.
196. to work like a beaver.
197. to yip like a prairie-dog.

(9) ANIMALS NOT INDIGENOUS TO NEBRASKA

Proverbial Phrases

198. as big as a hippopotamus.
199. as bold as a brass monkey.

200. as bold as a lion.
 201. as crazy as a baboon.
 202. as dry as a camel.
 203. as fierce as a tiger.
 204. as fleet as a deer.
 See under 206.
 205. as hairy as an ape.
 206. as swift as an antelope.
 Antelope were formerly abundant in Nebraska. Witness Antelope County, Antelope Creek, etc.
 207. as tough as rhinoceros hide.
 208. cold enough to freeze a brass monkey.
 209. like a stag at bay.
 210. to act like a monkey.
 211. to ape.
 212. to beard the lion in his den.
 213. to get the lion's share.
 214. to have a neck like a giraffe's.
 215. to have a rhinoceros hide.
 216. to have an elephant on one's hands.
 217. to laugh like a hyena.
 218. to monkey with a buzz-saw.

(10) REPTILES, FROGS

Proverbs

219. If it were a snake, it would bite you.
 220. The worm will turn.

Proverbial Phrases

221. a big frog in a little puddle.
 222. as cold as a frog.
 223. as cold as a snake.
 224. as crooked as a snake.
 225. as deadly as a cobra.
 226. as hoarse as a frog.
 227. as poisonous as a snake.
 228. as slippery as an eel.
 229. as treacherous as a snake.
 230. as ugly as a turtle.
 231. as wise as a serpent.
 232. crocodile tears.
 Taylor says this expression "is explained by the old belief that crocodiles enticed unwary men into their power by imitating a weeping child."¹
 233. like a stuffed toad.
 234. lower than a snake's belly.
 235. madder than snakes in haying.
 236. to blink like a frog in sweet milk.
 237. to croak like a frog.
 238. to dive like a frog.
 239. to go at a snail's pace.
 240. to hiss like a snake.
 241. to jump like a frog.
 242. to nourish a viper in one's bosom.
 243. to stick out one's head like a turtle.
 244. to worm one's way through.

¹ Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, pp. 197-198.

(11) FOWLS

Proverbs

245. A setting hen never grows fat.
246. Chickens come home to roost.
247. What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Proverbial Phrases

248. a cock and bull story.
249. as a duck takes to water.
250. as busy as an old hen with two chicks.
251. as cocky as a rooster.
252. as downy as a chick.
253. as game as a fighting cock.
254. as mad as a wet hen.
255. as proud as a turkey cock.
256. as scarce as hens' teeth.
257. knee high to a duck.
258. like a chicken with its head off.
259. like water off a duck's back.
260. to be the biggest duck in the puddle.
261. to cackle like a hen.
262. to cook his goose.
263. to count one's chickens before they are hatched.
264. to crow like a rooster.
265. to fly the coop.
266. to have sand in one's gizzard.
267. to look like a dying duck in a thunderstorm.
268. to strut like a turkey cock.
269. to talk turkey.

To talk business is the meaning of this expression.

(12) BIRDS

Proverbs

270. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.
271. A little bird told me.
272. Birds of a feather flock together.
273. Every bird likes to hear himself sing.
274. Every crow thinks her own bird the blackest.
275. Fine feathers make fine birds.
276. One swallow does not make a summer.
277. The bird that can sing and won't sing ought to be made to sing.
278. The birds have flown.
279. The early bird catches the worm.

Proverbial Phrases

280. as black as a crow.
281. as blind as a bat.
282. as blind as an owl.
283. as blind as a wren.
284. as chipper as a sparrow.
285. as crazy as a hoot owl.
286. as crazy as a loon.
287. as free as a bird.
288. as gay as a bird of paradise.
289. as graceful as a swan.

- 290. as light as a feather.
- 291. as mean as a jaybird.
- 292. as meek as a dove.
- 293. as naked as a jay.
- 294. as plump as a partridge.
- 295. as proud as a peacock.
- 296. as small as a wren.
- 297. as sneaking as a chicken hawk.
- 298. as tame as a pigeon.
- 299. as the crow flies.
- 300. as tough as boiled owl.
- 301. as vain as a peacock.
- 302. as wise as an owl.
- 303. bats in the belfry.
- 304. like a hawk watching a chicken.
- 305. not enough to keep a canary alive.
- 306. to be pigeon-breasted.
- 307. to bill and coo.
- 308. to hammer like a woodpecker.
- 309. to have a neck like a crane's.
- 310. to kill two birds with one stone.
- 311. to open one's mouth like a young robin.
- 312. to put salt on a bird's tail.
- 313. to say a crow is white.
This means to tell a falsehood.
- 314. to screech like an owl.
- 315. to sing like a bird.
Variant: to sing like a lark.
- 316. to soar like an eagle.
- 317. to whistle like a quail.

(13) FISH

Proverbs

- 318. All's fish that comes to his net.
- 319. Every fish that escapes seems greater than it is.
- 320. It is a silly fish that is caught twice with the same bait.
- 321. There are just as good fish in the sea as ever were caught.

Proverbial Phrases

- 322. a pretty kettle of fish.
- 323. as big as a whale.
- 324. as cold as a fish.
- 325. as dead as a herring.
- 326. as much backbone as a jellyfish.
- 327. as red as a boiled lobster.
- 328. as slippery as an eel.
- 329. like a fish out of water.
- 330. to be packed in like sardines in a box.
- 331. to crab.
- 332. to crawfish out.
- 333. to drink like a fish.
- 334. to fish for a thing.
- 335. to have a mouth like a sucker's.
- 336. to have other fish to fry.
- 337. to jump like a trout.
- 338. to shut up like an oyster.
- 339. to sponge one's way.

(14) INSECTS

Proverbial Phrases

- 340. a bee in his bonnet.
- 341. a bug in his ear.
- 342. a fly in the ointment.
- 343. as busy as a bee.
- 344. as cheerful as a cricket.
- 345. as crazy as a bedbug.
- 346. as full as a tick.
- 347. as gay as a butterfly.
- 348. as green as a grasshopper.
- 349. as happy as a cricket.
- 350. as lively as a cricket
- 351. as mad as a hornet.
- 352. as spry as a cricket.
- 353. knee high to a grasshopper.
- 354. like a moth in a candle.
- 355. to bring a hornet's nest about one's ears.
- 356. to buzz around like a gnat.
- 357. to buzz like a bee.
- 358. to chirp like a cricket.
- 359. to flit like a butterfly.
- 360. to put a flea in his ear.
- 361. to spit tobacco juice like a grasshopper.
- 362. to sting like a hornet.

(15) MISCELLANEOUS GROUP OF ANIMAL PROVERBIAL PHRASES

- 363. as blind as a mole.
- 364. as lousy as a pet coon.
- 365. as nimble as a goat.
- 366. as sly as a mink.
- 367. to be hidebound.
- 368. to be neither fish nor flesh nor good red herring.
- 369. to be the goat.
- 370. to get one's goat.
 Variants: to get one's nanny.
 to get one's angora.
- 371. to have a stomach like a goat.
- 372. to scamper like a goat.
- 373. to smell like a goat.
- 374. to smell like a skunk.
- 375. to turn tail.

III

NATURE

The proverbial lore grouped in this section is derived from nature in its various aspects. An exception is weather, which is treated separately. Natural objects, being a part of the environment of all Nebraskans, form a prolific source of the aphoristic sayings current in the state.

The inevitable passing of time is a matter of great interest; illustrative is the traditional saying, "Time and tide wait for no man." The phenomena of day and night have become a part of daily speech in such commonly used expressions as "The darkest hour is just before the dawn," and "The longest day will come to an end." Trees, flowers, streams, rocks, the moon, the sun, and stars all have qualities which are somehow applicable in a figurative way to the lives of human beings. These qualities have managed to get themselves established in many proverbs. Among the best known are: "Great oaks from little acorns grow," and "Every rose has its thorn."

Obviously, natural objects afford a fertile field for the production of proverbial phrases. Similes such as "as blue as the sky" and "as old as the hills" are very numerous.

Proverbs

1. A rolling stone gathers no moss.
2. A tree is known by its fruit.
3. Constant dripping wears away the hardest stone.
4. Diamond cut diamond.
5. Distance lends enchantment.
6. Do not whistle until you are out of the woods.
7. Every cloud has a silver lining.
8. Every rose has its thorn.
9. Far off fields are greenest.
10. Go to grass.
11. Great oaks from little acorns grow.
12. He is not out of the woods, yet.
13. He let no grass grow under his feet.
14. He went through the woods and through the woods and picked up a crooked stick at last.
15. He will never set the world on fire.
16. Ill weeds grow apace.
17. It beats all the way the weeds grow.
18. It goes against the grain.
19. It's a long road that has no turning.

Variant: It's a long lane that has no turning.

20. More water has gone under the bridge.

Variant: More water has run down the hill.

Both these expressions are used to indicate passage of time.

21. Never is a long time.
 22. Oil and water will not mix.
 23. Steady pecking makes a hole in the rock.
 24. Stick to your bush.

This proverb comes from berry picking

25. Still waters run deep.
 26. Take time by the forelock.
 27. The darkest hour is just before the dawn.
 28. The longest day will come to an end.
 29. The moon is made of green cheese.
 30. The night hath ears.
 31. There's nothing new under the sun.
 32. Time and tide wait for no man.
 33. Where there's smoke, there's some fire.
 34. You cannot see the woods for the trees.
 35. You never miss the water till the well runs dry.
 36. You can't get blood out of a turnip.

Proverbial Phrases

1. a bed of roses.
 2. a bolt from the blue.
 3. as bald as an egg.
 4. as big as all outdoors.
 5. as black as tar.
 6. as blue as indigo.
 7. as blue as the sky.
 8. as bold as brass.
 9. as brown as a berry.
 10. as clear as a crystal.
 11. as cool as a cucumber.
 12. as cross as two sticks.
 13. as deep as the sea.
 14. as dry as a bone.
 15. as dry as dust.
 16. as easy as falling off a log.
 17. as fleecy as a cloud.
 18. as free as air.
 19. as free as the wind.
 20. as good as gold.
 21. as gray as putty.
 22. as green as a gourd.
 23. as green as grass.
 24. as happy as the day is long
 25. as hard as a rock.
 26. as heavy as lead.
 27. as high as heaven.
 28. as large as life.
- Sometimes the words, "and twice as natural" are added.
29. as light as day.
 30. as much alike as two peas in a pod.
 31. as old as the hills.
 32. as pure as a lily.
 33. as red as a beet.

34. as soft as thistle-down.
35. as sweet as a rose.
36. as tight as the bark on a tree.
37. as welcome as a snowball in hell.
38. as white as snow.
39. like a bump on a log.
40. not the only pebble on the beach.
41. small potatoes and few in a hill.
This is said of a thing of inferior quality.
42. sour grapes.
43. to be a clinging vine.
44. to be a diamond in the rough.
45. to be a hard nut to crack.
46. to be between the bark and the wood.
This saying is related in meaning to the one which follows it; it means to be between two evils.
47. to be between the devil and the deep blue sea.
48. to be between two fires.
49. to be born under a lucky star.
50. to be in clover.
51. to be rotten to the core.
52. to be the apple of his eye.
53. to be tied to a sour apple tree.
This means to be married to an undesirable person.
54. to blush like a rose.
55. to break the ice.
56. to call it a day.
57. to cut the ground from under his feet.
58. to dry up on the vine.
This is used to designate a non-progressive person.
59. to gild the lily.
60. to go through fire and water.
61. to go to seed.
62. to grow like a weed.
63. to lay a straw to.
64. to leave no stone unturned.
65. to look as if one had been drawn through a knot hole.
66. to look like the last rose of summer.
67. to pull the wool over his eyes.
68. to quake like an aspen leaf.
69. to rattle like peas in a pod.
70. to skate on thin ice.
71. to split a hair.
72. to steal his thunder.
73. to stick like a burr.
74. to turn night into day.

IV WEATHER

Proverbial lore about weather is less extensive in Nebraska than a consideration of the widespread interest and importance of the subject would lead one to expect. It seems reasonable to assume that a large body of proverbs on weather would be current in a state predominately agricultural in its interests, yet the following list of such expressions is comparatively small. The explanation is that weather folklore takes various forms; there are current signs, omens, and traditions, as well as proverbs, on the subject of weather. It is definiteness of form which differentiates a proverb from other folklore. Advice as to the proper time of planting, for example, is usually not proverbial because the wording of it is not constant, although the content may be fairly stable.

The majority of weather proverbs are prognostic in nature. This tendency toward forecasting is illustrated in the saying, "April showers bring May flowers." The practical value of such weather predictions is questionable. They often express in a general way obvious truths that have almost no prognostic value. That even those who use weather proverbs have a healthy doubt of their trustworthiness is indicated in the axiom, "All signs fail in dry weather."

The proverbs grouped here include not only the prophetic weather sayings which must be taken literally, but also aphorisms which are derived from weather conditions and have a figurative significance. Illustrative of these metaphorical weather proverbs are "After a storm comes a calm," and "Lightning never strikes twice in the same place." This figurative quality is especially apparent in the proverbial phrases listed in this section. Such expressions as "as right as rain" and "to look like a thunder cloud" are examples.

Rhymed proverbs seem to be more numerous in this group than in any other section. Doubtless they owe much of their longevity to use of rhyme.

Proverbs

1. A green Christmas makes a full church yard.
Variant: A mild winter makes a full church yard.
2. After a storm comes a calm.
3. All signs fail in dry weather.
4. April showers bring May flowers.
5. Evening red and morning gray help the traveler on his way;
Evening gray and morning red bring down rain upon his head.
6. Every cloud has a silver lining.
7. Friday is always the fairest or foulest.
8. If March comes in like a lamb, it will go out like a lion.
The reverse of this is also in current oral use.
9. If it rains on Easter, it will rain for seven Sundays in order.
10. It never rains but it pours.
11. It's an ill wind that blows nobody good.
12. Lightning never strikes twice in the same place.
13. Make hay while the sun shines.
14. Rain before seven; dry before eleven.
Variant: Rain at seven; fine at eleven.
15. Rainbow in the east, sign of a farmer's feast;
Rainbow in the west, sign of a farmer's rest.
16. Red sky in the morning, sailors take warning,
Red sky at night; sailor's delight.
17. Set your sail the way the wind blows.
18. She brings her sun dogs with her.
This saying is most common in the sandhill region where sun dogs are more prevalent than in other parts of the state. It refers to a woman who makes a good initial impression yet is suspected by the pessimistic of being less than she seems.
19. Snowbirds fly high.
This means they are flying in bunches, which indicates a storm.
20. Straws show the way the wind blows.
21. Sunshine when it rains, rain tomorrow.
22. The almanac-writer makes the almanac but God makes the weather.
23. The north wind doth blow
And we shall have snow.
24. There is always a calm before a storm.
25. Those who are weather-wise are rarely otherwise.
26. Thunder in the morning; thunder in the evening.
The figurative meaning of this is that if one wakes up feeling cross, he will be cross all day.
37. When a rain crow calls, there will be rain.
28. When the wind is in the east
It's good for neither man nor beast.
29. When the wind's in the west
The weather's at the best.

Proverbial Phrases

1. as fast as greased lightning.
2. as loud as thunder.
3. as right as rain.
4. in the merry month of May.
5. midsummer madness.
6. to find a pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow.
7. to have spring fever.
8. to keep something for a rainy day.

9. to know which way the wind blows.
10. to leave under a cloud.
11. to look like a thunder cloud.
12. to see a storm brewing.
This means to see trouble coming.
13. to steal another's thunder.
14. to think the sun rises or sets in a certain person.
15. to thunder.

V

WOMEN, LOVE, AND MARRIAGE

Love and marriage are experiences which are common to the majority of humankind; therefore they are productive of much proverbial lore. Love is a subject of universal interest, either sympathetic or hostile. Marriage, probably the most important of all human relationships, naturally looms large in the sayings of most languages.

The proverbs on love and courtship indicate a sympathetic point of view, on the whole. Such maxims as "All the world loves a lover," and "Love laughs at locksmiths," show a kindly tolerance. On the other hand, the aphoristic sayings dealing with marriage are hardly complimentary to that institution. "A young man married is a young man marred," and "Marriage is a lottery" manifest a distinctly unsympathetic attitude.

Feminine nature has always been the subject of much comment and controversy, some of which has been translated into proverbial lore and has become an established part of the language. Some sayings on women are of a gallant nature, commending their beauty and virtue, but a larger part are either patronizing in tone or openly disparaging. Especially held up to ridicule and censure are the alleged feminine traits of laziness and inconsistency. "A woman's 'no' means 'yes'" illustrates this point of view. Even beauty seems to be regarded as a doubtful asset; to the possessor of it is usually attributed some less desirable trait. Instances of this are "Beauty is but skin deep," and "Beauty never boiled a pot."

It is interesting to note that masculine nature, as distinct from human nature, does not provide material for a correspondingly large body of proverbs. This and the quality of the sayings on women seem to indicate that men, not women, originated most proverbial lore of this type.

Proverbs

1. A scolding wife and a smoking chimney are two bad companions.
2. A whistling girl and a crowing hen
Always come to some bad end.
3. A woman's hair is her crowning glory.

4. A woman's "no" means "yes."
5. A young man married is a young man marred.
Shakespeare used this proverb in a slightly different form: "A young man married is a man that's marred," in *All's Well That Ends Well*, II, iii.
6. Absence makes the heart grow fonder.
7. All is fair in love and war.
8. All the world loves a lover.
Variant: All mankind loves a lover.
9. Be off with the old love before you are on with the new.
10. Beauty is but skin deep.
11. Beauty never boiled a pot.
12. "Because" is a woman's answer.
13. Better be an old man's darling than a young man's slave.
14. Disguise our bondage as we will,
 'Tis woman, woman rules us still.
This quotation, which has become proverbial through use, is from Thomas Moore's poem, *Sovereign Women*.
15. Every Jack must have his Jill.
16. Faint heart ne'er won fair lady.
17. For if she will, she will, you may depend on it;
 And if she won't she won't, and there's an end to it.
18. Happy is the bride the sun shines on,
 Sorry is the bride the rain rains on.
19. Happy is the wooing that is not long in doing.
20. He that would the daughter win
 Must with the mother first begin.
21. He was married before he was dry behind the ears.
22. Her tongue is loose at both ends and tied in the middle.
23. If you change the name and not the letter
 You change for the worse and not for the better.
24. It is better not to spoil two families.
This is said when two unattractive persons marry.
25. It is better not to wed May with December.
26. It takes two to make a match.
27. Love is blind.
28. Love laughs at locksmiths.
29. Love me little, love me long.
30. Love will find a way.
31. Man's work is from sun to sun
 But woman's work is never done.
32. Many a heart is caught on the rebound.
33. Marriage is a lottery.
34. Marriages are made in heaven.
35. Marry in haste and repent at leisure.
36. None but the brave deserve the fair.
From Dryden's Ode, *Alexander's Feast*.
37. Old maids' children are always the best.
38. She has set her cap for him.
39. She wears the breeches at their house.
40. Sweets to the sweet.
This quotation is from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, V, i.
41. The course of true love never runs smooth.
42. The longest way round is the shortest way home.
43. 'Tis better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all.
This well-known saying we owe to Tennyson. It is found in the poem, *In Memoriam*, XXVII, 4.
44. Two is company, three's a crowd.

45. What will Mrs. Grundy say?

Mrs. Grundy has come to stand for a scandalmonger. This saying in the form of an interrogation is from a play by Thomas Morton, *Speed the Plough*, I, 1. 1798.

46. Where cobwebs grow

Beaux never go.

47. Wiving and hanging go by destiny.

This proverb was quoted by Shakespeare in *The Merchant of Venice*, II, ix.

"The ancient saying is no heresy,
Hanging and wiving go by destiny."

VI

VICE AND FOLLY

The comparatively large number of proverbs and proverbial phrases on vice and folly which are current in Nebraska bears witness to the truth of Shakespeare's generalization, "The evil that men do lives after them." In the appended list of proverbs, there are verbal monuments to the weaknesses of many generations of men. Proverbs on this subject are very numerous, not only because to sin is common to all mankind, but also because to speak ill of other persons is a characteristic tendency of human nature. Probably many of the adages in this group owe their longevity, and perhaps their very birth, to this not very commendable trait. The use of pejorative proverbial expressions offers a convenient and effective means of reviling one's enemies. Such sayings as "as false as hell," or "born to be hanged" are illustrations of the succinctness and extreme efficacy of this group.

Aphoristic sayings on vice and folly exemplify a realistic, and sometimes even a cynical point of view toward life. There is validity in Emerson's remark, "That which the droning world, chained to appearances, will not allow the realist to say in his own words, it will suffer him to say in proverbs without contradiction."¹

Many of these proverbs are admonitions and cautions against certain lines of conduct; these usually begin with "don't." Others deal with the inevitability of punishment following sin. Among the phrases, human frailties are subjected to vigorous but unflattering comparisons.

Although the proverbs in this group are often cynical, perhaps even malicious, they are essentially moral. In a discussion of the ethics of this type of folklore, Taylor comments, "Proverbs will not champion martyrdom or villainy."² The truth of this statement is evidenced by the list of proverbs and proverbial phrases which follows. Sin and folly are condemned with the force and potency characteristic of proverbial language.

¹ "Compensation" in *Essays*, First Series.

² Archer Taylor, *The Proverb*, p. 168.

Proverbs

1. A guilty conscience needs no accuser.
2. A lie that is half truth is the blackest lie.
3. A little education is a dangerous thing.
4. A sin confessed is half forgiven.
5. All hell has broken loose.
6. Ask me no questions and I'll tell you no lies.
7. Avoid all appearance of evil.
8. Beware of too great a bargain.
9. Confess and be hanged.
10. Don't bite the hand that feeds you.
11. Don't cross the bridge before you come to it.
12. Don't cut off your nose to spite your face.
13. Don't holler till you are hurt.
14. Don't judge others by yourself.
15. Don't kick a man when he is down.
16. Don't pay too much for your whistle.
This comes from a story of Benjamin Franklin in which he, in his own words, "paid dear, very dear for his whistle."
17. Don't put off till to-morrow what you can do to-day.
18. Don't sail too near the wind.
19. Don't trouble trouble till trouble troubles you.
20. Easy come, easy go.
21. Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost.
22. Fools and children tell the truth.
23. Fool's names and fool's faces
Are always seen in public places.
24. Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.
25. Fortune favors fools.
26. Give a man an ill name and hang him.
Variant: Give a dog an ill name and hang him.
27. Give a thief rope enough and he'll hang himself.
28. Give him an inch and he'll take a mile.
29. Haste makes waste.
30. He can't see an inch before his nose.
31. He doesn't dare show his head.
32. He jests at scars who never felt a wound.
This proverb we owe to Shakespeare. It is found in *Romeo and Juliet*, II, ii.
33. He strokes with one hand and stabs with the other.
34. He that will not work shall not eat.
35. He wants the whole world with a fence around it.
Variants: He wants the whole world with a potato patch on the other side.
 He wants the world with a fence around it and a slice off the moon.
36. It is a sin to steal a pin.
37. It takes a thief to catch a thief.
38. Lazy wretch at table doth stretch.
39. Lost time can never be found again.
40. Man convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still.
41. Murder will out.
42. Neither a borrower nor a lender be.
This proverb comes from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, I, iii.
43. Never let the sun set on your anger.
44. None so deaf as he who won't hear.
45. Of two evils, choose the lesser.

46. One may smile and smile and be a villain.
This exact wording is found in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, I, v.
47. Procrastination is the thief of time.
48. Show me a liar and I'll show you a thief.
49. The devil some mischief finds for idle hands to do.
50. The idle brain is the devil's workshop.
51. The road to hell is paved with good intentions.
52. There is honor among thieves.
53. There is no fool like an old fool.
54. They that touch pitch will be defiled.
55. They who live in glass houses should not throw stones.
56. Whatever is begun in anger ends in shame.
57. What's yours is mine and what's mine is my own.
58. When thieves quarrel, honest men get their dues.
59. Who dances to the tune must pay the piper (fiddler).
60. You are an honest man and I'm your uncle and that's two lies.
61. You can't judge a book by its covers.
62. You can't play with fire without burning your fingers.
63. You can't play with pitch without getting your fingers black.

Proverbial Phrases

1. a fool's paradise.
2. all appearances of evil.
3. as drunk as a lord.
4. as false as hell.
5. as false as the devil.
6. as thick as two thieves.
7. by hook or crook.
8. man's inhumanity to man.
This phrase is from a line in Burns' poem, *Man That Was Made to Mourn*.
9. mean enough to steal the pennies from his dead grandmother's eyes.
Variant: mean enough to steal the pennies from a dead nigger's eyes.
This refers to the practice, formerly employed, of placing pennies on the eyes of a corpse to weight down the lids while they were still warm
10. to add insult to injury.
11. to be afraid of one's own shadow.
12. to be born to be hanged.
13. to be caught red-handed.
14. to be generous to a fault.
15. to be more sinned against than sinning.
16. to be not so black as he is painted.
17. to be not worthy to be mentioned in the same breath.
18. to blow one's own horn.
19. to borrow trouble.
20. to cry out before one is hurt.
21. to cut and run.
This carries an implication of cowardice.
22. to damn with faint praise.
23. to get away with murder.
24. to give some one a black eye.
25. to have a heart as black as hell.
26. to have not enough sense to come in out of the rain.
27. to have not enough sense to pound sand in a rat hole.
28. to kill with kindness.
This is an old expression. Thomas Heywood wrote in 1608 a comedy named *A Woman Kille with Kindness*.

29. to play fast and loose.

30. to play with fire.

31. to play the fool.

32. to play whaley.

This expression, common in oral language, is not usually included in collections of proverbs. It means to do the wrong thing.

33. to stick one's head in the noose.

34. to tell tales out of school.

35. to tilt at windmills.

An incident in *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, furnishes the origin for this expression. It means to dissipate one's energy in futile combat.

36. to tramp all day in a half bushel.

This is said of a person who expends a great deal of energy but accomplishes little.

37. to wink at a thing.

38. when patience ceases to be a virtue.

VII

VIRTUE AND WISDOM

Less productive of proverbial lore than vice and folly, the topics of the preceding section, are the opposite human characteristics of virtue and wisdom. The tendency to talk less about the desirable qualities of men than about their faults and weaknesses seems to be universal. Virtue and wisdom are admirable but less interesting than vice and folly as topics of conversation; and it is in conversation that most proverbial lore gains its wide currency.

In Professor Archer Taylor's discussion of the ethical traits of proverbs, he states that "A sound skepticism pervades proverbial wisdom,"¹ and that "The most striking trait in the ethics of proverbs is the adherence to the middle way."² These two characteristics of proverbial lore are particularly well exemplified in the aphoristic sayings in the following group.

Many of the proverbs on virtue and wisdom are of an admonitory nature, encouraging the acquisition of the obvious virtues of honesty, industry, thrift, perseverance, and prudence. Kindness and tolerance are less commonly treated, although "Bear and forebear," and "Give the devil his dues" are well known. Industry and its associated virtue, perseverance, are the qualities most universally approved. Examples are "Better wear out than rust out," and "A used key is always bright." Second in the list of highly commended traits seems to be honesty.

Proverbs on wisdom are very scarce, indeed. "Great minds run in the same channel," and "Wise men change their minds; fools never" are among the few sayings celebrating the sagacity of mankind. The infrequency of proverbs on this subject indicates again the curious reluctance of human beings to laud their fellows. Ready to praise the judgment of individuals, they refuse to consider wisdom characteristic enough to be proverbial.

Interesting to notice in this group are the proverbs of a consolatory type which contain a kind of promise of reward

¹ *The Proverb*, p. 169.

² *Ibid.*, p. 168.

of virtue. "Be good and you'll be happy," and the cheerful "You can't keep a good man down" illustrate this group. Commenting on proverbs of this kind, Professor Taylor says, "Just as reflective men see life in the light of eternal truths and formulate them in apothegms and aphorisms, so the folk seeks and finds support in the common humanity of proverbial philosophy."³

Proverbs

1. A patch beside a patch is neighborly
But a patch upon a patch is beggarly.
2. A task well begun is half done.
3. A thing worth doing at all is worth doing well.
4. A used key is always bright.
5. A word to the wise is sufficient.
6. All work and no play make Jack a dull boy,
But all play and no work make Jack a mere toy.
7. An honest confession is good for the soul.
8. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure.
9. Appearances are deceitful.
10. Be good and you'll be happy.
11. Be just before you are generous.
12. Be sure you are right; then go ahead.
13. Bear and forbear.
14. Better bend than break.
15. Better late than never.
In complete contradiction to this is the saying, "Better never late."
16. Better wear out than rust out.
17. Brevity is the soul of wit.
This saying we owe to Shakespeare. It is found in *Hamlet* II, ii.
18. Charity begins at home.
19. Discretion is the better part of valor.
20. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.
21. Experience is a dear school but fools learn in no other.
Variant: Experience is the best teacher.
22. First come, first served.
23. Give the devil his dues.
24. Give to the world the best you have and the best will come back to you.
This quotation is from an American poem, *Life's Mirror*, by Madeline Bridges (Mary Ainge DeVere), whose work appeared 1870-1915.
25. God helps him who helps himself.
26. Great minds run in the same channels.
27. Grin and bear it.
28. Handsome is as handsome does.
Variant: Pretty is as pretty does.
29. He will stick to it if it takes all summer.
30. He wouldn't steal a pin.
31. His word is as good as his bond.
32. Honesty is the best policy.
33. If at first you don't succeed, try, try again.
34. It is never too late to mend.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

35. It will all be the same in a hundred years.
 36. It's a poor rule that won't work both ways.
 37. It's no use trying to please everybody.
 Variant: You can't please everybody.
 38. Keep your tongue within your teeth.
 39. Know yourself.
 This is a proverb of Greek origin. It was the motto of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.
 40. Knowledge is power.
 41. Let well enough alone.
 42. Live and learn.
 43. Live and let live.
 44. Make hay while the sun shines.
 45. Man proposes, God disposes.
 46. Many a truth is spoken in jest.
 47. My mind is a kingdom to me.
 This proverb has a long and varied literary history. Its poetic form is, "My mind to me a kingdom is."
 48. No man can live unto himself.
 49. One good turn deserves another.
 50. One to-day is worth two to-morrows.
 51. Opportunity knocks but once at every man's door.
 52. Practice makes perfect.
 53. Practice what you preach.
 54. Rome was not built in a day.
 This is one of the very few proverbs current in Nebraska which has a historic background.
 55. Second thoughts are best thoughts.
 56. Slow and steady does it.
 57. Some are wise and some otherwise.
 58. Success is two per cent inspiration and ninety-eight perspiration.
 59. Sweet are the uses of adversity.
 This proverb is found in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, II, i.
 60. Tell the truth and shame the devil.
 61. The good die young.
 62. The middle path is the safe path.
 63. There are two sides to every story.
 64. There is no royal road to learning.
 65. There is no time like the present.
 66. There is nothing that costs so little nor goes so far as courtesy.
 67. They who cannot have what they like should learn to like what they have.
 68. To err is human, to forgive divine.
 Alexander Pope's phrasing in his *Essay on Criticism*
 69. To the pure, all things are pure.
 70. Truth is stranger than fiction.
 71. Virtue is its own reward.
 72. Well begun is half done.
 73. What can't be cured.
 Must be endured.
 74. Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.
 This is the last line of the poem, *On a Distant Prospect of Eton College*, by Thomas Gray.
 75. Where there's a will, there's a way.
 76. Where there's room in the heart, there's room in the house.
 77. Wise men change their minds; fools never.
 78. You cannot dream yourself into a character; you must forge one out for yourself.
 80. You can't keep a good man down.

VIII

MONEY

Money and its allied subjects, poverty and wealth, are of universal interest. Even a cursory reading of collections of proverbs of various nations reveals the widespread human regard for the possession of means. That Nebraskans are not excluded from this general concern for worldly wealth is demonstrated by the list of proverbs and proverbial phrases on the subject current in their state.

A study of the history of these expressions shows that but few of them are of recent origin; the majority have come from the proverbial lore of England or other countries. Such sayings as "Penny wise; pound foolish" have become current in Nebraska, although there is no pound in the system of currency used here, probably because there is no other expression which conveys the same meaning in such a pointed manner. Singular, too, is the tenacity with which the phrase, "as rich as Croesus" has kept its place in the language, since Croesus lived in the sixth century B. C., and has been succeeded by many far wealthier men.

Many old English proverbs on this subject emphasized the superiority of the man of wealth over his less affluent fellow. An instance of this is the saying, "poor but honest." Not many expressions of this type have taken root in Nebraska soil; perhaps this may be accounted for by the ideals of democracy held and propagated by the pioneers of the state. "It is no sin to be poor," and "The more he has, the more he wants" illustrate this tendency away from veneration for the rich man. A feeling of respect and strong approval for the money itself has not died down, however, as is attested in the proverbs, "Money talks," and "Money makes the mare go."

The widespread use of money doubtless accounts for its fertility in providing comparisons to illustrate and illuminate traits of human nature. "To feel like thirty cents" and "as bright as a dollar" are examples of this large group.

Proverbs

1. A bad penny always turns up.
2. A fool and his money are soon parted.
3. A penny saved is a penny earned.

4. All is not gold that glitters.
Shakepeare was quoting an old international proverb when he used this in *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vii.
5. Beggars cannot be choosers.
6. Better an empty purse than an empty head.
7. Beware of little expense.
8. Every man has his price.
Variant: All men have their price.
9. He that waits for a dead man's shoes may long go barefoot.
10. He who buys what he does not need will often need what he cannot buy.
11. His money burns a hole in his pocket.
12. If you would know the value of money, try to borrow some.
13. It is no sin to be poor.
14. Money is a good servant but a bad master.
15. Money makes the man.
16. Money makes the mare go.
17. Money makes the pot boil.
18. Money talks.
19. My tastes do not fit my pocketbook.
20. Nothing makes money faster than money.
21. Penny wise; pound foolish.
22. Possession is nine points of the law.
23. Poverty is no disgrace.
To this are sometimes added the words, "but being ashamed of it is."
24. Put a beggar on horseback and he will ride to the devil.
25. Riches and wealth will soon fade away.
But manners and learning will never decay.
26. Riches have wings.
This is probably a shortened version of the Biblical proverb, "Riches certainly make themselves wings."
27. Save at the spigot and waste at the bung.
28. Take care of the dimes and the dollars will take care of themselves.
29. The more we have, the more we want.
30. That's too much sugar for a cent.
31. Them as has gets.
32. Waste not; want not.
33. Wilful waste brings woeful want.

Proverbial Phrases

1. a beggar on horseback.
2. a penny for your thoughts.
3. as bright as a dollar.
4. as rich as a Jew.
5. as rich as Croesus.
6. ill gotten gain.
7. not for love nor money.
8. to bank on a thing.
9. to be born with a silver spoon in one's mouth.
10. to be head over heels in debt.
11. to be not worth a continental.
12. to be not worth a plugged nickel.
13. to be not worth a rap.
"Rap" means a coin of infinitesimal value. Dean Swift in his *Drapier's Letters* (1755) mentions a rap as a counterfeit coin, worth about half a farthing, which passed current for a half penny in Ireland in the 18th century, owing to the scarcity of genuine money.
14. to be poor but honest.
15. to be poor but proud.

16. to be up to his eyes in debt.
17. to buy something for a song.
18. to buy something for nothing.
19. to buy something on a shoe string.
20. to feel like thirty cents.
21. to get more than one bargained for.
22. to have not a penny to bless one's self with.
23. to have not a penny to one's name.
24. to have not a penny to rub against another.
25. to live from hand to mouth.
26. to make both ends meet.
27. to make capital of something.
28. to pay him back in his own coin.
29. to sow money.

Variant: to scatter money.

These expressions mean to spend money very freely.

30. wouldn't give a nickel for a car load.
 31. wouldn't give a nickel with a hole in it.
- Variant: wouldn't give a plugged nickel.

IX

HOME LIFE

Home life is a many-faceted subject. Included in the section dealing with it are proverbs and proverbial phrases on the allied topics of household tasks, child nature and such acts as eating, usually carried on in the home.

The home itself, widely celebrated in verse and prose, is the theme of rather fewer proverbs than might be expected. Some express an affectionate regard for home, e.g., "East or west, home is best." Others such as "A home is a place to eat and sleep" indicate a more casual attitude. Sayings on child nature, as distinct from human nature in general, are very few.

From household tasks have come such well-known proverbs as "A new broom sweeps clean," and "Too many cooks spoil the broth." It is interesting to note that the phase of the homemaker's work which is most productive of proverbial lore is cooking; sewing and cleaning excite much less general interest, evidently. The tools of the housekeeper, the needle, the broom, and various cooking utensils, loom large in our everyday proverbial allusions.

Eating and sleeping are common to all mankind; therefore they yield a large number of well-known sayings. Closely related to these two topics is the subject of health; in fact, some admonitions in regard to eating and sleeping might be classified as health proverbs, e.g., "An apple a day keeps the doctor away" and "One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two hours' afterward."

Among the proverbial phrases dealing with home life, food provides material for a large number of similes. Illustrative of this group are "as easy as pie" and "as flat as a pancake." The three foods oftenest mentioned in these sayings are bread, pie, and cake. Household duties are represented in such proverbial phrases as "to wash one's dirty linen in public" and "to put on the shelf."

Proverbs

1. A burnt child dreads the fire.
2. A man's home is his castle.
This is related to the proverb, "In my own home, I am king"
3. A new broom sweeps clean.
4. A pitcher that goes off to the well is broken at last.
5. A stitch in time saves nine.
6. A watched kettle never boils.
7. An apple a day keeps the doctor away.
A predecessor of this American expression is the English proverb.
 "Eat an apple on going to bed
 And you'll keep the doctor from earning his bread"
8. As you have made your bed, so you must lie in it.
9. Bread is the staff of life.
An interesting old English version of this proverb is, "Bread is the staff
 of life but beer is life itself."
10. Children and fools tell the truth.
11. Children should be seen and not heard.
12. Cut your sail according to your cloth.
13. Do not bite off more than you can chew.
14. Do not put all your eggs in one basket.
15. Early to bed and early to rise
Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.
 This is one of Benjamin Franklin's adages included in his preface to
Poor Richard Improved.
16. East or west, home is best.
17. Eat to live, do not live to eat.
18. Every tub must sit on its own bottom.
19. Half a loaf is better than no bread at all.
20. Health is wealth.
21. His bread is buttered on both sides.
22. Home is where my hat is off.
23. How sharper than a serpent's tooth is a thankless child.
This quotation is from Shakespeare's *King Lear*, I, iv.
24. Hunger is the best sauce.
25. It will all come out in the wash.
26. Little chests may hold great treasures.
27. Little pitchers have big ears.
28. Many men dig their graves with their teeth.
29. One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two hour's after.
30. Silks and satins put out the kitchen fire.
31. Sweep your own doorstep off first.
32. That's meat and drink to me.
33. That might happen in the best regulated family.
34. The fat is in the fire.
35. The nearer the bone, the sweeter the meat.
36. The pot calls the kettle black.
37. The proof of the pudding in the eating thereof.
38. There's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip.
This is an old saying coming from the Greeks.
 Its translated form is: "Many things happen between the cup and the
 upper lip."
39. There's no place like home.
Occasionally in oral usage, this is prefixed by the phrase, "Be it ever so
 humble," from the song, *Home Sweet Home*, by John Howard Payne
 (1823). It is related to the English proverb, "Home is home, though
 never so homely."
40. This won't buy the baby any shoes nor pay for the ones he has.
41. Too many cooks spoil the broth.

42. We must all eat a peck of dirt before we die.
43. Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest.
44. What is home without a mother?
45. What's one man's meat is another man's poison.
46. You cannot eat your cake and have it.
47. You cannot spoil a rotten egg.
48. Your cake is all dough.

Proverbial Phrases

1. a pot boiler.
2. a tempest in a teapot.
3. as black as chimney soot.
4. as easy as a pie.
5. as flat as a pancake.
6. as if butter would not melt in his mouth.
7. as innocent as a new-born babe.
8. as red as a new-born baby.
9. as short as pie crust.
10. as slow as molasses in January.
11. as soft as butter.
12. as thick as three in a bed.
13. as tight as the paper on the wall.
14. as warm as toast.
15. to add fuel to the flame.
16. to be at loose ends.
17. to be cut over the same pattern.
18. to be half-baked.

This is an abbreviation of an English proverbial expression, "to be put in with the bread and taken out with the cakes, to be half-baked."¹

19. to be in hot water.
20. to be not worth his salt.
21. to be on pins and needles
22. to be tied to one's mother's apron strings.
23. to bring home the bacon.
24. to carry water on both shoulders.
25. to eat humble pie.
26. to eat one out of house and home.
27. to eat his bread.

This is related to the phrase, "to sleep under his roof." They both mean to accept another's hospitality.

28. to eat one's heart out.
29. to eat one's words.
30. to fetch some one over the coals.
Variant: to rake some one over the coals.
31. to get into hot water.
32. to get out on the wrong side of the bed.
Variant: to get out of bed with the wrong foot first.
33. to go like a house afire.
34. to go like clock work.
35. to go to bed supperless.
37. to go to pot.
38. to hang by a thread.
39. to have a bellyful.
40. to have a bitter pill to swallow.
41. to have a family skeleton.

¹ G. L. Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p. 376. 1929.

- 42. to have a finger in the pie.
- 43. to have a mind like a sieve.
- 44. to jump out of the frying pan into the fire.
- 45. to know on which side one's bread is buttered.
- 46. to make one's mouth water.
- 47. to make the pot boil.
- 48. to make up out of whole cloth.
- 49. to pin him down.
- 50. to pin one's faith to a thing.
- 51. to pour water in a sieve.
- 52. to put on the shelf.

In keeping with the American preference for shortened forms, this has been abbreviated to the expression, "to shelve."

- 53. to put one's finger in the pie.

- 54. to raise the roof.

- 55. to return to one's mutton.

This means to return to whatever one was doing.

- 56. to rise betimes.

- 57. to sleep like a log.

- 58. to sleep like a top.

- 59. to sleep with one eye open.

- 60. to spill the beans.

- 61. to stew in one's own juice.

Variant: to fry in one's own grease.

- 62. to take it with a grain of salt.

- 63. to take one's medicine.

- 64. to take the cake.

- 65. to take two bites at a cherry.

This is used of a very fastidious person.

- 66. to wash one's dirty linen in public.

Variant: to air one's dirty linen in public.

PROFESSIONS AND TRADES

The characteristics peculiar to specific professions and trades are neither well enough known nor of enough general interest to cause them to be very productive as sources of proverbial lore. Every profession or trade has its own particular jargon and set of idiomatic expressions, but such sayings are usually employed only by persons who are actually engaged in a profession or trade. It is only occasionally that one of these expressions establishes itself as a part of the language of the folk. Examples of these rare instances are "Stick to your last," derived from the cobbler's work, and "The shoemaker's child goes barefoot."

Proverbial phrases finding their origin in the professions and trades are more common than proverbs proper. Among the artistic professions, the actor's is particularly prolific of stock sayings. "To give the show away" and "to take one's cue" have come to possess a figurative significance understood and applied by many who are not directly concerned with the stage. Military and commercial life each contribute several phrases and many professions and trades are the sources of one or two widely current expressions.

Some of the sayings in this list are obviously of recent origin, notably those referring to trades in which modern mechanical devices are used, e.g., "to blow off steam" and "to be a live wire."

Proverbs

1. A fair exchange is no robbery.
2. A poor workman always blames his tools.
3. Always tell your doctor and your lawyer the truth.
4. Business is business.
5. If "ifs" and "ands" were pots and pans,
There were little need of tinkers.
6. It's a poor workman who loses his tools.
7. It's all in the day's work.
8. Jack of all trades; master of none.
9. Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee.
10. Politics make queer bedfellows.
11. Stick to your last.
12. Stick to your text.
13. The die is cast.

14. The postman takes a nice, long walk on his vacation.
This ironic saying is used to refer to one who cannot get away from his business even in his leisure hours.
15. The shoemaker's child goes barefoot.
Variant: The shoemaker's wife goes barefoot.
16. There are tricks in all trades.
17. Watch your step.
18. You're the doctor.
This is an Americanism, meaning, "You are directing this."

Proverbial Phrases

(1) FROM THE ARTISTIC PROFESSIONS

1. a song and a dance.
2. the drama of life.
3. to act a part.
4. to be a puppet.
5. to be in the limelight.
Variant: to be in the spotlight.
6. to be the power behind the scenes.
7. to change one's tune.
8. to give some one a big hand.
9. to give the show away.
10. to have the leading role.
11. to put the finishing touches on a thing.
12. to set the stage for an event.
13. to stage a come-back.
14. to stage a farce.
This is related in meaning to the more common "to make a scene."
15. to steal some one's stuff.
16. to take one's cue.
17. to take one's last curtain.

(2) FROM MILITARY LIFE

18. to bear the brunt of the attack.
19. to fall into line.
20. to pass muster.
21. to soldier on the job.
22. to stand one's ground.
23. to steal a march on another.

(3) FROM UNCLASSIFIED TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

24. a baker's dozen.
25. as busy as a cranberry merchant.
26. as sober as a judge.
27. to be a live wire.
28. to be bought and sold.
This means to be betrayed.
29. to blow off steam.
30. to come under the hammer.
This expression comes from the language of the auctioneer
31. to feel sold.
The meaning of this phrase is to feel chagrined
32. to get more than one bargained for.
33. to go at a thing hammer and tongs.
34. to have a screw loose.
35. to have a thing in black and white.
36. to have one's work cut out for one.

- 37. to have other irons in the fire.
- 38. to hit the nail on the head.
- 39. to keep one's nose to the grindstone.
- 40. to knock off work.
- 41. to lay down on the job.
- 42. to make the best of a bad bargain.
- 43. to mean business.
- 44. to put through the mill.
- 45. to strike a balance.
- 46. to talk shop.
- 47. to throw on the scrap heap.
This is often abbreviated to the phrase "to scrap."
- 48. to turn the scales.

XI

SPORTS AND GAMES

The emphasis placed on sports and games in modern life is reflected in the sizable body of proverbial lore on these subjects current in Nebraska. Some of these, such as "to be in at the killing" and "to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds," are heritages from old England, but the majority are of comparatively recent origin and many of them are conspicuously American. Most of the phrases on hunting and shooting came from England or there are expressions parallel in meaning to them in English proverbial lore. Obviously, however, the sayings derived from the national sport of baseball are distinctively American in origin and use.

This popular game of baseball has produced several sayings that are widely current even among persons unfamiliar with the game. Boxing, wrestling, and horse-racing are other sources of a considerable number of proverbial sayings. Phrases derived from football and golf are fewer than the popularity of these games would indicate.

Card playing, perhaps because it involves participators, rather than spectators, is the most productive of current aphoristic sayings. Most of these may refer to any card game but some had their origin in specific games, e.g., "to have a poker face" and "to euchre."

All of the phrases in this group are figurative in nature; they are not expressions concerning sports and games but sayings derived from those activities applicable to many fields of life. It will be noted that the list is made up almost entirely of phrases rather than of proverbs proper.

Proverbial Phrases

(1) FROM BASEBALL

1. Play ball.

This expression in very wide current use, means to go ahead with the business in hand.

2. right off the bat.

3. to be a south paw.

4. to be caught with one's foot off base.

5. to get to first base.

This is most often used in a negative form; e.g., "He will never get to first base."

6. to have one's inning.
7. to have two strikes on him.
8. to make a home run.

This is used of a success of any kind. A characteristic American abbreviation of this, also used figuratively, is "to homer."

9. to strike out.
10. to umpire.

(2) FROM BOXING AND WRESTLING

11. at the clang of the gong.
12. to be an intellectual heavy-weight.
13. to be down but not out.
14. to give a body blow.
15. to go to the mat with.
16. to have him on the hip.
17. to hit below the belt.
18. to take the count.
19. to throw up the sponge.

(3) FROM HORSE RACING

20. to back the wrong horse.
21. to be left at the post.
22. to be neck and neck.
23. to be out of the running.
24. to be the runner-up.
25. to get in under the wire.
26. to hold the whip hand.
27. to win by a nose.

(4) FROM CARD PLAYING

28. to call his bluff.
29. to euchre.
30. to expose one's hand.
31. to get the dirty end of the deal.
32. to have a poker face
33. to have all the cards stacked against one.
34. to have an ace up one's sleeve.
35. to hold the winning cards.
36. to lay all one's cards on the table.
37. to pass the buck.

To pass the buck is to pass the deal

38. to play one's ace first.
39. to play one's trump card.
40. to stand pat.

This term comes from the game of poker.

41. to trump one's partner's ace.

FROM HUNTING AND SHOOTING

42. as sure as shooting.
43. to back track.

This expression means to retrace one's steps or to withdraw from a position. In one usage it comes from the actions of hunting dogs.

44. to bag one's game.
45. to bark up the wrong tree.
46. to be after bigger game.
47. to be in at the killing.
48. to fall into the trap.
49. to have shot all one's ammunition.

- 50. to hit the bull's eye.
- 51. to lead some one a merry chase.
- 52. to make a random shot.
- 53. to miss the mark.
- 54. to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.
- 55. to shoot in the dark.
- 56. to shoot wide of the mark.

(6) FROM MISCELLANEOUS GAMES AND SPORTS

- 57. at this stage of the game.
- 58. to be in the swim.
- 59. to be on the safe side.
- 69. to be thrown for a loss.
- 61. to delay the game.
- 62. to even up old scores.
- 63. to go unto a huddle.
- 64. to have much (or little) at stake.
- 65. to keep one's eye on the ball.
- 66. to kick a goal.
- 67. to make a hole in one.
- 68. to play safe.
- 69. to play the game.
- 70. to play with loaded dice.

This phrase means to cheat.

- 71. to run a race.

This is applied to almost every kind of a contest, particularly political.

- 72. to stake everything on one throw.

XII

PROVERBIAL APOTHEGMS

Almost all proverbial lore owes much of its effectiveness to the figurative language in which it is phrased. Apothegms, however, are merely truisms which have gained currency through much repetition. The distinguishing characteristic of such a group of proverbs is their lack of metaphor. Professor Archer Taylor defines the apothegm as, "merely a bald assertion which is recognized as proverbial only because we have heard it often and because it can be applied to many different situations."¹ "What has happened once can happen again" and "Mistakes will happen" are proverbs containing no figurative language to make them vivid, but they represent something universal in human experience and wisdom and therefore have become a permanent part of the language.

It is difficult to discover the origin and to trace the development of such truisms. Generalizations concerning the more obvious truths of life have been made by all peoples. Some such generalizations have lived for centuries; others are long dead and forgotten. Although the majority of apothegms may be justly considered mere platitudes, they assume a connotative significance from long usage and from their associations. Such very commonplace sayings as, "There must be a first time for everything" and "What's done is done" are very effective when used in certain situations. These platitudes gain a certain dignity as well as emotional significance with age.

The number of apothegms current in Nebraska is not large. It is surprising to note what a very small per cent of all the proverbial lore used by Nebraskans has no figurative basis.²

Proverbs

1. A genius is born, not made.
2. A man can die but once.
3. A place for everything and everything in its place.

¹ *The Proverb*, p. 5.

² The grouping and discussion of this section of Nebraska proverbial lore were suggested by the section on "Proverbial Apothegms" in Professor Archer Taylor's book, *The Proverb*, pp. 5-10.

4. All men must die.
5. Boys will be boys.
6. Christmas comes but once a year.
7. Circumstances alter cases.
8. Dead men tell no tales.

This proverb "arose in a ruthless, quarrelsome society. Although we are perhaps inclined to associate it with the moral code of a pirate, it must be older than Captain Kidd and belong to a somewhat higher social level, for it is already an established proverb in Elizabethan times."³

9. Enough is enough.

Sayings which approximate this in meaning but are not apothegms are "Enough is as good as a feast," and "Enough is as good as plenty."

10. Everybody's business is nobody's business.
11. Everything comes to him who waits.
12. If you can't be good, be careful.
13. If you want a thing well done, do it yourself.
14. It is easier said than done.
15. It is never too late to learn.
16. It's all in the day's work.
17. It's hard to know when to keep still.
18. Live and learn.
19. Long expected comes at last.
20. Many a true word is spoken in jest.
21. Many hands make light work.
22. Mistakes will happen.
23. Necessity knows no law.
24. No man can lose what he never has had.
25. Seeing is believing.
Variant: To see is to believe.
26. The young may die; the old must die.
27. There is a time for everything.
28. There is no harm in asking.
29. There is nothing certain in this world but death.
Sometimes in oral usage, the words "and taxes" are added to this proverb.
30. There must be a first time for everything.
Variant: Everything must have a beginning.
31. To-morrow never comes.
32. Troubles never come singly.
33. Unlooked for often comes.
34. What has happened once can happen again.
35. What's done is done.
36. What you don't know won't hurt you.
37. You can never tell until you've tried.
38. Wonders will never cease.

³ Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

XIII

MISCELLANEOUS PROVERBIAL LORE

There is current in Nebraska a large body of proverbial utterances which do not fall into any of the preceding classifications. These are listed together in this section. Whenever it seemed practicable, those related in meaning were brought together under a subheading.

This miscellaneous group reveals the wide range of the subject-matter of proverbial lore. Almost every conceivable field of human activity is represented. Sea life, clothing, instruments and tools, books and stories, and even forms of punishment yield a sizable number. The largest of these minor groups is concerned with friends and relatives. Most of these proverbs exhibit a distinctly sympathetic attitude toward friendship, e.g., "A friend in need is a friend indeed." A few, however, such as the cynical, "Save a man from his friends," question its value. Typical examples of phrases referring to parts of the body, another group, are "on the other hand" and "to have one's nose out of joint."

The number derived from history is very small; the obvious reason is the transitory nature of historical subject-matter. Many expressions which were on every tongue as recently as the period of the World War have now passed into oblivion, and almost no proverbial monuments of earlier historical happenings remain. Another rather unproductive source is the narrative. Aside from the expressions which come from the *Æsopic* fables (listed in this collection with animal proverbs) there are few which are indebted to stories for their origin.

The history of many of these unclassified proverbs and proverbial phrases is difficult to trace. In numerous cases the origin is entirely unknown and in others the explanations offered seem to be of doubtful validity. Some phrases, the origin of which is uncertain are "to be at sixes and sevens" and "to burn one's bridges behind one."

Occasionally, isolated proverbs are derived from literature. An individual author may say a thing in so aphoristic and

pithy a manner that his words get themselves into oral circulation and eventually become proverbial. Illustrative of these sayings of individual invention are Shakespeare's "There is a divinity that shapes our ends" and Pope's "To err is human; to forgive divine"

Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases

(1) FROM CLOTHING

1. Clothes make the man.
Sometimes the reverse of this is heard: "Clothes do not make the man."
2. If the shoe fits, wear it.
3. That is where the shoe pinches.
4. The shoe is on the other foot.
5. You cannot judge by appearances.
6. as comfortable as an old shoe.
7. as common as an old shoe.
8. as soft as silk.
9. to be all wool and a yard wide.
10. to be down at the heels.
11. to be hand in glove with.
12. to be out at the elbows.
13. to die with one's boots on.
14. to give him the mitten.
15. to keep a thing under one's hat.
16. to laugh up one's sleeve.
17. to pin one's faith to another man's sleeve.
18. to wear one's heart on one's sleeve.

(2) ON FORMS OF PUNISHMENT

19. to be crucified.
20. to be driven from pillar to post.
Taylor offers the conjecture that this expression refers "to the treatment of Christ before the crucifixion."¹
21. to be on the rack.
22. to come out at the little end of the horn.
Hazlitt gives an interesting explanation of the origin of this expression. The horn, he explains, was a sixteenth century instrument of torture through which the victim was pulled. By the time he reached the little end, he was sadly elongated and compressed.²
23. to put the screws on.
24. to run the gauntlet.

(3) FROM PARTS OF THE BODY

25. as plain as the nose on your face.
26. at one's fingers' ends.
27. at one's tongue's end.
Variant: on the tip of one's tongue.
28. cold hand; warm heart.
29. not to let one's right hand know what one's left hand is doing.
30. on the other hand.
31. to be a sight for sore eyes.
32. to be on one's last legs.
33. to follow one's nose.

¹ Taylor, *The Proverb*, p. 193.

² See Hazlitt, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, pp. 467-468.

34. to go at a thing, tooth and toe nail.
35. to have him under one's thumb.
36. to have more wits (or courage) in one's little finger than another has in his whole body.
37. to have not a leg to stand on.
38. to have one foot in the grave.
39. to have one's brains in one's feet.
This is used of a person who is not very intelligent but who is an excellent dancer.
40. to have one's hands full.
41. to have one's nose out of joint.
42. to keep a civil tongue in one's head.
43. to laugh on the wrong side of one's mouth.
44. to laugh out of the corner of one's mouth.
45. to lead some one by the nose.
46. to let a thing go in at one ear and out at the other.
47. to let your head save your heels.
48. to put one's shoulder to the wheel.
49. to say a thing with one's tongue in one's cheek.
50. to step on some one's toes.
51. to sup sorrow through one's nostrils.
52. to take it out of his skin.
53. to talk one's leg off.
54. to wind some one around one's little finger.
55. to use elbow grease.

(4) ON SEA LIFE

56. A drowning man will catch at a straw.
57. A small leak may sink a great ship.
58. Weight is what sinks the ship.
59. any port in a storm.
60. like trying to drink the ocean dry.
61. to be in the same boat with.
62. to fly under false colors.
This probably comes from piratical sea life.
63. to go on the rocks.
64. to pour oil on troubled waters.
65. to put in an oar.
66. to rest on one's oars.
Related in meaning to this is the expression, "to rest on one's laurels."
67. to sail close to the wind.
68. to steer clear of.
69. to walk the plank.

(5) ON BOOKS AND STORIES

70. A good tale may be marred in the telling.
71. A tale never loses in the telling.
72. Thereby hangs a tale.
That this was current in Shakespeare's time is evidenced by the fact that it appears in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, I, iv, and in Fletcher's *Two Noble Kinsmen*, III, iii.
73. You cannot judge a book by its binding.
74. a twice told tale.
75. to make a long story short.
76. to read a lecture to.
77. to read between the lines.
78. to turn over a new leaf.

(6) ON TOOLS AND INSTRUMENTS

79. as dull as a hoe.
80. as fit as a fiddle.
81. as hard as nails.
82. as hollow as a drum.
83. as keen as a razor.
84. as keen as a two-edged sword.
85. as sharp as a knife.
86. as sharp as an ax.
87. as smart as a steel-trap.
88. as smart as a whip.
89. as tight as a drum.
90. as true as steel.
91. not worth a fiddlestick.
92. to call a spade a spade.
93. to harp on a thing.
- Variant: to harp on the same string.
94. to have an ax to grind.
95. to have two strings to one's bow.
96. to hit the nail on the head.
97. to lay it on with a trowel.
98. to play second fiddle.

(7) ON FRIENDS AND RELATIVES

99. A friend in need is a friend indeed.
100. A friend to everybody is a friend to nobody.
101. A man is known by the company he keeps.
102. A daughter is a daughter all her life;
A son is a son till he gets a wife.
103. A mother is a mother all her life;
A father is a father till he gets a new wife.
104. Blood is thicker than water.
105. Choose your friends like your books; few but choice.
106. Familiarity breeds contempt.

This proverb has several different forms. The biblical proverb, 'A prophet is not without honor save in his own country' is related to it. So also is "No man is a hero to his valet."

107. Friends must part.
108. In union there is strength.
109. It's a wise father that knows his own son.
110. It takes two to make a bargain.
111. It takes two to make a quarrel.
112. Like begets like.
113. Like father, like son.
114. Like master, like man.
115. Old friends and old wine are best.
116. Save a man from his friends.
- An extended form of this rather cynical proverb is quoted by Hazlitt: "Save a man from his friends and leave him to struggle with his enemies"³
117. The way to lose a friend is to lend him money.
118. What is bred in the bone will out in the flesh.
119. You may know him by the company he keeps.
120. You never know your friends till you are in need.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

(8) UNCLASSIFIED MISCELLANEOUS PROVERBS

121. A chain is no stronger than its weakest link.
122. A little nonsense, now and then,
Is relished by the best of men.
123. A man is as young as he feels.
124. A poor excuse is better than none.
125. A thing of beauty is a joy forever.
This quotation is from the poem *Endymion* by John Keats.
126. Actions speak louder than words.
127. All roads lead to Rome.
128. All things come to him who waits.
129. All's well that ends well.
130. Bad news travels fast.
131. Barkis is willin'.
Barkis is a character in Dickens' *David Copperfield*.
132. Coming events cast their shadows before.
This is in line from the poem, *Lochiel's Warning*, by Thomas Campbell.
133. Comparisons are odious.
134. Distance lends enchantment.
Given currency by Thomas Campbell's poem, *Pleasures of Hope*.
135. Fact is stronger than fiction.
Variant: Truth is stranger than fiction.
136. Forewarned is forearmed.
137. Half of the world doesn't know how the other half lives.
138. History repeats itself.
139. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet,
Mahomet will have to go to the mountain.
140. Ignorance of the law excuses nobody.
141. Imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.
142. Justice is blind.
143. Laugh and grow fat.
144. Laugh and the world laughs with you.
This is a line from the poem, *The Way of the World*, by Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1855-1919).
145. Least expected is sure to happen.
146. Let bygones be bygones.
147. Long expected comes at last.
148. Misery loves company.
149. Misfortunes never come singly.
150. Necessity is the mother of invention.
151. Necessity knows no law.
152. Never say die.
153. No news is good news.
154. Once bitten; twice shy.
155. Out of sight is out of mind.
156. Put that in your pipe and smoke it.
157. Raw dabs make fat lads.
158. Silence gives consent.
159. So goes Monday, so goes all the week.
160. Speak of the devil and he'll appear.
Variant: Speak of the angels and you'll hear the flutter of their wings.
161. Speech is silver but silence is golden.
162. Sticks and stones will break your bones but names will never hurt you.
This contradicts the proverb, "Give a dog an ill name and you may as well hang him."
163. Take while the taking is good.

164. Talk is cheap.
165. The better the day, the better the deed.
166. The die is cast.
167. The end justifies the means.
168. The mills of the gods grind slow but they grind exceedingly fine.
This is an old Greek saying, used by Euripides and by the Roman poet Juvenal.
169. The tables are turned.
170. The third time is the charm.
171. The wish is father to the thought.
172. There are three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves.
Taylor quote; an interesting English predecessor of this American proverb. "There is nobbut three generations atween clogs and clogs." ⁴
173. There is no accounting for tastes.
An amusing variant of this is, " 'Everybody to his own notion', said the old woman as she kissed the cow."
174. There is safety in numbers.
175. There's a divinity that shapes our ends.
This well-known saying we owe to Shakespeare. It is found in *Hamlet*, V, ii.
176. There's the rub.
Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, III, i, is the source of this.
177. Variety is the spice of life.
In Cowper's poem *The Task*, Bk. II, l. 506 is found the line, "Variety's the very spice of life."
178. What you want in the nation of to-morrow put in the schools of to-day.
179. When in Rome, do as the Romans do.

(9) UNCLASSIFIED MISCELLANEOUS PHRASES

180. a turn for the better.
181. a yellow streak.
182. as black as ink.
183. as bright as a button.
184. as broad as it is long.
185. as clear as a bell.
186. as dull as ditch water.
187. as fast as hops.
188. as pleased as Punch.
This English phrase probably owes its longevity to its alliterative quality.
189. as queer as Dick's hatband.
This singular proverbial phrase came from England but English collectors of proverbs seem to know nothing of its origin. The phrase continues to the effect that the band went three times around the hat but would not meet at last.
190. as slick as a whistle.
191. as sure as death.
192. as sure as God made little apples.
193. as white as death.
194. at his wit's end.
195. at sixes and sevens.
The origin of this phrase is not known certainly. One explanation which is not verified is that it is derived from the game of backgammon.
196. before one could say "Jack Robinson."
Compare the popular song, *Jack Robinson*, current in the early nineteenth century. Its last line is, "And he was off before you could say Jack Robinson." ⁵
197. between you and me and the gate post.
198. by fits and starts.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁵ John Ashton, *Modern Street Ballads*, p. 256. 1888.

199. fit for a king.
 200. for all the world.
 201. from the sublime to the ridiculous.
 202. good riddance to bad rubbish.
 203. in the nick of time.
 204. more than you could shake a stick at.
 205. more truth than poetry.
 206. on the spur of the moment.
 207. once in a life time.
 208. other things being equal.
 209. six of one and half dozen of the other.
 210. the irony of fate.
 211. the long and the short of it.
 212. till the crack of doom.
 213. times without number.
 214. to be a fifth wheel.
 215. to be a hail-fellow, well met.
 216. to be a nine day's wonder.
 217. to be an Indian giver.
 218. to be full of one's self.
 219. to be high time for a thing.
 220. to be in a brown study.
 This was 'originally simply 'in a study' and this form persisted for centuries after the inexplicable 'brown' had been introduced"⁶
 212. to be in the seventh heaven.
 222. to be last but not least.
 223. to be tarred with the same stick.
 Related to this in meaning is "to be kicked by the same mule."
 224. to be dead spit of.
 Variant: to be spittin' image of.
 These singular expressions refer to similarity in looks. They are used mostly of the resemblance between a child and its parent. Probably from "as alike as two spits," "to be the spit and image of." See *American Speech*, V, 496.
 225. to be the worse for wear.
 226. to be up to snuff.
 227. to beggar description.
 228. to blow hot and cold with the same breath.
 229. to build castles in the air.
 Variant: to build castles in Spain.
 230. to burst of envy.
 231. to bury the hatchet.
 This is one of the few expressions remaining in our language which came from association with the Indian.
 232. to carry coals to Newcastle.
 233. to carry through to the bitter end.
 234. to come to the end of one's rope.
 235. to come to the end of the road.
 236. to dance attendance on.
 237. to find some hole to creep out of (or into).
 238. to give as good as one gets.
 239. to give some one a wide berth.
 240. to give tit for tat.
 241. to have heaven on earth.
 242. to have hell on earth.
 243. to have the last word.
 244. to know what's what.

⁶ Apperson, *English Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, p. 70.

245. to leave one in the lurch.

246. to let him whistle for it.

247. to look high and low for a thing.

248. to look nine ways for Sunday.

Variant: to look both ways for Sunday.

These expressions mean to squint. Hazlitt quotes this amusing sentence from Witt's *Recreations*, 1640, (repr. 1817, p. 168). "'He was born in the middle of the week, and looked baath ways for Sunday.'" ⁷

249. to murder the king's English.

250. to put a spoke in his wheel.

251. to read the riot act.

Taylor explains that this "refers to the actual reading aloud which precedes the dispersing of a mob in England." ⁸

252. to reckon without one's host.

253. to rub it in.

Variant: to rub salt into the wound.

The first of these which is the more common of the two is probably a shortened form of the second.

254. to run amuck.

Hazlitt gives an interesting explanation of this expression which comes from a custom of the Malaysians. The Malay *amog* means rushing in a frenzy to the commission of indiscriminate murder. ⁹

255. to set one's heart on a thing.

256. to sit tight.

257. to smell to heaven.

258. to split hairs.

259. to step high, wide and handsome

260. to storm the castle.

261. to take French leave.

262. to take some one down a peg.

263. to talk a blue streak.

264. to throw dust in his eyes.

265. to walk chalk.

266. to walk out on.

267. to work like a Trojan.

268. too much of a good thing.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 482.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 490.

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EMERSON'S USE OF THE BIBLE

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EMERSON'S USE OF THE BIBLE

By HARRIET RODGERS ZINK, A.M.

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PREFACE

The purpose of the following study is to set forth, as far as a brief treatment will permit, Ralph Waldo Emerson's manner of using the Bible in his writing. That he had a wide knowledge of the book is proved by his numerous allusions to its characters and events, its rites and symbols, its philosophy and laws. Moreover, his method of supporting his contentions by Scripture, the pertinence of his many paraphrases of familiar Biblical allusions, and the ease with which he quotes and applies Scriptural passages clearly demonstrate his possession of remarkable Scriptural knowledge. He quoted the Bible as unconsciously as he breathed the air about him. Its philosophy became so embedded in his thought and its phraseology so familiar to him that he talked in Biblical phrases and thought in Scriptural philosophy. In his essay "The Poet" printed in *Essays, Second Series*, he called the mind a Noah's Ark. In "Poetry and Imagination" in *Letters and Social Aims*, he described a person's vocabulary as a many-colored coat. In his address "The Fugitive Slave Law" published in *Miscellanies*, he declared that the materialism which culminated in the Fugitive Slave Law was a behemoth. In "Nature" in *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, he said that "Nature is thoroughly mediate. It is made to serve. It receives the dominion of men as meekly as the ass on which the Saviour rode." Such allusions are possible only to the person whose mind is so thoroughly saturated in the Scripture that it forms a background which supports his philosophy and illuminates his thought.

An infallible knowledge of the Bible is a human impossibility and it is certain that the display of Biblical allusions that I have brought together in the following pages from the works of Emerson is not absolutely exhaustive. My study of the Bible, extending over many years and resulting in numerous perusals of the book from Genesis to Revelation as well as of the Apocrypha, might have resulted in an oversusceptibility to Biblical allusions. "To the pure all things are pure. The religious find religion wherever they associate," Emerson tells us in his essay "Miscellanies," in the volume of that name. The religious develop a sensitivity to religion.

In like manner, the constant reader of the Bible may become unusually sensitive to Biblical allusions and discover them where they do not exist. I have tested each passage, however, with the hope of avoiding such a pitfall. The whole of Emerson's works was carefully read and every allusion recognized as Scriptural marked, after which each one was thoughtfully examined and identified with the Biblical passage from which it was drawn. The work was then subjected to a rigid test by means of the concordances of the King James or Authorized Version of the Bible and of the American Revised Version, two standard works. The allusions were then classified and tabulated. Upon this classification I have based my treatment of the subject and the division into its several phases.

All Scriptural references in this study, unless it is specifically stated otherwise, are based on the King James Version, not because it is considered the best version, but because it was the one used by Emerson. Unless otherwise indicated the page citations all refer to *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Centenary Edition, Houghton Mifflin and Company, Boston and New York, 1904.

I acknowledge an especial debt to Professor Louise Pound of the Department of English of the University of Nebraska, who first suggested to me a study of Emerson's use of the Bible, and from whom I had practical suggestions and stimulating advice. I wish to acknowledge also my indebtedness to Professor Charles Henry Patterson of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Nebraska, who read my study in manuscript form and offered valuable suggestions concerning Biblical criticism.

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INTRODUCTION

Emerson considered a knowledge of the Bible an extraordinary intellectual asset. "Whole nations," he declares, "have derived their culture from a single book—as the Bible has been the literature as well as the religion of large portions of Europe." He seemingly concurs in the opinion of a friend who "thinks the reason why the French mind is so shallow, and still to seek, running into vagaries and blind alleys, is because they [the French] do not read Shakespeare; whilst the English and Germans, who read Shakespeare and the Bible, have a great onward march."¹ His estimate of the Bible is stated clearly in these words:

"Our English Bible is a wonderful specimen of the strength and music of the English language. But it was not made by one man, or at one time; but centuries and churches brought it to perfection. There never was a time when there was not some translation existing."²

It is a book not only of lofty moral tone, but it is translatable, a quality which Emerson considers necessary to all good books.³ Writers were once sacred persons who wrote Bibles.⁴ Heading the list of an imposing array of sacred books which express the result of supreme experience are "the Hebrew [Old Testament] and Greek [New Testament] Scriptures, which constitute the sacred books of Christendom."⁵ The Bible is a part of every law library and the law is based on its codes, according to Emerson's testimony.⁶ It is his opinion that the commonest books, and, therefore, the best ones to read are the Bible, Shakespeare, Homer, Dante, and Milton.⁷ He says that it takes millenniums to make Bibles.⁸

That he considers the Bibles of the world the greatest class of literature, and of the class gives the sacred books of Christ-

¹ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 194. (References are to *Emerson's Complete Works*, Centenary Edition).

² *Natural History of Intellect*, "Art and Criticism," Vol. XII, p. 295.

³ *Representative Men*, "Shakespeare; or, the Poet," Vol. IV, pp. 199, 200.

⁴ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 204.

⁵ *Representative Men*, "Goethe, or, the Writer," Vol. IV, p. 269.

⁶ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 218.

⁷ *Miscellanies*, "The Fugitive Slave Law," Address at Concord, May 3, 1851, Vol. XI, p. 190.

⁸ *Essays, Second Series*, "Experience," Vol. III, p. 63.

⁹ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 220.

endom the preëminence is proved in his "Books."¹⁰ In the capacity of a "professor of books," a chair which he thinks is needed in every college, he takes upon himself the responsibility of naming a group of books which he considers the most important. This list of books, in his opinion, contains the best poetry, biography, history, and philosophy in the Greek, Roman, Italian, Spanish, French, and English canons of literature. After naming and discussing the merits of a long and imposing array of books, he says:

"There is no room left,—and yet I might as well not have begun as to leave out a class of books which are the best: I mean the Bibles of the world, or the sacred books of each nation, which express for each the supreme result of their experience. . . ."

After the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures he names the sacred books of Persia, India, and China.

That "Books" was written after 1858, is clear from internal evidence, since the number of estimated volumes in the Imperial Library of Paris in that year is stated. It is interesting to compare the list in this composition with an earlier list of authors which he considers important. In his *Journals* for October, 1842, he makes the following entry:

"Thou shalt read Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes, Aristophanes, Plato, Proclus, Plotinus, Jamblichus, Porphyry, Aristotle, Virgil, Plutarch, Apuleius, Chaucer, Dante, Rabelais, Montaigne, Cervantes, Shakespeare, Jonson, Ford, Chapman, Beaumont and Fletcher, Bacon, Marvell, More, Milton, Molière, Swedenborg, Goethe."¹¹

In "Books" Emerson places the Bible at the summit of a class of books taking precedence over all others. In his *Journals* he leaves it out entirely. The omission does not necessarily prove that Emerson was inconsistent nor that he changed his mind between 1842 and 1858. "Books" was written for publication. The author's purpose was to instruct others. The *Journals* were written for private use. Emerson's purpose was to inform himself. They were his memoranda. He had no necessity to remind himself to read the Bible, a book which he knew almost by heart.

The men of Emerson's day were so familiar with the Bible

¹⁰ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 218.

¹¹ *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Vol. VI, p. 282.

that they named their children Ichabod¹² and Barzillai, names very significant historically, even if they are not euphonious. Emerson contended that the Puritans of New England established public schools in order to learn to read the Bible, after which they went a step further and got acquainted with poetry and history.¹³ According to the testimony of Emerson and Coleridge,¹⁴ the Bible is a stimulant to education and a standard of literary taste. That this view is shared by at least some critics today is indicated by an editorial in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, in which the writer declares that the taste of the present generation is vitiated because the common man who sets the literary taste is no longer familiar with the Bible.¹⁵

It is to be deplored, it seems to me, that an undue emphasis upon science has resulted in a generation of materialists who, deluded with the fear that to recognize the spiritual is to be superstitious, have discarded a book that contains literature equalled by few peoples and excelled by none. Perhaps the common man of the past generation never heard of Homer's epics, but he read Job. The idyls of Theocritus might have been unknown to him, but he was acquainted with the story of Ruth. Spenser's *Prothalamion* and *Epithalamion* might have been closed works as far as he was concerned, but he had the Song of Solomon. While he knew nothing of Herodotus, he knew the Hebrew historians by heart. He might never have heard of the French romances, but he was perfectly familiar with the stories of Adam and Eve, of Esther, and of Judith. He knew nothing, perhaps, of the Greek dramas, but Joseph and his brethren, Isaac and Rebekah, Jacob and Rachel were vivid characters in the theater of his imagination. He would have revolted, to be sure, at an alignment of the Scriptures alongside of secular

¹² *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Life and Letters in New England," Vol. X, p. 361.

¹³ *Miscellanies*, "Miscellanies," Vol. XI, p. 498.

¹⁴ That the Bible has educational value and is a source of literary taste and poetic appreciation was implied by Coleridge when he contended that the rustics of the Lake District, about whom Wordsworth composed poetry, were such a select group because of their acquaintance with the Bible that Wordsworth's theory of rustic life and rustic diction did not apply to them.—*Biographia Literaria*, Chap. 17.

¹⁵ H. S. Canby. Issue of May 21, 1932, "The Reading of Poetry."

history or poetry. To the common man of the past generation it would have been sacrilege to relegate the sacred writings to the level of commonplace literature instead of elevating them to the plane of divine inspiration. To him the Scriptures were the Word of God. But let him call the Bible what he would, he read it and unconsciously made it his standard of literary excellence.

Emerson, however, considered the Bible as literature. He classed the Psalms with the *Iliad*, the Odes of Pindar, the tragedies of Æschylus, and Shakespeare's plays.¹⁶ To him, the Book of Job had the dignity of *Prometheus* and the Norse *Edda*.¹⁷ The Song of Solomon was not a book of mystical divinity,¹⁸ and he considered St. John a poet and the Revelation a poem, since the authorship of the Apocalypse was attributed to John.¹⁹ Emerson makes many allusions to the books and compositions of the Bible, such as The Song of Solomon,²⁰ the Ten Commandments,²¹ the Epistles,¹⁹ the Gospels,²² and the Golden Rule.²³

Emerson quoted the Bible freely and made numerous allusions to it, not only in his poetry, as shown in Chapter I of this study, but in his prose as well. This is true both of his formal prose and of such informal writing as his letters. In his first letter to Carlyle, he cleverly compared the temptation of Jesus to a possible temptation of the writer of "by far the most original and profound essays of his day" to sacrifice his originality and genius to materialism. "He knows not how deeply I should grieve at his [Carlyle's] fall," Emerson declared, "if, in that exposed England where genius always hears the Devil's whisper, 'all these kingdoms will I give thee' his virtue also should be an initial growth put off with age."²³ He cited Scriptural characters, events, and rites, and he illustrated by means of Biblical references of all types.

¹⁶ *Society and Solitude*, "Art," Vol. VII, p. 53.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 198.

¹⁸ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Persian Poetry," Vol. VIII, p. 249.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 65.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, "Persian Poetry," Vol. VIII, p. 249.

²¹ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 119.

²² *Miscellanies*, "The Chinese Embassy," Vol. XI, p. 472.

²³ *Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson*, Vol. I, p. 12.

CHAPTER I

THE POET AND THE SCRIPTURES

Emerson's fame rests upon his prose, his essays and philosophic writing, rather than upon his poetry, which is too intellectual, too cold, too vague to make an imaginative appeal. That he had the soul of a poet cannot be denied, however, when his figures and personifications are taken into consideration. Who but a poet could express a thought in such metaphorical language as this?

"In their [Spenser's, Marlowe's, Chapman's] rhythm is no manufacture, but a vortex, or musical tornado, which, falling on words and the experience of a learned mind, whirls these materials into the same grand order as planets and moons obey, and seasons, and monsoons."¹

Poets, he says, are liberating gods, while tropes, fables, and oracles are wands by which the gods emancipate and liberate men.² Such lofty flights are found oftener in his prose than in his poetry. Emerson gave his thoughts wings by clothing them in metaphorical language. The Bible is a source from which he drew many of his figures. "Nothing walks, or creeps, or grows, or exists," he declares, "which must not in turn arise and walk" before him [the poet] as exponent of his meaning. . . . All the creatures by pairs³ and by tribes⁴ pour into his mind as into a Noah's ark,⁵ to come forth again to people a new world."⁷ In this statement, he not only uses a striking metaphor, the mind as a Noah's ark, but he also makes allusion to four Scriptural passages, three in the Old Testament and one in the New.

There is no doubt that Emerson recognized the Bible as a book which contained some great poetry. He classed the Psalter with the works of Homer, Pindar, Æschylus, and Shakespeare;⁸ while he illustrated "iterations of phrase," a type of rhyme, by citing and quoting passages from the Song

¹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 50.

² *Essays, Second Series*, "The Poet," Vol. III, p. 30.

³ Luke 5:23-26.

⁴ Gen. 6:19.

⁵ Num. 1:4.

⁶ Gen. 6:14.

⁷ *Essays, Second Series*, "The Poet," Vol. III, p. 40.

⁸ See *ante*, p. 10, n. 16.

of Deborah,⁹ the oldest and one of the finest triumphal odes in literature,¹⁰ and from passages in the Psalms.¹¹ Since Emerson was familiar with the technique of Hebrew poets, it may be well to examine his poetry to determine whether it resembles theirs in this regard.

Hebrew poetry, on the whole, is didactic and so is that of Emerson. While didacticism is a quality peculiar to neither, nevertheless the resemblance is worth noting. The Hebrew poet was partial to repetition and balance or parallelisms. Emerson, too, liked repetition. Epanaphora, or repetition of the first word in successive lines, is a type of repetition used by both the Hebrew poets and Emerson. Examples of it may be found in the Wisdom literature of the Hebrews, in the prophetic literature, in Job, and in the Psalms. The famous description of the drunkard may serve as a good example:

*"Who hath woe? Who hath sorrow?
Who hath contention? Who hath babbling?
Who hath wounds without cause?
Who hath redness of eyes?
They that tarry long at the wine;
They that go to seek mixed wine."*¹²

The prophet Agur makes use of this structural device to propound the unanswerable question:

*"Who hath ascended up into heaven, or descended?
Who hath gathered the wind in his fist?
Who hath bound the waters in a garment?
Who hath established all the ends of the earth?
What is his name, and what is his son's name,
If thou canst tell?"*¹³

Job's prayer is also couched in Epanaphoric phrases:

*"O that thou wouldst hide me in the grave,
that thou wouldst keep me secret until thy wrath be past,
that thou wouldst appoint me a set time and remember me!"*¹⁴

Emerson is somewhat fond of this structural device, as the following examples demonstrate:

⁹ Judges 5:27.

¹⁰ Julius A. Bewer: *The Literature of the Old Testament*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1928, pp. 5, 6, 8.

¹¹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 47.

¹² Proverbs, 23:29, 30.

¹³ Proverbs 30:4.

¹⁴ Job 14:13.

"Good-bye to Flattery's fawning face;
 To grandeur with his wise grimace;
 To upstart Wealth's averted eye;
 To supple Office, low and high;
 To crowded halls, to court and street;
 To frozen hearts and hasting feet;
 To those who go, and those who come;
 Good-bye, proud world! I'm going home."¹⁵

In the following stanza, he uses Epanaphora in a varied pattern, which, as initial rhyme, may be indicated as *aabbabbc*:

"Thanks to the morning light,
 Thanks to the foaming sea,
 To the uplands of New Hampshire,
 To the green-haired forests free;
 Thanks to each man of courage,
 To the maids of holy mind,
 To the boy with his games undaunted,
 Who never looks behind."¹⁶

In "Woodnotes" are found six succeeding lines beginning with *of* and also five lines defining God which began with *He is the*.¹⁷ There are many other examples, but these are sufficient to illustrate his use of this type of Hebrew technique.

Both Emerson and the Hebrew poets like to repeat words for emphasis. Epizeuxis is the imposing name which has been given to this structural device. Although Hebrew poets make use of it, it is not peculiar to them. Practically all poets resort to it, since it adds a musical quality. David's bitter lament at the death of his son Absalom is a good example:

"Oh my son Absalom! my son, my son Absalom!
 Would God I had died for thee,
 Oh Absalom, my son, my son!"¹⁸

and also the words of Christ on the cross:

"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"¹⁹

That Emerson used this type of structure may be proved by the following examples:

¹⁵ *Poems*, "Good-bye," Vol. IX, p. 3.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, "The World-Soul," Vol. IX, p. 15.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Woodnotes II," Vol. IX, pp. 52, 59.

¹⁸ II. Sam. 18:33.

¹⁹ Matt. 27:46.

"Underneath, within, above,—
Love—love—love—love"²⁰

"Deep, deep are loving eyes,"²¹

"The lost, the lost, he cannot restore;"²²

"The solid, solid universe
Is pervious to love;"²³

Emerson often resorted to the technique of the orator, as exemplified by the balanced and antithetical sentences of his prose and the parallelisms of his poetry. Parallelisms of different types are characteristic of Hebrew poetry. The following examples, taken at random from Emerson's poetry, exhibit this type of structure:

"Heed the old oracles,
Ponder my spells."²⁴

This is a good example of synonymous parallelism. Beside it the following example from the Hebrew Psalter may be placed:

"Lift up your head, O ye gates;
Even lift them up, ye everlasting doors;
And the King of Glory shall come in."²⁵

A tautological parallelism, in which the words are almost identical, such as,

"Lord, how long shall the wicked,
how long shall the wicked triumph?"²⁶

may be placed beside Emerson's

"O wise man! hear'st thou half it tells?
O wise man! hear'st thou the least part?"²⁷

The envelope structure of "To Ellen at the South,"²⁸ the first and last stanzas of which enclose the thought with the refrain,

" . . . a tune worth the knowing"

²⁰ *Poems*, "The Initial Love," Vol. IX, p. 105.

²¹ *Ibid.*, "The Celestial Love," Vol. IX, p. 114.

²² *Ibid.*, "Threnody," Vol. IX, p. 148.

²³ *Ibid.*, "Cupido," Vol. IX, p. 257.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, "Woodnotes II," Vol. IX, p. 51.

²⁵ Psalms 24:9.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 94:3.

²⁷ *Poems*, "Woodnotes II," Vol. IX, p. 52.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "To Ellen at the South," Vol. IX, p. 93.

is a device often used by Hebrew poets, and is exemplified by the eighth Psalm, beginning and closing with the refrain of triumphant praise:

"Oh Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!"²⁹

While Emerson is not greatly indebted to the Hebrew poets for his structural devices, he certainly owes many of his figures and much of his thought to the Bible. When he wants to impress the reader with the age of England's abbeys, he declares that nature has given them a place with Ararat,³⁰ the mountain upon which Noah's ark rested after the deluge. Man is able to meet God in nature's solitude as Moses met God in the burning bush.³¹ He speaks of the prophecies as "the burdens of the Bible old,"³² and when he desires to speak of mankind in general, he calls it Adamhood.³³ He illustrates with a Biblical allusion his contention that God overrules with a powerful hand, bringing sweetness out of strength, thus:

"He who exterminates
Races by stronger races,
Black by white faces,—
Knows to bring honey
Out of the lion;"³⁴

He protests against the vandalism of the Cossacks in Poland by an allusion to the primal sin, declaring that the Cossack "eats Poland, like stolen fruit."³⁵ Such language leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to the poet's sympathy with Poland. He consoles himself for the loss of his son in the conclusion that God sent the boy to teach the father great truths which he could not otherwise learn, as Christ taught the learned doctors in the temple. The child was given so that the father might know

"The riches of sweet Mary's Son,
Boy-Rabbi, Israel's paragon."³⁶

²⁹ Psalms 8.

³⁰ *Poems*, "The Problem," Vol. IX, p. 8; Gen. 8:4.

³¹ *Ibid.*, "Good-Bye," Vol. IX, p. 4; Ex. 3:2.

³² *Ibid.*, "The Problem," Vol. IX, p. 7; Isaiah 13; 15; 17; 19; 21; 22; 23.

³³ *Ibid.*, "Alphonso of Castile," Vol. IX, p. 26; Gen. 2:7, 18-22.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, "Ode," Vol. IX, p. 79; Jud. 14:8-14.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Gen. 2:15-3:21.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, "Threnody," Vol. IX, p. 156; Luke 2:40-50.

Emerson pictures the superlative beauty of the ruby to the reader by the use of imagery drawn from his store of Biblical material. "Rubies," he says, "are drops of frozen wine from Eden's vats that run."³⁷ What grapes could be more perfect? He alludes to the deluge as a plow,³⁸ a logical and powerful metaphor. The heart of Jesus is figured as religion,³⁹ along with Caesar's hand as power, Plato's brain as intellect, and Shakespeare's strain as poetry. Adam was as old as the oak; yet he did not live long enough to tell nature's secrets.⁴⁰ The wren was a Daniel who interpreted the poet's night-dreams, which, it seems, were as self-revealing as those of Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon.⁴¹ Such figures immediately create an image in the mind of the reader and have a universal appeal, since the events to which they allude are common knowledge.

A few Biblical paraphrases add to the effect of Emerson's poetry. Nature spawns

"Hero and maiden, flesh of her flesh."⁴²

The records are left on the tablets of the heart.⁴³ He declares that Fate will not

"... let us hide, whate'er our pleasure,
The world's light underneath a measure."⁴⁴

Emerson says,

"Once slept the world an egg of stone,
And pulse, and sound, and light was none;
And God said, 'Throb!' and there was motion,"

a very poetical paraphrase of the old poet's account of the first day of creation, recorded in the "P" narrative.⁴⁵

Allusions to Scriptural events are fairly numerous. As stated above, Emerson alludes to the boy Jesus confounding the doctors in the temple,⁴⁶ and to Daniel's interpretation of

³⁷ *Poems*, "Rubies," Vol. IX, p. 217; Gen. 2:8, 9.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, "My Garden," Vol. IX, p. 229; Gen. 7:10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, "The Informing Spirit," Vol. IX, p. 282.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, "Nature," Vol. IX, p. 339.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, "The Miracle," Vol. IX, p. 369; Dan. 2:3, 5, 11, 19, 28-30.

⁴² *Ibid.*, "Nature," Vol. IX, p. 226; Gen. 2:23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, "In Memoriam," Vol. IX, p. 263; Jer. 17:1.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, "Fame," Vol. IX, p. 384; Matt. 5:15.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, "Woodnotes II," Vol. IX, p. 58; Gen. 1:1-5.

⁴⁶ See *ante*, p. 15, n. 36 (this study).

Nebuchadnezzar's dream.⁴⁷ Israel's repudiation of theocracy is referred to in a line later used by Van Dyke, "God said, I am tired of kings."⁴⁸ He alludes to such Old Testament events as the deluge,⁴⁹ Satan's duplicity in the Garden,⁵⁰ the creation,⁵¹ the death of Samson,⁵² and to New Testament events, such as the coming of the wise men,⁵³ and the writing on the ground by Jesus.⁵⁴ There are at least two incidents in which the poet voices a revolt against orthodox points of view. He protests against the Jewish and Christian conception of Heaven as a place built of adamant and gold, declaring that it is a nest of bending reeds, flowering grass, and scented weeds,⁵⁵ which, of course, alludes to Eden. Paradise was a garden, not a city with golden streets and walls of precious stones. He also declares that we are secure from Satan in death, surely a departure from the orthodox Puritan belief in hell and damnation.⁵⁶

Emerson exhibits the characteristics of a poet in his prose even more than he does in his poetry. Possible only to the person who has poetic appreciation are the poetic figures and the symbolism which he makes use of. Figurative language is spontaneous with him. Such expressions are found not only in his formal addresses and compositions, but they occur in his *Journal* and in his letters which were not intended for publication. In a short entry in his *Journal* which is headed "Canterbury" and is undated, he alludes to death as a "moonless night." He owes to the Bible many of the fine figures appearing in his prose. The farm is a mute gospel,⁵⁷ he tells us, and the child a perpetual Messiah.⁵⁸ Man, who owns and disowns by turns his relation to nature, is like Nebuchadnezzar, dethroned and eating grass.⁵⁹ Prudence is God tak-

⁴⁷ See *ante*, p. 16, Note 41 (this study).

⁴⁸ *Poems*, "Boston Hymn," Vol. IX, p. 201; I Sam. 8:4-22.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, "My Garden," Vol. IX, p. 229; Gen. 7:10.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, "The Past," Vol. IX, p. 258; Gen. 3.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, "Sunrise," Vol. IX, p. 345; Gen. 1:2, 3.

⁵² *Ibid.*, "Maia," Vol. IX, p. 348; Jud. 16:22-30.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, "Fragments of the Poet," Vol. IX, p. 333; Matt. 2:1-9.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, "Solution," Vol. IX, p. 223; John 8:6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, "Threnody," Vol. IX, p. 157; Rev. 21:1-22; Gen. 2:8, 9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, "The Past," Vol. IX, p. 258.

⁵⁷ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 42.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "Heroism," Vol. II, p. 249; Dan. 4:28-37.

ing thought for oxen."⁶⁰ Man's grass-eating ways are spoken of as his behemoth."⁶¹ A clergyman who disregards society and the conventions is alluded to as some John the Baptist.⁶² Methuselah, the oldest man, is emblematic of a long period of time;⁶³ while Joshua and John are symbolic of the suspension of time.⁶⁴ I John 5:7 or a knotty question from St. Paul is spoken of as an ax at the root of one's tree.⁶⁵ Germany's despair is called her Jeremiad.⁶⁶ a very effective phrase to those who have read the dire prophecies of the "weeping prophet." The satire of Carlyle is alluded to as a sword of Cherubim.⁶⁷ The educated common man in America is the new Adam who is to name all the beasts in the field;⁶⁸ while right is the ladder leading to God.⁶⁹ Emerson declares, in dedicating a monument to the soldiers of the Civil War, that as long as a national question is in debate either side may hope for victory, but the moment either side cries, "Every man to his tent, O Israel!"⁷⁰ the issue is in the hand of Divine Providence, from whom there is no appeal. Could a better figure of the factional war between North and South be found than that old war cry which started civil war in Israel?

Scriptural symbolism appealed to Emerson, the poet. The living water,⁷¹ the bread of life,⁷² the leaven of the Pharisees⁷³ are symbols which he sometimes employs. The Garden

⁶⁰ *Essays, First Series*, "Prudence," Vol. II, p. 222; Deut. 25:4.

⁶¹ *Natural History of Intellect*, Vol. XII, p. 36; Job 40:15.

⁶² *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Life and Letters in New England," Vol. X, p. 345; Matt. 3:1-4.

⁶³ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Country Life," Vol. XII, p. 150; Gen. 5:27.

⁶⁴ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 202; Josh. 10:12, 13; Rev. 10:5, 6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201; Matt. 3:10.

⁶⁶ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Papers from the Dial," Vol. XII, p. 399.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 385; Gen. 3:24.

⁶⁸ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Education," Vol. X, p. 137; Gen. 2:15, 19.

⁶⁹ *Representative Men*, "Swedenborg; or, the Mystic," Vol. IV, p. 145; Gen. 28:10-12.

⁷⁰ *Miscellanies*, "Dedication of Soldiers' Monument," Vol. XI, p. 354; 1 Kings 12:16.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 10; John 4:10-14.

⁷² *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 151; John 6:51.

⁷³ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 10; Luke 12:1.

of Eden symbolizes Utopia,⁷⁴ Ichabod is a symbol of departed glory,⁷⁵ Babel of confusion,⁷⁶ Moloch of selfishness,⁷⁷ Judas of infidelity,⁷⁸ Philistia and the Philistines of barbarism,⁷⁹ Sodom of sin and convention,⁸⁰ and the Holy Ghost of poetry and constructive powers.⁸¹ Jesus symbolizes humility when he washes the feet of the disciples;⁸² while St. John is a symbol of non-resistance, although the account in Acts does not substantiate Emerson in this regard.⁸³ Poetry is God's wine,⁸⁴ and God is the bridegroom of the soul.⁸⁵ The critic writes on Patmos.⁸⁶ He speaks of man as the sun and of woman as the moon.⁸⁷ America is a Garden of Eden, its settlement a Genesis, the liberation of its slaves an Exodus,⁸⁸ while eloquence is the cloven flame, glowing on our walls.⁸⁹

If these numerous allusions are any criterion, surely Emerson's muse was remarkably familiar with the Bible. If, as Emerson declared, poetry is God's wine,⁸⁴ then the Bible must be the wine cup from which the poet drank.

⁷⁴ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Conservative," Vol. I, p. 319; Gen. 2:4-25.

⁷⁵ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Ezra Ripley D.D.," Vol. X, p. 388; I. Sam. 4:21.

⁷⁶ *Miscellanies*, "Abraham Lincoln," Vol. XI, p. 334; Gen. 11:9.

⁷⁷ *Conduct of Life*, "Fate," Vol. VI, p. 45; II. Kings 23:10.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, "Power," Vol. VI, p. 66; John 12:4-6; Luke 22:47, 48.

⁷⁹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, pp. 51, 52; Psalms 83:1, 2, 7.

⁸⁰ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Conservative," Vol. I, p. 313; Gen. 18:20.

⁸¹ *Essays, First Series*, "Intellect," Vol. II, p. 341; Acts 2:1-4; I. Cor. 6:19, 20.

⁸² *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 10; John 13:12-14.

⁸³ *Representative Men*, "Montaigne; or, the Skeptic," Vol. IV, p. 160; Acts 3:1-4:21.

⁸⁴ *Essays, Second Series*, "The Poet," Vol. III, p. 29; Mark 14:23-25.

⁸⁵ *Representative Men*, "Swedenborg; or, the Mystic," Vol. IV, p. 128; Rev. 21:2, 9.

⁸⁶ *Essays, Second Series*, "Character," Vol. III, p. 106; Rev. 1:9.

⁸⁷ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 71; Gen. 37:9, 10; Ex. 1:1-4; Gen. 43:26; 44:14.

⁸⁸ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Resources," Vol. VIII, p. 142; Ex. 1:11; 13:3.

⁸⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "Circles," Vol. II, p. 310; Acts 2:1-4.

CHAPTER II

RANGE AND DIVERSITY OF ALLUSIONS

Emerson's allusions to Sacred Scripture are so varied that it is hard to classify them, since he uses them constantly and oftentimes unconsciously. Frequently he illuminates his thought with paraphrases or quotations of the words of Jesus. The limitations of this study make necessary a selection of such allusions, since they are so numerous. A sufficient number will be chosen, however, to demonstrate the manner in which they are used. Sometimes he refers to them to authenticate his statements, sometimes to illustrate his thought, but most often to support his principles.

A paraphrase of the prayer which Jesus made just before his trial and crucifixion, "thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee," is put into the mouth of the God in man who says, "all things are mine, and all mine are thine," and by this means Emerson emphasizes his contention that God and man are one.¹ He admonishes us not to deny the truth before men,² and, of course, the implication is that if man forsakes the truth, it will forsake him, an effective way of teaching the doctrine of fidelity to truth. The qualities of the soul are divine. "Before the world was, they were," Emerson contends, and by such a statement makes them as eternal as Jesus, who said, "Before Abraham was, I am."³ Emerson quotes the words of Jesus, "Leave father, mother, house and lands, and follow me,"⁴ to impress his hearers with the importance of genius, which, like Christ, accepts only whole-hearted service. To illustrate the doctrine of compensation, he parallels the "give and it shall be given you" preached by Jesus and the *lex talionis* quoted by Him in the Sermon on the Mount.⁵ Emerson is convinced that the soul must meet the Supreme Mind of the universe in the "closet of God" where it is enabled to see causes, since "the sources of nature

¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Method of Nature," Vol. I, p. 195; John 17:21.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 221; Matt. 10:32, 33.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 223; John 8:58.

⁴ *Essays, First Series*, "Intellect," Vol. II, p. 343; Mark 10:28, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 109; Luke 6:38; Matt. 5:38.

are in his own mind. . . . But if he would know what the great God speaketh, he must go into the closet and shut the door," a direct and acknowledged quotation from Jesus.⁶ Emerson illustrates the war between man as a partialist and man as a universalist by an allusion to the admonition of Jesus against casting pearls before swine, lest they turn and rend one.⁷ That Emerson selects Biblical allusions that are pertinent to his thought is illustrated in his statement that "Shakespeare made his Hamlet as a bird weaves its nest. . . . The masters painted for joy and knew not that virtue had gone out of them."⁸ Unlike Jesus, who was conscious that healing power had gone out of him, artists create works of genius without being conscious of it. At another time he says that Shakespeare and Milton "knew not what they did," a rather queer twist of the words of Jesus, who said of his murderers, "they know not what they do." Emerson, however, alludes to the unconsciousness of genius, while Christ alludes to the inability of men to recognize divinity.⁹ The answer of Jesus to Satan, who, after Jesus had fasted forty days, tempted him to make use of his miraculous power to turn stones into bread, provides Emerson with a paraphrase which is an effective protest against the materialism of his age. "Man does not live by bread alone," he declares, "but by faith, by admiration, and by sympathy." The last phrase supplants the "but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" in the Deuteronomic passage quoted by Jesus.¹⁰

There is an old proverb that a man is known by the company he keeps. That Jesus, in the estimation of Emerson, was one of the greatest men who ever lived is clear to the reader who notes the names with which he associates that of Jesus. He names him with Caesar,¹¹ with Prometheus, Socrates, Luther, Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton,¹² with

⁶ *Ibid.*, "The Over-Soul," Vol. II, p. 294; Matt. 6:6.

⁷ *Essays, Second Series*, "Nominalist and Realist," Vol. III, p. 246; Matt. 7:6.

⁸ *Society and Solitude*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 182; Luke 8:46.

⁹ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Milton," Vol. XII, p. 276; Luke 23:34.

¹⁰ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 211; Matt. 4:4; Deut. 8:3.

¹¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Transcendentalist," Vol. I, p. 335.

¹² *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 58.

Thales, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Zoroaster,¹³ with Pericles, Angelo, and Washington,¹⁴ with John, Paul, Mahomet, and Aristotle,¹⁵ with Moses, Buddh, Zeno, Huss, and Savonarola,¹⁶ with Menu, Zertusht, and Pythagoras,¹⁷ with his twelve peers,¹⁸ and with Giordano Bruno, and Vanini.¹⁹ He names him most often with Shakespeare and with Plato. "The history of Jesus is the history of every man written large," he says.²⁰ That he belonged to the true race of prophets is Emerson's conviction, and that "alone in all history he estimated the greatness of man."²¹

Emerson's more frequent reference to Jesus than to any other individual who is mentioned in the Bible is not due to a limited knowledge of Biblical characters. He is cognizant of the fact that Jesus, compared to other persons of the Scriptures, holds the most important place in Biblical history. Emerson refers to the kings, prophets, and sages of the Old Testament, as well as to the saints and apostles of the New Testament. Eve is mentioned at least twice;²² while he frequently alludes to Adam.²³ He speaks of Methuselah,²⁴ the oldest man, and of Samson,²⁵ the strong man. Not only the Devil²⁶ and his prince Beelzebub²⁷ are mentioned, but also angels and archangels,²⁸ Cherubim and Seraphim.²⁹ Emerson calls attention to the vice of Solomon

¹³ *Essays, Second Series*, "Experience," Vol. III, p. 73.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, "Nominalist and Realist," Vol. III, p. 227.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁶ *Society and Solitude*, "Civilization," Vol. VII, p. 33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Clubs," Vol. VII, p. 235.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 176.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, "Courage," Vol. VII, p. 274.

²⁰ *Miscellanies*, "Free Religious Association," Vol. XI, p. 491.

²¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 128.

²² *Conduct of Life*, "Beauty," Vol. VI, p. 296; *Miscellanies*, "Woman," Vol. XI, p. 413.

²³ Vol. I, p. 76; Vol. III, p. 135; Vol. IX, p. 283; Vol. X, p. 137.

²⁴ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Country Life," Vol. XII, p. 150.

²⁵ *Poems*, "Maia," Vol. IX, p. 348.

²⁶ "Master Minds," Vol. II, p. v (*The Complete Writings of R. W. Emerson*, Wise Edition).

²⁷ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Preacher," Vol. X, p. 228.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Aristocracy," Vol. X, p. 61; *Essays, First Series*, "History," Vol. II, p. 18.

²⁹ *Society and Solitude*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 171; Ps. 99:1; Isaiah 6:2, 6.

rather than to his wisdom,³⁰ while the highest merit of Moses is his reliance upon his own ideas.³¹ The prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah are mentioned,³² and although the prophetesses are spoken of, they are not named.³³ The heroines of the Bible, it seems, did not appeal to Emerson. Of all New Testament characters, St. Paul is mentioned most frequently.³⁴ John the Baptist,³⁵ Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John³⁶ are all referred to upon occasion. Even King Herod, the slayer of the innocents,³⁷ and Judas, the purloining treasurer of the little band of disciples,³⁸ are not omitted.

If, ages hence, by some trick of Fate, the Bible were lost and Emerson's works preserved, the imaginative individual of that future age could almost reconstruct the Bible story from Emerson's pages, since his reference to Biblical events, from the Creation to the Last Judgment are so numerous. The world and light are created³⁹ and the Creator makes man.⁴⁰ Adam is placed in the garden and names the beasts of the field.⁴¹ Satan steals into the garden.⁴² Adam sells Paradise;⁴³ he is expelled from Eden,⁴⁴ and flaming Cherubim guard the gate.⁴⁵ Noah builds an ark and takes the creatures of the earth by pairs into it.⁴⁶ There is a flood,⁴⁷ and the mud

³⁰ *Essays, First Series*, "History," Vol. II, p. 5; I. Kings 11:1, 9, 11, 14, 31; Neh. 13:26.

³¹ *Ibid.*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 45.

³² *Conduct of Life*, "Worship," Vol. VI, p. 203.

³³ *Miscellanies*, "Woman," Vol. XI, p. 414.

³⁴ Vol. II, 239; Vol. III, p. 199; Vol. XI, p. 13.

³⁵ *Conduct of Life*, "Eloquence," Vol. VII, p. 95.

³⁶ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 5.

³⁷ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 99; Matt. 2:16.

³⁸ *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 69; *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 110; John 12:6; 13:29.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, "History," Vol. II, p. 18; Gen. 1:1-4.

⁴⁰ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 39; Gen. 1:26.

⁴¹ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Education," Vol. X, p. 137; Gen. 2:15, 19.

⁴² *Poems*, "The Past," Vol. IX, p. 258; Gen. 3:1.

⁴³ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Persian Poetry," Vol. VIII, p. 244; Gen. 3:6.

⁴⁴ *Poems*, "May Day," Vol. IX, p. 166; Gen. 3:24.

⁴⁵ *History of Intellect*, "Papers from the Dial," Vol. XII, p. 385.

⁴⁶ *Essays, Second Series*, "The Poet," Vol. III, p. 40; Gen. 6:14, 19; 7:9; 8:17-19.

⁴⁷ *Conduct of Life*, "Wealth," Vol. VI, p. 86; Gen. 7:17.

of the deluge dries.⁴⁸ Abraham is called,⁴⁹ angels walk in the earth,⁵⁰ and Isaac and Rebekah are betrothed.⁵¹ Vague allusions are made to the sacrifice of Isaac, to Jacob's ladder and to his wrestle with the angel, but the events could not be reconstructed from these allusions; therefore, they are not considered.⁵² God is called I AM.⁵³ Moses is educated in Egypt,⁵⁴ he liberates the slaves from Egypt,⁵⁵ and a tabernacle is built from the spoils which the Israelites had taken from the Egyptians.⁵⁶ Moses is angry at the worshipping of the golden calf.⁵⁷ There are ten commandments.⁵⁸ The sun stands still in Gibeon,⁵⁹ Samson is a strong man who dies at Dagon's knee, groping for a pillar.⁶⁰ Deborah's Song is quoted.⁶¹ David hurls a stone at Goliath,⁶² commits a sacrilege,⁶³ and pours out water which three of his warriors brought him at risk of their lives.⁶⁴ A temple is built.⁶⁵ Nebuchadnezzar becomes demented and eats grass as the oxen,⁶⁶ Daniel interprets dreams,⁶⁷ and Raphael drives Heliodorus from the tem-

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, "Fate," Vol. VI, p. 37; Gen. 8:13, 14.

⁴⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "History," Vol. II, p. 39; Gen. 12:1-3.

⁵⁰ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Aristocracy," Vol. X, p. 61; Gen. 19:1.

⁵¹ *English Traits*, "Religion," Vol. V, p. 218; Gen. 24.

⁵² Vol. II, p. 253; Vol. IV, p. 145; Vol. II, p. 125.

⁵³ *Essays, First Series*, "Spiritual Laws," Vol. II, p. 160; Ex. 3:14.

⁵⁴ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Aristocracy," Vol. X, p. 48; Ex. 2:10; Acts 7:21, 22.

⁵⁵ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Conservative," Vol. I, p. 316; Ex. 13:17-19.

⁵⁶ *Miscellanies*, "Concord Public Library," Vol. XI, p. 506; Ex. 3:21, 22; 25:1-9; 35:21-29.

⁵⁷ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Michael Angelo," Vol. XII, p. 229; Ex. 32:19.

⁵⁸ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 41; Ex. 20; Deut. 5.

⁵⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "History," Vol. II, p. 9; Jos. 10:12, 13.

⁶⁰ *Poems*, "Maia," Vol. IX, p. 348; Jud. 16:22-30.

⁶¹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 47; Judges 5.

⁶² *Natural History of Intellect*, "Michael Angelo," Vol. XII, p. 229; I. Sam. 17:49.

⁶³ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Transcendentalist," Vol. I, p. 337; I. Sam. 21:1-6; Matt. 12:1-4.

⁶⁴ *Essays, First Series*, "Heroism," Vol. II, p. 255; II. Sam. 23:14-17.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, "History," Vol. II, p. 39; I. Kings 6.

⁶⁶ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 71; Dan. 4:28-37.

⁶⁷ *Poems*, "The Miracle," Vol. IX, p. 369; Dan. 2:3-28, 46, 47.

ple.⁶⁸ Christ is born,⁶⁹ and Herod tries to have him murdered, but fails.⁷⁰ A voice in the wilderness cries "Repent!"⁷¹ Jesus is a prophet;⁷² he has twelve disciples.⁷³ He turns water into wine,⁷⁴ teaches in parables,⁷⁵ writes on the sand,⁷⁶ and instructs the woman of Samaria concerning living water.⁷⁷ He is anointed for his interment,⁷⁸ washes the feet of his disciples,⁷⁹ dies on the tree,⁸⁰ and is called in Scripture the Mediator.⁸¹ There is a Pentecost.⁸² St. Paul, the man who is mentioned so often in Emerson's books, is converted.⁸³ The primitive church expects Christ to come the second time,⁸⁴ an event that has not yet occurred at the time Emerson writes his books, and it is also certain that the world will be consumed with fire when Christ appears.⁸⁵ The church in Emerson's day, however, as the hypothetical reader, ages hence, who reads this strange book of an age long past is perhaps astonished to learn, taught the grim doctrine of the Last Judgment, assuming that judgment will not take place in this world "where the wicked are successful and the good are miserable," but in the next world where "a compensation is to be made to both parties" and the saint will have his revenge on the sinner.⁸⁶

⁶⁸ *Letters and Social Aims*, "The Comic," Vol. VIII, p. 170; II. Maccabees 3:25, 26 (Douay Version).

⁶⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 61; Matt. 1:18.

⁷⁰ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 98; Matt. 2:13 ff.

⁷¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Times," Vol. I, p. 272; Matt. 3:1, 2.

⁷² See *ante*, p. 22, n. 21.

⁷³ See *ante*, p. 22, n. 18.

⁷⁴ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 200; John 2:1-11.

⁷⁵ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 9; Mark 4:2.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 10; John 8:6.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, John 4:10-14.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, John 12:3-7.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, John 13:12.

⁸⁰ *English Traits*, "First Visit to England," Vol. V, p. 18; Acts 5:30.

⁸¹ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 18; I. Tim. 2:5.

⁸² *Essays, First Series*, "Intellect," Vol. II, p. 341; Acts 2:1-4.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, "The Over-Soul," Vol. II, p. 282; Acts 9:1-20.

⁸⁴ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 15; I. Thess. 1:10; 3:13; 4:15-17.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, II. Pet. 3:7-12.

⁸⁶ *Essays, First Series*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 94; Luke 16:25.

Although Emerson was a minister of the Gospel, he was not bound by the orthodox priestly point of view. He was a Unitarian and a liberal; therefore, he was not greatly interested in religious pomp and ritual. His indifference to these ecclesiastical institutions is reflected in the comparatively few references he makes to the rites and ceremonies recorded in the Bible. Except in his address "The Lord's Supper," which is devoted entirely to his argument against the authenticity of the Lord's Supper as a church sacrament, he seldom mentions religious rites. The circumcision is mentioned as an example of the potency of symbolism,⁸⁷ while the Epiphany is used as a metaphor for fact.⁸⁸ Transubstantiation is figurative of contemporary insight,⁸⁹ and the Pentecost is the cloven-flame of conversation.⁹⁰ Tithing is mentioned casually in his eulogy to Samuel Hoar, who is called a tithing man,⁹¹ marriage is alluded to as the eldest rite,⁹² and the Lord's Prayer is mentioned as the crystallization of the universal prayer of man whenever and wherever he lives or whatever religion he embraces.⁹³ The Sabbath or Sunday claims Emerson's attention more than all the other rites put together. He alludes to Sunday seven times,⁹⁴ and to its Jewish prototype, the Sabbath, eight times.⁹⁵ He uses the term Sabbath interchangeably for the Christian Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath.

Emerson is very skillful in the use of Biblical allusions as illustrative material. When he speaks of traditional poetry and philosophy, he calls them dry bones of the past.⁹⁶ Nature is inevitable in her decree, her "yea is yea and her nay, nay."⁹⁷ In preaching self-reliance, he says, "leave your

⁸⁷ *Essays, Second Series*, "The Poet," Vol. III, p. 17; Gen. 17:10-14.

⁸⁸ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Education," Vol. X, p. 132.

⁸⁹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 35.

⁹⁰ *Essays, First Series*, "Circles," Vol. II, p. 310; Acts 2:1-4.

⁹¹ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Samuel Hoar," Vol. X, p. 447; Gen. 14:20; 28:22; Matt. 23:23; Luke 18:12.

⁹² *Poems*, "Merlin," Vol. IX, p. 123; Gen. 2:23; Mark 10:6-9.

⁹³ *History of Intellect*, "Papers from the Dial," Vol. XII, p. 351.

⁹⁴ Vol. IV, p. 173; Vol. VII, p. 132; Vol. X, pp. 107, 117, 236, 366; Vol. XI, p. 228.

⁹⁵ Vol. I, pp. 137, 150, 220, 321; Vol. III, p. 251; Vol. VII, p. 169; Vol. X, p. 373; Vol. XII, p. 194.

⁹⁶ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 3; Ezek. 37:1-10.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38; Jas. 5:12.

theory, as Joseph his coat in the hand of the harlot, and flee."⁹⁸ How could he more effectively illustrate his idea that theory is ruinous? In speaking of manners, he says that as Adam hid himself from the Lord God in the garden, so man protects himself from the searching realist by hiding behind the screen of conventional hospitality.⁹⁹ "The headlong bias to utility will let no talent lie in a napkin,—if possible will teach spiders to weave silk stockings"¹⁰⁰ is Emerson's manner of describing England's enthusiasm for industrialism. The extravagant ebullitions of the superlative temperament are thus described: "their good peoples are phœnixes and their naughty like the prophet's figs,"¹⁰¹ a telling and original simile for worthless opinions. Instead of saying that China's conservatism is her strength, Emerson says that "as the old prophet said of Egypt, 'her charm is to sit still'."¹⁰² He uses allusions in a manner that lends charm to his work.

Emerson is not in any way limited in his use of Biblical allusions. Whatever his subject, he seems to be able to illuminate it with Scriptural material. While he is not generally considered a humorist, yet he sometimes uses the Scripture as an effective weapon of satire. He pokes fun at the manner of electing bishops in the Church of England by declaring that "the dictates of the Holy Ghost agree with the dictates of the Queen."¹⁰³ The preachers of his age are so hypocritical that they would recommend a text fully as readily if Beelzebub had written it, provided public opinion approved the text.¹⁰⁴ He satirizes the persistence of journalists by declaring that they would report the Holy Ghost,¹⁰⁵ a biting remark that would do credit to some of the eighteenth-century satirists.

⁹⁸ *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 57; Gen. 39:7-12.

⁹⁹ *Essays, Second Series*, "Manners," Vol. III, p. 135; Gen. 3:8.

¹⁰⁰ *English Traits*, "Wealth," Vol. V, p. 157; Luke 19:20.

¹⁰¹ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Superlative," Vol. X, p. 163; Jer. 24:2.

¹⁰² *Miscellanies*, "The Chinese Embassy," Vol. XI, p. 471; Isa. 30:7.

¹⁰³ *English Traits*, "Religion," Vol. V, p. 227; Acts 1:22-24.

¹⁰⁴ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Preacher," Vol. X, p. 228; Matt. 12:24.

¹⁰⁵ *Representative Men*, "Goethe; or, the Writer," Vol. IV, p. 263; John 3:8.

Emerson's patriotic and political writings are not wholly devoid of Biblical allusions. At the second centennial anniversary of the foundation of Concord, he addresses the surviving soldiers of the Revolutionary War in this manner: "You have fought a good fight and . . . quit you like men in the battle." This is only a part of his sentence, yet he alludes to two widely divergent Scriptural passages, one in the historical section of the Old Testament and one in a Pauline Epistle.¹⁰⁶ He fully believes the brand of Cain will stamp the foreheads of Sumner's assailants.¹⁰⁷ "Well done, good and faithful" is America's commendatory approval of Kossuth in his fight for freedom.¹⁰⁸ In protesting against government policy with the Cherokee Indians, he indignantly asks, "Will the American government steal? Will it lie? Will it kill?"—a practical application of the Ten Commandments.¹⁰⁹ In making a plea for a literary club, he assures his hearers that Boston will shine as the New Jerusalem¹¹⁰ for students abroad after study hours.

Some of his allusions are novel and striking. How, one asks, did a Massachusetts Indian in 1634 happen to be named *Nimrod*, the father of hunters?¹¹¹ Materialists who minimize literature are such utilitarians that they prefer that Jesus should have remained a carpenter and Paul a tent-maker.¹¹² Such is Emerson's indictment of them. In contrast to the striking allusions are the numerous familiar ones which are used so frequently that they have become imbedded in our daily speech. Such expressions appear as flesh-pots of Egypt,¹¹³ dry bones,¹¹⁴ balm of Gilead,¹¹⁵ gift of tongues,¹¹⁶ stone the prophets,¹¹⁷ apple of the eye,¹¹⁸ apple of knowl-

¹⁰⁶ *Miscellanies*, "Historical Discourses," Vol. XI, p. 76; II. Tim. 4:7; I. Sam. 4:9.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, "The Assault upon Mr. Sumner," Vol. XI, p. 251; Gen. 4:15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, "Address to Kossuth," Vol. XI, p. 400; Matt. 25:21.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, "Letter to President Van Buren," Vol. XI, p. 94; Ex. 20; Deut. 5.

¹¹⁰ *Society and Solitude*, "Clubs," Vol. VII, p. 244; Rev. 21:2-22:5.

¹¹¹ *Miscellanies*, "Historical Discourses," Vol. XI, p. 37; Gen. 10:9.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, "Miscellanies," Vol. XI, p. 401; Mark 6:3; Acts 18:3.

¹¹³ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 58; Ex. 16:3.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3; Ezek. 37:1-6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 119; Jer. 8:22; 46:11.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 135; Acts 2:3, 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "The Conservative," Vol. I, p. 298; Luke 13:34.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, "The Transcendentalist," Vol. I, p. 355; Deut. 32:10.

edge,¹¹⁹ an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,¹²⁰ who does not work shall not eat,¹²¹ cock-crowing,¹²² fig-leaf,¹²³ mount of vision,¹²⁴ old wife's fable,¹²⁵ son of Adam,¹²⁶ Christ died on the tree,¹²⁷ of the earth, earthy,¹²⁸ Holy of Holies,¹²⁹ heavenly bread,¹³⁰ mount of vision,¹³¹ stars in their courses,¹³² lowly Bethel,¹³³ plow of Adam,¹³⁴ a grain of mustard seed,¹³⁵ thus far, no farther,¹³⁶ bottomless pit,¹³⁷ murderer's brand,¹³⁸ Babel,¹³⁹ well done good and faithful,¹⁴⁰ a thousand years as one day,¹⁴¹ and vessels of honor and dishonor.¹⁴² So long a list of familiar allusions truly indicates the frequency with which Emerson drew upon the Bible for literary material. While he used the Scripture constantly, he did not use it promiscuously or awkwardly, but judiciously, pertinently, and effectively, as only the person with a thorough background of Biblical knowledge could use it.

¹¹⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "History," Vol. II, p. 39; Gen. 2:9; 3:5, 6.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 109; Ex. 21:23, 24; Matt. 5:38.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, II. Thess. 3:10.

¹²² *Essays, Second Series*, "Politics," Vol. III, p. 216; Matt. 26:34.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217; Gen. 3:7.

¹²⁴ *Representative Men*, "Montaigne; or, the Skeptic," Vol. IV, p. 174; Mark 9:2.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Goethe; or, the Writer," Vol. IV, p. 275; I. Tim. 4:7.

¹²⁶ *English Traits*, "First Visit to England," Vol. V, p. 17; Gen. 2.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180; Acts 5:30.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, "Character," Vol. V, p. 130; I. Cor. 15:47.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 132; Heb. 9:3.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, "Literature," Vol. V, p. 256; Ex. 16:4.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 257; Luke 9:28-35.

¹³² *Society and Solitude*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 168; Jud. 5:20.

¹³³ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Eloquence," Vol. VIII, p. 114; Gen. 28:18, 19.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, "Resources," Vol. VIII, p. 137; Gen. 3:23.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, "Greatness," Vol. VIII, p. 310; Matt. 13:31.

¹³⁶ *Miscellanies*, "War," Vol. XI, p. 167; Job 38:11.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, "Fugitive Slave Law," Vol. XI, p. 210; Rev. 9:1, 2 (A. R. Version).

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, "Miscellanies," Vol. XI, p. 251; Gen. 4:15.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334; Gen. 11:9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 400; Matt. 25:21.

¹⁴¹ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Natural History of Intellect," Vol. XII, p. 4; II. Pet. 3:8.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 48; Rom. 9:21.

CHAPTER III

DIRECT QUOTATIONS

Throughout the works of Emerson are many direct quotations from the Bible. Sometimes these quotations are acknowledged, either by punctuation or statement, and sometimes they are not. Unacknowledgment, however, does not necessarily imply plagiarism, since any piece of literature that has become sufficiently familiar to be the common property of all readers needs no acknowledgment. The Bible was such a piece of literature to Emerson's contemporaries, who knew its contents almost by heart. Acknowledgment of quotations from its pages was not only superfluous, but might be considered an insult to the intelligence of the early nineteenth-century reader. A writer was at least free to acknowledge a quotation or not, just as he chose, and was no more guilty of plagiarism than a writer of the twentieth century who quotes the "To be or not to be" soliloquy without acknowledging Shakespeare as its author.

Emerson's unacknowledged quotations are not so numerous as his acknowledged ones, and they are, almost without exception, familiar passages which every one would recognize as Biblical. He uses these quotations with great skill, and in a manner which denotes his familiarity with the Scripture. "What is truth," Pilate's celebrated question at the trial of Jesus, is used by Emerson to illustrate his contention that the material "has its roots in the faculties and affections of the mind." Such a realization answers the age-old question of the intellect—what is truth?¹ Paul tells Timothy that among other things a bishop must be "blameless, the husband of one wife." Emerson employs this quotation without the use of quotation marks to describe the attributes of a self-reliant man, who, among other things, is "the chaste husband of one wife,"² not because convention demands it, but because it is his nature to follow truth. He substantiates his doctrine of compensation, his belief in the duality of nature, of the parts as well as of the whole, his conviction that

¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 75; John 18:38.

² *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 73; I. Tim. 3:2.

every bitter has its sweet, every sweet its sour, by citing the genius as an example. "Has he light?", he asks, "he must bear witness of the light"—the words of St. John in describing the office of John the Baptist—"he must hate father and mother, wife and child"—even as the true follower of Jesus must do—he must "become a byword and a hissing"—as apostate Israel did.³ In this same connection, he quotes the *lex talionis* as quoted by Jesus in his Sermon on the Mount.⁴ No one can deny the efficacy of such quotations to a generation of readers who were perfectly familiar with the literature quoted.

St. Paul's declaration to Timothy, "this is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," is quoted by Emerson concerning another saying which he considers worthy. He unconsciously applies the exact phraseology of the Bible to a comparable situation. "It is a maxim worthy of all acceptation," he declares, "that a man may have that allowance he takes."⁵ Winckelmann, according to Emerson, is a Greek born out of due time, even as Paul was an apostle so born.⁶ He warns men against demonology, admonishing them to "leave this limbo [animal magnetism and divination] to the Prince of the power of the air," a Pauline epithet for Satan.⁷ Who can doubt that Emerson had in mind the experience of the prophets who found "death in the pot" when he contrasts conditions in different strata of society in such words as these: "such despotism of wealth and comfort in banquet-halls, whilst death is in the pot of the wretched"?⁸ He borrows this Biblical phrase and uses it metaphorically to illuminate his thought. He borrows a Pauline phrase and applies it in the same manner as Paul did, who urged Timothy to be "instant in season, out of season." He says the mind

³ *Ibid.*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 99; John 1:8; Luke 14:26; I. Kings 9:7, 8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109; Ex. 21:23, 24; Matt. 5:38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, "Spiritual Laws," Vol. II, p. 151; I. Tim. 1:15.

⁶ *Society and Solitude*, "Books," Vol. VII, p. 202; I. Cor. 15:8.

⁷ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Demonology," Vol. X, p. 21; Eph. 2:2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, "Aristocracy," Vol. X, p. 46; II. Kings 4:40.

watches "in season and out of season." He quotes Proverbs 29:18 twice without acknowledgment. It is interesting to note the similarity in the author's application of the passage, although a period of twenty-two years elapses between the two addresses in which he uses the quotation; first, August 11, 1841, before the Society of Adelpi in Waterville College, Maine, and second, in 1863 before the Literary Society of Waterville College. The application in both cases is almost identical. In 1841, he reminds scholars that they "stand for the spiritual interests of the world, and it is a common calamity if they neglect their posts in a country where the material interests are predominant;" while in 1863 he urges scholars to "stand by their order," as merchants, politicians, and noblemen do. In both cases he is certain that scholars must protect the spiritual interests of civilization, if it is to survive, since "Where there is no vision, the people perish."¹⁰ These passages selected from many of his unacknowledged quotations illustrate Emerson's manner of using Biblical passages. It is evident from these citations, which are representative of the whole, that he quotes familiar phrases more often than complete sentences. The phraseology of the Bible has become a part of his speech.

The acknowledged quotations are numerous, and about equally divided between those of the Old Testament and the New, since there are seventeen from the former and eighteen from the latter. In the Old Testament, he quotes most frequently from the poetical division, especially the Psalms; although the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah claim some of his attention. Eleven of the eighteen quotations from the New Testament are taken from the Pauline Epistles and from the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The quotations are fragmentary, either phrasal or clausal, rather than entire sentences.

The words of St. Paul and of the psalmist seem to appeal to Emerson. He selects his text for his famous Lord's Supper

⁹ *Natural History of the Intellect*, "Natural History of the Intellect," Vol. XII, p. 14; II. Tim. 4:2.

¹⁰ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Method of Nature," Vol. I, p. 191; and *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Man of Letters," Vol. X, p. 252; Proverbs 29:18.

sermon from the Pauline Epistles, and repeats the text throughout the sermon to emphasize his point.¹¹ In his centennial speech at Concord he says the colonists at Concord began to "civilize the Indians and 'to win them to the knowledge of the true God'." In this instance, he embellishes his sentence by using a Pauline phrase instead of the single word *Christianize*.¹² The famous resurrection chapter, I Corinthians 15, furnishes Emerson at least two quotations. "Paul," he says, "calls the human corpse a seed," and quotes a passage from this chapter to prove his statement;¹³ while he uses the other quotation to prove that nothing in creation is unlimited except God, since even the Son is subject to Him.¹⁴ Paul has stated, in the opinion of Emerson, "the first and last lesson of religion, 'The things that are seen, are temporal; the things that are unseen, are eternal'."¹⁵

The Gospels furnish a number of illustrations that are somewhat illuminative of Emerson's technique in the use of scriptural quotations. The familiar phraseology of the Lord's Prayer is used to illustrate the contention that man can subject all things to Will.¹⁶ Sometimes he acknowledges a passage that is not the exact wording of the original. Such a one is the following: "Jesus says, Leave father, mother, house and lands, and follow me."¹⁷ This quotation is acknowledged by statement and not by punctuation. He further declares that genius is always new, it is the "kingdom that cometh without observation,"¹⁸ a passage that is used elsewhere without quotation marks.¹⁹ To prove his contention that heredity determines man's libidinous tendencies, he quotes and enlarges upon the words of Jesus, "'when he looketh on her, he hath committed adultery'."²⁰ Curiously enough, this

¹¹ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 3; Rom. 14:17.

¹² *Ibid.*, "Historical Discourses," Vol. XI, p. 50; Jer. 10:6-10.

¹³ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 28; I. Cor. 15:44.

¹⁴ *Essays, First Series*, "Circles," Vol. II, p. 313; I. Cor. 15:28.

¹⁵ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 58; II. Cor. 4:18.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39; Matt. 6:10.

¹⁷ *Essays, First Series*, "Intellect," Vol. II, p. 343; Mark 10:29.

¹⁸ *Essays, Second Series*, "Experience," Vol. III, p. 68; Luke 17:20.

¹⁹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 77; Luke 17:20.

²⁰ *Conduct of Life*, "Fate," Vol. VI, p. 11; Matt. 5:28.

Biblical passage, although doubly acknowledged, is one of the few that Emerson misquotes. Another misquoted passage is, "the clouds clapped their hands,"²¹ which should be either "let the floods clap their hands," as found in the Psalter, or, "all the trees of the field shall clap their hands," as recorded in Isaiah. Emerson is usually accurate in his Biblical quotations, especially in those enclosed in quotation marks. He is much more careless about those which he acknowledges by statement. His use of four words from a passage in St. John to emphasize the fact that Divine Mind imparts itself to the individual mind is interesting. He uses the words of the Samaritans who tell the woman of Samaria, with whom Jesus conversed at the well, that they believe in Jesus, "not because of thy saying, but because we have heard him ourselves." Emerson contends that the soul finally dispenses with outside agents of truth, cuts the cord, and no longer believes because of others' testimony, "because of thy saying" but because it has recognized truth for itself.²² That these four words add weight and emphasis to Emerson's argument is evident to the person who is familiar with the Scriptural incident from which he quotes.

The poetry of the Old Testament is very attractive to Emerson if one may judge from the number of times he quotes from the Psalms and the poetical passages in the prophetic literature, compared to the number of times he quotes from other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. Jeremiah's admonition to Baruch, "seekest thou great things? seek them not," is quoted twice by Emerson.²³ There are two quotations from Isaiah,²⁴ and four from the Psalms,²⁵ besides the misquota-

²¹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 53; Ps. 98:8; Isa. 55:12.

²² *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 99; John 4:40-42.

²³ *Conduct of Life*, "Consideration by the Way," Vol. VI, p. 278; Jer. 45:5. *Letters and Social Aims*, "Greatness," Vol. VIII, p. 313.

²⁴ *Miscellanies*, "The Chinese Embassy," Vol. XI, p. 471; Isaiah 30:7. *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 53; Isaiah 55:12.

²⁵ *Society and Solitude*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 160; Ps. 76:10. *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 47; Ps. 102:26, 27. *Ibid.*, p. 53; Ps. 114:4. *Ibid.*, "Immortality," p. 342; Ps. 33:11.

tions of Psalms 98:8, mentioned above. There is a paraphrase of a passage from Proverbs which is put in quotation marks as though it were an exact quotation.²⁶ Emerson also quotes a poetical passage from the historical section of the Old Testament. A verse from Deborah's Song, a triumphal ode of great beauty, is quoted to illustrate a type of rhyme.²⁷ "Ichabod, the glory is departed," a part of the hopeless lament of the wife of Phineas as she died in premature labor superinduced by the dire news that her husband and all his house were slain in battle and the Ark of the Covenant taken by the Philistines, is quoted from Ezra Ripley's condolences to his parishioners who must assume the duties of the head of the family after their father's death.²⁸

It is impossible to determine whether it was by design or owing to coincidence that long passages quoted by Emerson from the pages of other writers were almost certain to contain Biblical material. There are two such passages from Milton: one, alluding to Christ's birth in a manger,²⁹ the other to the barren fig tree from which Christ fain would have eaten.³⁰ In a long quotation from the speech of John Adams an allusion is made to the priest and Levite in the "Parable of the Good Samaritan."³¹ Varnhagen von Ense quotes from the parable of the two sons.³² Mary Moody Emerson quotes from II Peter,³³ and John Kepler alludes to the incident in which the Israelites despoiled the Egyptians before the exodus.³⁴ The quotation from Kepler, however, is a short one.

²⁶ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Nature," Vol. I, p. 56; Prov. 8:28, 27, 28, 30.

²⁷ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Poetry and Imagination," Vol. VIII, p. 47; Jud. 5:27.

²⁸ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Ezra Ripley, D.D.," Vol. X, p. 388; I. Sam. 4:21.

²⁹ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Milton," Vol. XII, p. 267; Luke 2:7.

³⁰ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Times," Vol. I, p. 274; Mark 11:12, 13.

³¹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Eloquence," Vol. VIII, p. 124; Luke 10:32.

³² *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, pp. 110, 111; Matt. 21:28-30.

³³ *Ibid.*, "Mary Moody Emerson," Vol. X, p. 431; II. Pet. 3:8.

³⁴ *Miscellanies*, Vol. XI, p. 506; Ex. 3:22; 25:1-9; 35:21, 22.

It would be difficult to give a better explanation for Emerson's somewhat numerous quotations from Biblical literature than that found in his own pages. He says,

"Some men's words I remember so well that I must often use them to express my thought. Yes, because I perceive that we have heard the same truth, but they have heard it better."³⁵

³⁵ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, pp. 99, 100.

CHAPTER IV

PARAPHRASES

Emerson's technique in the paraphrase of Biblical passages is not only interesting, but illuminating. Sometimes he paraphrases a long complex passage, and, by making a new application, gives his idea great force. For example, that well-known passage in the wisdom literature of the Old Testament,

"There are three things that are never satisfied, yea, four things say not, it is enough: The grave; and the barren womb; the earth that is not filled with water; and the fire that sayeth not, it is enough,"

he paraphrases thus:

"There are three wants which never can be satisfied: that of the rich, who wants something more; that of the sick, who wants something different; and that of the traveller, who says, 'anywhere but here'."¹

He might have said, "It is as impossible to satisfy the rich, the sick, and the traveller, as it is to satisfy death, barrenness, drouth, and fire," but he uses a more effective method. He paraphrases a familiar proverb, whose type ideas, in the mind of his contemporaries, have become associated with the height of dissatisfaction, and, by substituting new type ideas for the old, makes them as indisputably the acme of dissatisfaction.

Then again, he takes a Biblical epigram, whose words represent two ideas that have become wedded through a long and close association, changes the word which represents one of the pair of ideas, and, by the substitution, makes a new association of ideas which is more effective because of the old association. The Pauline statement, "by grace are ye saved," marries the ideas of grace and salvation. When Emerson substitutes the word *taste* for *grace*, he makes a new association that is very striking. "By taste are ye saved" not only links taste and salvation, but, through the old association of grace and salvation, makes taste as desirable as grace. That Emerson associated grace and taste in his own

¹ *Conduct of Life*, "Considerations by the Way," Vol. VI, p. 266; Prov. 30:15, 16.

mind is proved by the context. He says, "The Anglican church is marked by the grace and good sense of its forms, by the manly grace of its clergy. The gospel it preaches is, 'By taste are ye saved'."² The Bible, in the hands of such a clever workman, is a storehouse of valuable material from which he may make effective paraphrases.

In some of his compositions, he piles one Biblical phrase upon another until his pages abound in them. His "Compensation" is an example of such a discourse. It exhibits many paraphrases of Scriptural passages. "That soul," he says, "which within us is a sentiment, outside of us is a law. 'It is in the world, and the world was made by it,'" a paraphrase of Saint John's statement concerning Christ, who "was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not."³ A little farther on he says,

"The soul says 'Eat'; the body would feast. The soul says, 'The man and woman shall be one flesh and one soul'; the body would join the flesh only. The soul says, 'Have dominion over all things to the ends of virtue'; . . . It [the soul] would be the only fact. All things shall be added unto it,—power, pleasure, knowledge, beauty."⁴

This short quotation is all in one paragraph, yet it contains four Biblical paraphrases. "The soul says, 'Eat,'" paraphrases a passage in Luke's Gospel, "Soul . . . take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry."⁵ "The man and woman shall be one flesh and one soul" is a restatement of "and they twain shall be one flesh," a clause in Christ's answer to the Pharisees concerning the legality of divorce.⁶ "Have dominion over all things" paraphrases "and have dominion over the fish of the sea, . . . and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth,"⁷ a part of the creation story in the "P" narrative; while "all things shall be added unto it,—power, pleasure, knowledge, beauty" is but another way of saying, "But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."⁸

² *English Traits*, "Religions," Vol. V, p. 223; Eph. 2:5.

³ *Essays, First Series*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 102; John 1:10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵ Luke 12:19.

⁶ Matt. 19:5.

⁷ Gen. 1:28.

⁸ Matt. 6:33.

In the next paragraph but one, he breaks forth in this poetical exclamation, quoted from Saint Augustine's *Confessions*: "How secret art thou who dwellest in the highest heavens in silence, O thou only great God!", which is but another way of expressing the Hebrew poet's sublime verse, "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty."⁹ A little farther on in the essay he uses several unacknowledged Scriptural quotations¹⁰ which are supplemented with a paraphrase of the Biblical verse made famous by Captain John Smith, "if any one would not work, neither should he eat."¹¹ "Love and you shall be loved,"¹² Emerson's short pithy paraphrase of the Golden Rule is also found in "Compensation", and near the end of the discourse, he makes a pointed allusion to Jacob's wrestle with the angel. "We cannot part with our friends. We cannot let our angels go,"¹³ he declares. In this one essay there are at least five direct quotations from, three allusions to, and nine paraphrases of, Biblical passages.

One of the most interesting paraphrases in all of Emerson's works is one which contains but five words of the original passage, but in spite of that fact the connection is evident. In this paraphrase of one of the sublime antithetical parallelisms of David, who is sometimes called the Shakespeare of Hebrew poetry, Emerson proves his conviction, in common with his contemporaries, that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, since he associates the name of Moses with that of Homer. Twentieth-century critics are convinced, however, through internal evidence, that Moses could not have written all the Pentateuch, and, while they are just as certain that the Book of Psalms is not the work of David or any other one author, but rather a collection of hymns written by a number of writers over an extended period of time, nevertheless, the Davidic authorship of some of the psalms, among them the one from which Emerson draws the

⁹ *Essays, First Series*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 106; Ps. 91:1.

¹⁰ See *ante*, p. 31, n 3.

¹¹ *Essays, First Series*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 109; II. Thess. 3:10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 116; Matt. 7:12.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 125; Gen. 32:24-26.

paraphrase under discussion, is conceded by some critics. "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning," the psalmist declares. Who can doubt that Emerson had this familiar passage in mind when he said, "Blackmore, Kotzebue, and Pollok may endure for a night, but Moses and Homer stand forever"?¹⁴ Emerson is an optimist; therefore weeping and night are temporary because they are unpleasant. On the other hand, joy and light are pleasant, and for that reason, lasting. In like manner, the works of Blackmore, Kotzebue, and Pollok are distasteful and, like the night and other unpleasant things, will pass away; while the works of Moses and Homer are an imitation of the universal in human nature,¹⁵ or in other words, literary art, and for that reason they are as lasting as joy and as enduring as light.

The majority of Emerson's Biblical paraphrases are re-statements or amplifications of familiar passages; otherwise they would lose their significance. The Old Deuteronomic law, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn," is restated in this way, "It [Prudence] is God taking thought for oxen."¹⁶ "It is vinegar to the eyes to deal with men of loose and imperfect perceptions" is a paraphrase which misquotes an old Hebrew proverb, "As vinegar to the teeth, and as smoke to the eyes, so is the sluggard to them that send him."¹⁷ The very familiar Biblical axiom, "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap," is applied against the Yankee's too great devotion to the dollar. "Let him learn . . . that what he sows he reaps," Emerson warns.¹⁸ "All that a man has will he give for right relations with his mates" is Emerson's paraphrase of Satan's answer to God, concerning Job's fidelity. "Skin for skin, yea, all that a man hath will he give for his life," his Satanic Majesty avers.¹⁹ The Pauline statement, "Unto the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, "Spiritual Laws," Vol. II, p. 154; Ps. 30:5.

¹⁵ Aristotle: *Poetics*.

¹⁶ *Essays, First Series*, "Prudence," Vol. II, p. 222; Deut. 25:4.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 228; Prov. 10:26.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 235; Gal. 6:7.

¹⁹ *Essays, Second Series*, "New England Reformers," Vol. III, p. 275; Job 2:4.

nothing pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled," becomes the following aphorism from Emerson's pen, "The good, by affinity, seek the good; the vile, by affinity, the vile."²⁰ "The eye repeats every day the first eulogy on things,—'He saw that they were good'" is an effective application and a pithy restatement of the words of the old poet of the "P" narrative, who records Jehovah's encomium over his work on the first day of creation thus: "And God saw the light that it was good."²¹ The twelfth chapter of Ecclesiastes is a literary masterpiece that is familiar to everyone. Emerson evidently had its phraseology in mind when he declared, ". . . against all the dictates of good nature he [the skeptic] is driven to say he has no pleasure in them [orthodox beliefs]."²²

Emerson says of the representative classes of England, that is, those other than the gentry, that "They are of the earth, earthy," even as Paul says that "the first man [the physical] is of the earth, earthy."²³ Emerson, by a paraphrase of Christ's statement in his Sermon on the Mount, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you," preaches his doctrine of predominance of mind and will over matter. He states it in this manner, "What we seek we shall find; what we flee from flees from us."²⁴ In speaking of illusions he declares that thought is a volatile element, such as, "the cloud . . . now as big as your hand, and now it covers a county." Of course he has in mind the experience of Elijah's servant, who, after the seventh observation, reports, "Behold, there ariseth a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand."²⁵ "Sufficient to to-day are the duties of to-day" is Emerson's restatement of "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."²⁶

²⁰ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 123; Tit. 1:15.

²¹ *Representative Men*, "Uses of Great Men," Vol. IV, p. 10; Gen. 1:3, 4.

²² *Ibid.*, "Montaigne; or, the Skeptic," Vol. IV, p. 182; Ecc. 12:1.

²³ *English Traits*, "Character," Vol. V, p. 180; I. Cor. 15:47.

²⁴ *Conduct of Life*, "Fate," Vol. VI, p. 46; Matt. 7:7.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Illusions," Vol. VI, p. 320; I. Kings 18:44.

²⁶ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Immortality," Vol. VIII, p. 328; Matt. 6:34.

The phraseology is awkward and not so successful as the faultless Biblical sentence from which it is built.

The discovery of the material world as a means and symbol was an "unsleeping insight" in Thoreau, "and," Emerson says, "whatever faults or obstructions of temperament might cloud it, he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," a paraphrase of Paul's declaration concerning the vision which he saw on the road to Damascus, when he tells King Agrippa, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."²⁷ In eulogizing the surviving Concord soldiers of the Revolutionary War, Emerson, in these words, "You have fought a good fight. And having quit you like men in the battle . . .," paraphrases two widely divergent passages of the Bible; one, Paul's last words to Timothy, which is found in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, the other, the Philistine general's exhortation to his army drawn up against the Israelitish hosts, which is found in the historical literature of the Old Testament.²⁸ That Emerson considers vigilance a duty incumbent upon the executive and legislative branches of the government is evident from the following Biblical paraphrase, "The governor and the legislature," like him that keepeth Israel, "shall neither slumber nor sleep."²⁹ Jesus, in preaching to the multitudes, after the departure of the committee sent by John the Baptist to inquire into the validity of the Messianic claims of Jesus, says, "And from the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." Emerson effectively paraphrases this statement in describing the overflow meeting in the Moravian Chapel at Grace Hill in the British West Indies when the act of Parliament emancipating the Negro slaves in the island was proclaimed. "For once," he says, "the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force."³⁰ The Pauline doctrine of predestination, "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make

²⁷ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Thoreau," Vol. X, p. 464; Acts 26:19.

²⁸ *Miscellanies*, "Historical Discourses," Vol. XI, p. 76; II. Tim. 4:7; I. Sam. 4:9.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, "Speech on Affairs in Kansas," Vol. XI, p. 258; Ps. 121:4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, "West India Emancipation," Vol. XI, p. 116; Matt. 11:12.

one vessel unto honor, and another unto dishonor?", is paraphrased by Emerson to preach the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination. "Talent," he declares, "is habitual facility of execution . . . somewhat is to come to the light, and one was created to fetch it,—a vessel of honor or of dishonor."³¹ These paraphrases are evidence that Emerson knew how to utilize the language of the Bible to emphasize his ideas and to embellish and illuminate his thought.

Some of his paraphrases are very striking because they are reversed or otherwise distorted. The twist of speech, as a rule, emphasizes the point made by the paraphrase. The mark of the beast was on the forehead of the Apocalyptic beast, but Emerson, for emphasis, "sets the mark of the beast [vice] on the back of the head."³² All men go in flocks to this saint or that poet, avoiding the God who seeth in secret. They cannot see in secret; they love to be blind in public" is a paraphrase in which the climactic antithetical sentence adds force and weight to the restatement.³³ He speaks of the seditious Ten Commandments in condemning the Fugitive Slave Law.³⁴ The striking reversal of the characteristics of Saint Paul and Saint John certainly emphasizes the point that men must avoid the sectarian and partisan points of view and ignore points of difference. "If they do not do this, if they set out to contend, Saint Paul will lie and Saint John will hate,"³⁵ a condition so utterly impossible that the negative emphasizes the positive.

"He [Napoleon] came unto his own and they received him" is Emerson's antithesis of "He [Jesus] came unto his own and his own received him not," which emphasizes the popularity of Napoleon.³⁶ To bring out the almost supernatural power of inspiration, he declares that "the new wine will make the bottles new" which, in the reader's mind, is em-

³¹ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Natural History of Intellect," Vol. XII, p. 48; Rom. 9:21.

³² *Essays, First Series*, "Spiritual Laws," Vol. II, p. 159; Rev. 13:16.

³³ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 144; Matt. 6:18.

³⁴ *Miscellanies*, "The Fugitive Slave Law," Vol. XI, p. 194; Ex. 20.

³⁵ *Essays, First Series*, "Prudence," Vol. II, p. 239.

³⁶ *Representative Men*, "Napoleon; or, the Man of the World," Vol. IV, p. 229; John 1:11.

phasized because he unconsciously sets it against its Biblical prototype, "No man putteth new wine into old bottles, else the new wine will burst the bottles and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish."³⁷ That Boston's prosperity is due to the sagacity and foresight of its founders is brought out strongly by Emerson when he declares that "the people [Bostonians] did not gather where they had not sown" a reversed paraphrase of the hard master of the parable of the talents who *did* gather where he had not sown.³⁸ "Our father Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of wheat" is a rather distorted idea of the value of the forbidden fruit which arrested the attention of Emerson in the work of Hafiz, the greatest of Persian poets.³⁹

A study of Emerson's works makes it clear that this master workman of the Scriptural paraphrase restates familiar Biblical passages for the purpose of emphasis, since they are associated in the mind of the reader with certain ideas. By paraphrasing in the obverse manner, he gives the new idea the force of the old idea for which it is substituted; then by paraphrasing in the reverse manner, he emphasizes the idea by substituting the unusual for the usual, and by attracting the attention of the reader through the use of the unexpected. Both methods are effective when used pertinently and judiciously.

³⁷ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Preacher," Vol. X, p. 233; Luke 5:37.

³⁸ *Natural History of Intellect*, "Boston," Vol. XII, p. 204; Matt. 25:24.

³⁹ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Persian Poetry," Vol. VIII, p. 244; Gen. 3:17-19.

CHAPTER V

ALLUSIONS IN CONTENTIONS

In making contentions Emerson often alludes to, or quotes from, the Bible, sometimes to support his statements, but usually to illuminate and clarify his thought by the use of figurative speech drawn from the Scriptures. It is interesting to go through his works to follow his course of thought upon a certain subject by means of his application of Scripture to that subject. By such a method one learns that reform is always opposed by the conservative, who "must deny the possibility of good, deny ideas, and suspect and stone the prophets."¹ How could Emerson more effectively declare himself in favor of reform, since the prophets were the representatives of spirituality and idealism as opposed to the ultraconservative Pharisaic legalist and formalist? We learn further that reform in general is good because it is man's way of trying to attain the ideal.

"It is the comparison of the idea with the fact. Our modes of living are not agreeable to our imagination . . . [But] The new voices in the wilderness crying 'Repent,' have revived a hope, which had well-nigh perished out of the world, that the thoughts of the mind may yet, in some distant age, and in some happy hour, be executed by the hands."²

By the use of such a figure of speech the writer makes clear his contention that reform is an agent by which the imagination strives to attain its ideal. While Emerson thinks reform is always right, he is certain that the methods used by reformers are often wrong.

"They are partial; they are not equal to the work they pretend. They lose their way; in the assault on the kingdom of darkness, they expend all their energy on some accidental evil, and lose their sanity and power of benefit. . . ."³

is the way he expresses it. By the use of the phrase *kingdom of darkness*, Emerson not only illuminates his thought by means of a figure of speech, but gives in no uncertain

¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Conservative," Vol. I, p. 298; Luke 13:34.

² *Ibid.*, "The Times," Vol. I, p. 272; Matt. 3:1, 2.

³ *Essays, Second Series*, "New England Reformers," Vol. III, p. 261; Matt. 8:12; 22:13.

terms his estimate of the conditions against which reform must wage its battles. Although the reformer often pursues the wrong method and becomes an agitator, Emerson has more sympathy with him than with the artist and poet who become ascetics for any other than a "great and involuntary" reason, unless "ravished by thought and hurried into ascetic extravagances." In that case, he states, "society could manage to release their shoulder from its wheel and grant them for a time this privilege of Sabbath,"⁴ a pertinent figure of speech in light of the fact that the Israelites were instructed to let their land lie idle during the Sabbatical or seventh year. Since my list of citations is limited to those which allude to the Bible, they by no means cover the subject of Emerson's ideas concerning reform. Nevertheless they show his favorite method of using Scripture to support his ideas. In every case he has employed an effective and pertinent figure of speech, the Biblical interpretation of which supports his contention and illustrates his idea. Through such figures of speech it is learned that the reformer is a John the Baptist, granted a privilege of Sabbath, not for selfish reasons, but that he may be a voice in the wilderness crying "Repent" to the conservatives in the kingdom of darkness who stone the prophets of idealism and culture.

Emerson takes the position that no hero needs to proclaim his deeds, since the virtues which have made the deeds possible create a "sweetness of peace" and a "nobleness of aim" that will proclaim the deeds for him. In light of such a fact, it is "with sublime propriety that God is described as saying I AM."⁵ By the use of a Biblical allusion, he presents practically the same thought as that expressed in one of his well-known apothegms: "What you *are* stands over you the while, and thunders so that I cannot hear what you say . . ."⁶

To support his idea that man is greater than circumstances, Emerson quotes Jacobi, the Transcendental moralist, who says, "I would commit sacrilege with David; yea, and pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath, for no other reason than

⁴ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Times," Vol. I, p. 283; II. Chron. 36:21; Lev. 25:4.

⁵ *Essays, First Series*, "Spiritual Laws," Vol. II, p. 160; Ex. 3:14.

⁶ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Social Aims," Vol. VIII, p. 96.

that I was fainting for lack of food." In this statement there are allusions to two Biblical incidents, which are of special interest, since Jesus referred to David's sacrilege to justify his own act in breaking the Sabbatical code of the Hebrew legalists.⁷ Emerson uses an allusion to a Biblical incident to emphasize his startling statement that the hardest task in the world is to think. Truth is as awful as God. "I seem to know what he meant," Emerson declares, "who said, No man can see God face to face and live."⁸ Emerson by the use of a Scriptural allusion found a new way of saying, "God is Truth," a truism that has become trite. He is willing to admit that men have become partialists, and that they pride themselves upon their individuality. But he declares that they are universalists, however much they may try to hide the fact. "There is nothing [they] cherish and strive to draw to [them] but in some hour [they] turn and rend it."⁹ Here is an illustration of his method of using a Biblical figure of speech to indict mankind, which, like the swine, mangles the hand that offers it pearls. Furthermore he charges man with instability. He is a bundle of moods who unsays today what he said yesterday. "The Truth sits veiled . . . and never interposes a syllable, while," to quote him further, "the most sincere and revolutionary doctrine, put as if the ark of God were carried forward some furlongs, and planted there for the succor of the world, shall in a few weeks be coldly set aside by the same speaker."¹⁰ This is his manner of declaring that man is relative truth and only God is absolute truth.

In teaching his doctrine of the "resolution of all into the ever blessed one," he beseeches men to "stun and astonish the intruding rabble of men and books and institutions by a simple declaration of the divine fact. Bid the invaders take their shoes from off their feet, for God is here within."¹¹ We approach idealism by degrees. First, we toy with it; then, in the age of youth and poetry we see by gleams and

⁷ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "The Transcendentalist," Vol. I, p. 337; I. Sam. 21:1-6; Matt. 12:1-3.

⁸ *Essays, First Series*, "Intellect," Vol. II, p. 331; Ex. 33:20-23.

⁹ *Essays, Second Series*, "Nominalist and Realist," Vol. III, p. 246; Matt. 7:6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 247; II. Sam. 6:1-17.

¹¹ *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 71; Ex. 3:5.

fragments that it may be true; later, we know it must be true. Then "we learn," Emerson contends, "that God is, that he is in me and that all things are shadows of him."¹² Emerson employs an Old Testament passage to propound his doctrine of the over-soul, while he uses the words of Jesus to support his contention that "To be great is to be misunderstood," and furthermore, he illustrates the truth of his proverb by citing Jesus among others as an exemplification of it.¹³

Emerson is opposed to the idea that the artist is necessarily dissipated. "His art," he says, "never taught him lewdness, nor the love of wine, nor the wish to reap where he had not sowed."¹⁴ Emerson is also convinced that personality is the greatest miracle. He declares that "The word miracle, as it is used, only indicates the ignorance of the devotee, staring with wonder to see water turned into wine, and heedless of the stupendous fact of his own personality."¹⁵ He makes a judicious selection in this illustration since this miracle, the first one of Jesus, as the beginning of wonders attracted much attention. Innovations are always startling. "Jesus is born in a barn and his twelve peers are fishermen,"¹⁶ is an instance cited by Emerson to prove his contention that gods "come in low disguises." "He who can define is the best man," declares this philosopher when speaking in favor of the organization of a literary club. He points to Jesus as an embodiment of his definition, since he "spent his life discoursing with humble people on life and duty, in giving wise answers, . . . and silencing those who were not generous enough to accept his thoughts."¹⁷

Emerson is so skilful in the use of Scripture to support his thought that he is able to apply Biblical allusions to the political and social problems of the hour as readily as to the

¹² *Ibid.*, "Circles," Vol. II, p. 309; Ex. 3:14; John 14:20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 58; John 1:11.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, "Prudence," Vol. II, p. 232; Matt. 25:24.

¹⁵ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 200; John 2:1-11.

¹⁶ *Society and Solitude*, "Works and Days," Vol. VII, p. 176; Luke 2:16; Matt. 4:18-22.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, "Clubs," Vol. VII, p. 236; Mark 12:37; Luke 2:46, 47; John 8:3-9.

philosophical and religious questions which interest him. His discussion of the problem of taxation and representation is an illustration of his skill in applying Scriptural material to political problems. "Laban," he says, "who has flocks and herds, wishes them looked after by an officer on the frontiers, lest the Midianites shall drive them off; and pays a tax to that end. Jacob has no flocks or herds and no fear of the Midianites, and pays no tax to the officer. It seemed fit that Laban and Jacob should have equal rights to elect the officer who is to defend their persons, but that Laban and not Jacob should elect the officer who is to guard the sheep and cattle. And if question arise whether additional officers or watch-towers should be provided, must not Laban and Isaac [the father of Jacob, who, as head of the family in a patriarchal form of government, owned Jacob's right of property] and those who must sell part of their herds to buy protection for the rest, judge better of this, and with more right, than Jacob, who, because he is a youth and a traveller, eats their bread and not his own?"¹⁸ This illustration makes Emerson's position clear. The man who owns property, he thinks, should elect the officers who levy taxes on real estate, while the man who owns no property should not be compelled to pay taxes to protect the real estate of the man who owns such property.

The abolishment of war is a universal problem, not confined to any one century nor to any one place. Emerson has deep convictions upon the subject. That he believes war is a destructive dementia caused by a legion of devils who have possessed men for ages is clearly demonstrated by the figurative language he uses in discussing the subject. He declares "it is now time that it should pass out of the state of beast into the state of man; it is to hear the voice of God, which bids the devils that have rended and torn him come out of him and let him now be clothed and walk forth in his right mind."¹⁹ The agitation concerning the Fugitive Slave Law stirs him to the depths. To justify the stand which Massachusetts takes in disregarding this law, he cites the

¹⁸ *Essays, Second Series*, "Politics," Vol. III, p. 202; Gen. 30:26-36; 31:44-53.

¹⁹ *Miscellanies*, "War," Vol. XI, p. 171; Mark 5:15.

higher law of the Bible, which makes an immoral law void. He quotes Blackstone and Coke to substantiate his contention that no nation has a right to make a law that violates the divine thou-shalt-not's of the Ten Commandments. To support his claim, he quotes Blackstone as saying: "Nay, if any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit a crime (his instance is murder) we are bound to transgress that human law; or else we must offend both the natural and divine."²⁰

The most outstanding example of Emerson's contentions supported by Scripture is his sermon "The Lord's Supper," in which, to paraphrase Luke, beginning at the gospels and all the Pauline epistles, he expounds unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning the Lord's Supper. He takes the position that

"Jesus did not intend to establish an institution for perpetual observance when he ate the Passover with his disciples; [and moreover] he did with his disciples exactly what every master of a family in Jerusalem was doing at the same hour."²¹

His conclusion anticipates the whole body of twentieth-century higher criticism concerning the Eucharist and involves, not only the authorship and authenticity of the fourth gospel, but also the time of the crucifixion of Jesus relative to the passover as well. It is not the intention or the prerogative of such a study as this to prove or disprove Emerson's conclusion concerning the Eucharist, but only to show his skill in using the Scripture to support his claim.

If, as Emerson says, Jesus was eating the passover at the same time that all other faithful Jews were eating it, he was crucified on the day after the passover and not on the day of the passover as the church contends. If Emerson is right, the writer of John's gospel is wrong, since he says explicitly that Jesus ate the supper with his disciples before the passover,²² and that the Jews would not go into the Praetorium to hear Jesus tried before Pilate lest they should be

²⁰ *Ibid.*, "The Fugitive Slave Law," Vol. XI, p. 191; Ex. 20:1-18; Deut. 5:6-22.

²¹ *Ibid.*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, pp. 4, 9.

²² John 13:1.

defiled and unfit to eat the passover.²³ John further states that it was about the sixth hour on the preparation of the passover that Pilate delivered Christ to be crucified.²⁴ Jesus, according to John's gospel, was crucified, dead, and buried before the Jews ate the passover. The synoptic gospel-writers, however, do not agree with John. All three of them say very plainly that Jesus ate the last supper on the first day of the feast of unleavened bread when the passover should be killed,²⁵ which, according to the old law was the fourteenth day of the month Abib (pre-exilic)²⁶ or Nisan (post-exilic).²⁷ While John refutes Emerson's statement concerning the time when Jesus ate the passover, the synoptists support it. That Jesus was crucified on Friday is supported by all four gospels, since it was on the preparation for the Sabbath,²⁸ but whether that Friday was the day of the Jewish passover or the day following it, is the question involved. If the crucifixion took place on the day after the passover, a conclusion which all the synoptists support, then Jesus was eating the regular passover with his disciples, and Emerson is justified in his conclusion that he was not instituting a new rite; but if Jesus was crucified on the day of the passover feast, as John testifies, then Jesus did not eat the passover in the regular way and might have instituted a new rite, although Emerson cites other facts to prove that it was highly improbable, since only Luke records "do this in remembrance of me," which makes it a memorial rite. If one may judge from Emerson's own statement, he believes that John wrote the fourth gospel. "John especially," he says, "who has recorded with minuteness the conversation and transactions of that memorable evening, has quite omitted such a notice [the memorial rite]."²⁹ Emerson's conclusions, however, anticipate in part the position of the twentieth-century higher critics, who contend that the fourth gospel is later than the first century and could not have been written

²³ John 18:28.

²⁴ John 19:14.

²⁵ Matt. 26:17-20; Mark 14:12-18; Luke 22:7, 8.

²⁶ Ex. 12:1-12; 13:4.

²⁷ Neh. 2:1.

²⁸ Matt. 27:62; Mark 14:12; Luke 23:54; John 19:31.

²⁹ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, pp. 5, 6.

by John the Evangelist.³⁰ They also support his contention that the institution of the Lord's Supper is Pauline.³¹ The early Christian fathers, when allegorizing the Old Testament³² are very careful to prove that Jesus is the symbol of the passover lamb.³³ For that reason the writer of John's gospel, which is late, is very careful to make his testimony conform to the teaching of the early church; hence he places the crucifixion on the day of the passover, and the Lord's Supper on the evening before the regular passover instead of on the evening of the Jews' passover feast as the synoptic writers do. By advancing the time of the crucifixion twenty-four hours, the writer of John makes the death of Jesus come at the very hour that the passover lamb is slain.³⁴ Emerson knows his Scripture so well that, although he believes in the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel, he subconsciously reaches a conclusion which is one of the main contentions of the higher critics against Johannine authorship.

In one other statement Emerson, subconsciously perhaps, disregards the testimony of the writer of John's gospel. He says, "He [Jesus] never teaches the personal immortality."³⁵ If John's gospel is eliminated this is perhaps true, but it is most certainly not true if John's gospel is accepted as the work of John the Evangelist, who, as a witness, records the acts and words of Jesus. According to John, Jesus said to Thomas, "Reach hither thy finger and behold my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side; and be not faithless but believing."³⁶ According to John's gospel the physical body of Jesus was resurrected. There are also

³⁰ Shirley Jackson Case: *Jesus—A New Biography*, Chap. I, pp. 44-45; Chap. II, pp. 66-73; 76, 77; George Holley Gilbert; *Greek Thought in the New Testament*, Chap. VII; p. 208: *Ibid.*, *Jesus and His Bible*, Chap. V, and p. 97, n. 3.

³¹ Gilbert, *Greek Thought in the New Testament*, pp. 78-85; Case, *op. cit.*, Chap. I, Div. III.

³² Gilbert, *Jesus and His Bible*, pp. 123-126; 138; Appendix, pp. 153-171; Harry Emerson Fosdick; *Modern Use of the Bible*, Chap. III; Gal. 4:22-26.

³³ Gilbert: *Jesus and His Bible*, p. 90; I. Cor. 5:7; I. Pet. 1:19, 20; John 1:29; Rev. 5:12, 13.

³⁴ Case: *op. cit.*, pp. 282 ff., Gilbert: *Jesus and His Bible*, p. 90; See *ante*, p. 50, n. 22, and p. 51, n. 25.

³⁵ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Immortality," Vol. VIII, p. 348; Gilbert: *Greek Thought in the New Testament*, pp. 94, 95.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 208; John 20:27.

other passages in John which indicate personal immortality,³⁷ but the synoptic writers and Paul seemingly support Emerson's contention. Again, he reaches a conclusion which in part anticipates the higher critics, by half a century.³⁸

Emerson makes some contentions that are rather surprising. One wonders what he means when he says that the American uses the words *faith* and *hope* as if they were as obsolete as *Selah* and *Amen*. The word *Amen* is heard almost every day. How can it be obsolete?³⁹

"The beggar begs by God's command," is a rather striking reversal of the ancient Deuteronomic law, "For the poor shall never cease out of the land; therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thy hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land."⁴⁰ Emerson, in this poem puts forth the same idea that Wordsworth does in "The Old Cumberland Beggar." These poets seem to think that poverty is necessary in order that the fortunate may grow in grace through the exercise of charity, rather than an evil which should be abolished through charity. This is a phase of the doctrine of predestination or fatalism.

Emerson claims that Christianity has given two inestimable advantages: "first, the Sabbath, the jubilee of the whole world. . . . And secondly, the institution of preaching,—the speech of man to men."⁴¹ Neither statement is quite true. Emerson uses the terms Sabbath and Sunday interchangeably. He doubtless means Sunday in this instance. It may be true that Christianity has given us Sunday, but in doing so it has merely transferred the Sabbath from the last to the first day of the week.

The early Jewish Sabbath was a day of merriment and feasting associated with the moon festivals. After the exile it became a day of iron-clad restriction with its $39 \times 39 = 1521$

³⁷ John 5:21-29; 14:19.

³⁸ Gilbert: *Jesus and His Bible*, p. 93; Fosdick: *op. cit.*, pp. 45; 98-104; Chapter IV; Pringle-Pattison: *The New Idea of Immortality*, p. 144; Lectures VII, VIII.

³⁹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Man the Reformer," Vol. I, p. 249; Num. 5:22; Deut. 27:15; Ps. 4:2; 3:2.

⁴⁰ *Poems*, "Life," Vol. IX, p. 350; Deut. 15:11; John 12:8.

⁴¹ *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "An Address," Vol. I, p. 150; Matt. 28:1.

rabbinical prohibitions. It was this Sabbath of the extreme legalist which Jesus opposed. The early Christian church did not identify itself with the Jewish Sabbath. The Christians met upon the first day of the week, and throughout the New Testament these two days are never confused. The Christians, until the time of the Puritans, were very liberal in their views concerning the Lord's day, or Sunday as it was later called. The Puritan reverted to the old rabbinical Sabbath and transferred it from the seventh to the first day of the week, and called it the Christian Sabbath. The Christian Sabbath that Emerson talks about is not the Lord's day, which is the contribution of Jesus through the early Christian church, but it is rather a seventeenth-century graft upon the Lord's day.⁴² In a narrow sense Emerson is right, since Puritans are Christians; but in a broad sense he is wrong, since Christians are not necessarily Puritans.

The statement that preaching is a contribution of Christianity is also but a partial truth, since the Jews practised a type of preaching in their synagogues prior to the birth of Christ. After the exile the synagogue service consisted of three parts: the shema, the prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures, followed by the sermon, which was an exposition of the Scripture.⁴³ The lessons from the law and the prophets were translated or paraphrased into the vernacular Aramaic by an interpreter, in the case of the law, one verse at a time; in the lessons from the prophets, three verses at a time. This led to more extended expositions. It was the Hazzan's duty before the service to adjust the roll so it turned to the lesson. The teacher stood while he read and sat while he taught. Anyone able to instruct might be invited to speak.⁴⁴ It was in this capacity that Jesus taught in the synagogues of Palestine,⁴⁵ and that Paul preached in the synagogues of the dispersion.⁴⁶ The Christian church has developed preaching, but it originated in the Jewish syna-

⁴² Moehlman: *The Story of the Ten Commandments*, Chaps. 13, 14.

⁴³ *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, Vol. II, p. 215.

⁴⁴ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Vol. IV, 4840.

⁴⁵ Mark 1:21; 6:2; Luke 4:16-30.

⁴⁶ Acts 13:5; 14:1; 18:4.

gogue service. The exposition of the Law and the Prophets in the synagogue is the nucleus around which the sermon of the Christian church developed; therefore, preaching is an Hebraic rather than a Christian contribution.

Although Emerson may have made a few minor mistakes in his contentions, they are in the main valid; and in some of his conclusions he was at least half a century ahead of his contemporaries. Biblical criticism had not advanced very far in Emerson's day, but in spite of that fact, he reached decisions which are substantiated by the higher critic after seventy-five years of careful research. Emerson's versatility in the application of Biblical passages to his every need is clearly demonstrated in the manner in which he supports his contentions by material drawn from the Bible, illustrates his statements by paraphrases and figures originating in its literature, and augments his thought by philosophy borrowed from its sages.

CONCLUSION

The reader when perusing Emerson should remember that his works are not a collection of volumes, each of which treats exclusively a certain subject. They are rather a collection of comparatively short treatises, such as essays and sketches, written for current periodicals, or they are lectures and addresses, composed to be delivered upon the platform. The reader must keep in mind the fact that Emerson was a public speaker, and for that reason cannot always be taken literally. In his pages are many declarations which apparently do not agree. Some statements seem to be the antitheses of others. It often seems as though he were trying to demonstrate his familiar apothegm, "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."¹ These apparent inconsistencies, however, do not necessarily signify insincerity on his part. Truth is a jewel with many facets, each of which reflects from a different angle. The orator turns to the light whatever facet reflects the phase of truth he wishes to emphasize. The reader is puzzled by the seeming discrepancy when Emerson declares, in one place, that he treats books as he does his friends, keeping them where he can find them but seldom using them,² yet in another place, that he prizes books and that they who are wise prize them most.³ If he believes the latter statement and practices the former, he is the antitype of the foolish philosopher who with all his getting failed to get understanding.⁴ That the first statement is to be taken relatively, however, and not absolutely, is demonstrated by his knowledge of books and his frequent allusions to their contents. Among these books the Bible holds first place.

In some of his writings Biblical allusions are very frequent, one occurring immediately after another. Such statements as these occur frequently: "The law is: To each shall be rendered his own."⁵ As thou sowest thou shalt reap.⁶ Smite, and

¹ *Essays, First Series*, "Self-Reliance," Vol. II, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, "Friendship," Vol. II, p. 214.

³ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Quotations and Originality," Vol. VIII, p. 178.

⁴ Prov. 4:7.

⁵ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 192; Matt. 22:21.

⁶ *Ibid.*; Gal. 6:7.

thou shalt smart.⁷ Serve and thou shalt be served;⁸ and again, "He stopped and wrote on the sand."⁹ He admonished his disciples respecting the leaven of the Pharisees.¹⁰ He instructed the woman of Samaria respecting living water.¹¹ He permitted himself to be anointed, declaring that it was for his interment.¹² He washed the feet of his disciples."¹³ In both of these citations the simple sentence is the medium for the allusion. But Emerson's method of accumulating allusions is not confined to the simple sentence. It also embraces the complex sentence, composed of phrasal and clausal Biblical allusions. The following sentence is an accumulation of Scriptural phrases, "Devout men . . . have used different images to suggest this latent force [the "moral sentiment that is alone omnipotent"]; as, the light,¹⁴ the seed,¹⁵ the Spirit,¹⁶ the Holy Ghost,¹⁷ the Comforter,¹⁸ the Daemon,¹⁹ the still, small voice,²⁰ etc.—all indicating its power and its latency." Another sentence which is pregnant with phrasal and clausal allusions to the Bible is "Then up comes a man with a text of I John 5:7, or a knotty sentence from St. Paul, which he considers as the axe at the root of your tree."²¹

While the foregoing quotations exhibit an accumulation of numerous and frequently occurring allusions, such allusions are confined to a much narrower range than in the following excerpt which alludes to passages widely separated in the Biblical canon: "I must eat the good of the land and let learning and romantic expectation go, until a more convenient season." Although this clause, extracted from a long compound

⁷ *Ibid.*; Matt. 26:52; Lev. 24:19, 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*; John 13:14-16.

⁹ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 10; John 8:6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*; Luke 12:1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*; John 4:10-14.

¹² *Ibid.*; John 12:3-7.

¹³ *Ibid.*; John 13:4-14.

¹⁴ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Character," Vol. X, p. 97; I. John 1:5.

¹⁵ Mark 4:26-29.

¹⁶ John 4:24.

¹⁷ II. Cor. 13:14.

¹⁸ John 14:16.

¹⁹ I. Cor. 10:20, 21.

²⁰ I. Kings 19:12, 13.

²¹ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "Sovereignty of Ethics," Vol. X, p. 201; Matt. 3:10.

sentence, exhibits only two Biblical allusions, they refer to passages taken from widely separated books: Genesis, the first book of the Torah, and Acts, the only historical book of the New Testament.²² The most outstanding accumulation of Biblical allusions is found in the biographical sketch of Swedenborg, the mystic: "‘What have I to do,’ asks the impatient reader, ‘with jasper and sardonyx, beryl and chalcedony;’²³ what with arks²⁴ and passovers,²⁵ ephahs,²⁶ and ephods;²⁷ what with lepers²⁸ and emerods;²⁹ what with heave-offerings³⁰ and unleavened bread,³¹ chariots of fire,³² dragons crowned and horned,³³ behemoth³⁴ and unicorn?"³⁵ This rhetorical question contains thirteen allusions to passages scattered throughout the Scripture from Exodus to Revelation. Farther on in this paragraph an allusion is made also to palm-trees³⁶ and shittim wood.³⁷ In "Compensation"³⁸ Emerson makes at least twenty-two allusions to passages contained in nine different books of the Bible: Genesis, the first book of the Pentateuch; Job and Psalms, two of the five poetical books of the Old Testament; Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, the four gospels; and I Corinthians and II Thessalonians, two of the thirteen Pauline epistles.

In "The Lord's Supper"³⁹ there are numerous allusions to passages in Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Romans, I Corinthians, I and II Thessalonians, and I Timothy, as well as one reference to Exodus. Since "The Lord's Supper" is

²² *Nature Addresses and Lectures*, "Literary Ethics," Vol. I, p. 185; Gen. 45:18; Acts 24:25.

²³ *Representative Men*, "Swedenborg; or, the Mystic," Vol. IV, p. 135; Rev. 21:19, 20.

²⁴ Ex. 25:10.

²⁵ Ex. 12:21-28.

²⁶ Ex. 16:36.

²⁷ Ex. 39:2.

²⁸ Lev. 13 ff.

²⁹ Deut. 28:27; I. Sam. 6:4.

³⁰ Ex. 29:27.

³¹ Ex. 23:15.

³² II. Kings 2:11.

³³ Rev. 12:3; 20:2.

³⁴ Job 40:15.

³⁵ Job 39:9.

³⁶ Lev. 23:40; John 12:13.

³⁷ Ex. 25:5; 27:1.

³⁸ *Essays, First Series*, "Compensation," Vol. II, p. 98.

³⁹ *Miscellanies*, "The Lord's Supper," Vol. XI, p. 3.

a controversial sermon, its very nature necessitates numerous references to Scriptural passages as authoritative support to the arguments advanced by the speaker. While it is true that this address may be considered an exception whose nature requires Biblical material, the same cannot be said of the essays, sketches, and articles of various types from which the other citations are taken. These passages are representative of Emerson's work as a whole and should make possible a judgment of the frequency and pertinence of his Biblical allusions. In his various works Emerson alludes to passages scattered throughout thirty of the thirty-nine books of the Old Testament, twenty of the twenty-seven of the New Testament, and two of the seven Apocryphal books, II Maccabees and Tobias.⁴⁰ His allusions to the Bible are so numerous and so inclusive that it seems as though he were trying to fulfill the obligation which he sets forth in these words:

"We too must write Bibles, to unite again the heavens and the earthly world. The secret of genius is to suffer no fiction to exist for us; to realize all that we know; . . . and first, last, midst and without end, to honor every truth by use."⁴¹

Emerson is thoroughly convinced that "Truth is the property of no individual, but is the treasure of all men, [and furthermore] the nobler the truth or sentiment, the less imports the question of authorship."⁴² He, without any thought of plagiarism, feels perfectly free to utilize the truths he finds in the pages of other writers. "Genius borrows nobly," he declares, and "if an author gives us just distinctions, inspiring lessons, or imaginative poetry, it is not so important to us whose they are."⁴² In the light of this statement it is not at all to be wondered at that Emerson draws so freely on a book which he gives the first place in the canon of world literature.⁴³

"In the book I read," Emerson testifies, "the good thought returns to me, as every truth will, the image of the whole

⁴⁰ See Appendix p. 68, n. 170; p. 69, n. 170; p. 70, n. 334 (this study).

⁴¹ *Representative Men*, "Goethe; or, the Writer," Vol. IV, p. 290.

⁴² *Letters and Social Aims*, "Quotations and Originality," Vol. VIII, pp. 191, 192.

⁴³ See *ante*, "Introduction," p. 7, n. 6.

soul."⁴⁴ Even a casual perusal of his pages, abounding in numerous Scriptural allusions, brings the conviction that Emerson has found many truths in the Bible. As these truths return to him, he gives them back by quotation, paraphrase, and metaphor to a generation in which "the Jewish Bible had implanted itself in the table-talk and household life of every man and woman in the European and American nations."⁴⁵ That Emerson's estimate of the book which the Hebrews contributed is high he evidences by such a statement as "The Hebrew nation compensated for the insignificance of its members and territory by its religious genius, its tenacious belief; its poems and history cling to the soil of the globe like the primitive rocks."⁴⁶

"'Tis the fullness of man that runs over into objects and makes his Bibles and Shakespeares and Homers so great,"⁴⁷ Emerson declares, and furthermore, "The Bible itself is like an old Cremona; it has been played upon by the devotion of thousands of years until every word and particle is public and tunable."⁴⁸ Emerson's language is so Biblical in flavor that it appears to the reader as if this Joshua of the nineteenth century must have received from Jehovah this new charge: This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest give back its words in quotations, its thought in paraphrase, its wisdom in philosophy, and its beauty in metaphor and symbolism,⁴⁹ "nor can [this book of the law] be closed until the last great man is born."⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Essays, First Series*, "The Over-Soul," Vol. II, p. 280.

⁴⁵ *Representative Men*, "Plato; or, the Philosopher," Vol. IV, p. 44.

⁴⁶ *Lectures and Biographical Sketches*, "The Man of Letters," Vol. X, p. 244.

⁴⁷ *Society and Solitude*, "Success," Vol. VII, p. 295.

⁴⁸ *Letters and Social Aims*, "Quotations and Originality," Vol. VIII, p. 182.

⁴⁹ Joshua 1:8.

⁵⁰ *Representative Men*, "Uses of Great Men," Vol. IV, p. 20.

APPENDIX

A Tabulation of Emerson's Biblical Allusions Nature Addresses and Lectures, Vol. I.¹

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|--------|--|--|
| 3 | we grope among the dry bones | Ezek. 37:1-6 |
| 7 | the city of God | Heb. 12:22; Ps. 46:4 |
| 12 | this ocean of air above, this ocean of water beneath, this firmament of earth between? | Gen. 1:6-8 |
| 14 | from the era of Noah | Gen. 9:8, 9, 18, 19 |
| 22 | The visible heavens and earth sympathize with Jesus | Mark 15:33; Luke 23:44; Matt. 27:45 |
| 25 | Spirit primarily means <i>wind</i> | John 3:8; Acts 2:2-4 |
| 26 | a lamb is innocence | John 1:29 |
| 26 | a snake is subtle spite | Gen. 3:1 |
| 27 | Spirit is the Creator. Spirit hath life itself | John 4:24 |
| 28 | "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." | I. Cor. 15:44 |
| 29 | it [the ant] never sleeps | Prov. 6:10 |
| 29 | and as this is the first language | Gen. 11:1 |
| 32 | the cattle low upon the mountains | Ps. 50:10 |
| 33 | face to face in a glass | I. Cor. 13:12 |
| 38 | her yea is yea, and her nay, nay | Jas. 5:12 |
| 39 | "Thy will be done" | Matt. 6:10 |
| 40 | meekly as the ass on which the Savior rode | Matt. 21:1-11 |
| 41 | Ten Commandments | Ex. 20:1-17; Deut. 5:6-21 |
| 41 | Prophet and priest, David, Isaiah, Jesus | |
| 45 | male and female | Gen. 1:27 |
| 56, 57 | "These are they who were set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When he pre- pared the heavens they were there; when he established the clouds above, when he strengthened the fountains of the deep. Then they were by him as one brought up with him. Of them he took counsel." | Prov. 8:23, 27, 28, 30 |
| 58 | "The things that are seen are temporal; the things that are unseen are eternal." | II. Cor. 4:18 |
| 58 | flesh-pcts of Egypt | Ex. 16:3 |
| 61 | Like the figure of Jesus she [Nature] stands with bended head, and hands folded upon her breast | Reference to Christian art |
| 62 | we try to describe and define himself [God] | Ex. 3:14 |
| 71 | Nebuchadnezzar dethroned, bereft of reason, and eating grass like an ox | Dan. 4:28-37 |
| 71 | a man is a God in ruins | Gen. 3:22 |
| 71 | from man the sun, from woman the moon | Gen. 37:9, 10 |
| 74 | deep calls unto deep | Ps. 42:7 |
| 75 | What is truth? | John 18:38 |
| 76 | all that Adam had; Adam called his house heaven and earth | Gen. 1:8-10 |
| 77 | cometh not with observation | Luke 17:20 |
| 96 | Transfigured; the corruptible has put on incorruption | Matt. 17:1-8; I. Cor. 15:53 |
| 105 | as the world was plastic and fluid in the hands of God | Gen. 1:2 |

¹ All citations in this table refer to *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, Centenary Edition. See Bibliography, p. 75.

| PAGE | EMFRSON | BIBLE |
|------|---|---|
| 119 | balm-of-Gilead | Gen. 37:25; Jer. 8:22; 46:11 |
| 122 | The man who renounces himself, comes to himself | Matt. 10:39 |
| 123 | The good, by affinity, seek the good; the vile, by affinity, the vile | Titus 1:15; II. Sam. 22:27, 28 |
| 126 | Jesus Christ belnged to the true race of prophets | Luke 13:33, 34 |
| 128 | God incarnates himself in man | John 1:14 |
| 129 | Moses and the Prophets | Luke 24:27 |
| 135 | gift of tongues | Acts 2:2-4 |
| 136 | leave all and follow,—father and mother, house and land, wife and child? | Mark 10:28-31 |
| 144 | God seeth in secret | Matt. 6:18 |
| 144 | He saith yea and nay only | Matt. 5:37 |
| 145 | Saint Paul | |
| 145 | "I also am a man" | Acts 14:11-15 |
| 145 | first the Sabbath | Matt. 28:1; Mark 16:2-9; John 5:18; 20:1, 19, 26; Acts 20:7; I. Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10 |
| 145 | the jubilee of the whole world | Lev. 25:10; 27:17 |
| 160 | I will say with the warlike king, "God gave me this crown, and the whole world shall not take it away." | II. Sam. 7:12-16; II. Sam. 18-19:40; I. Sam. 20:30-33 |
| 164 | paint a transfiguration | Mark 9:2; Luke 9:28-35 |
| 185 | until a more convenient season | Acts 24:25 |
| 185 | must eat the good of the land | Gen. 45:18 |
| 191 | where there is no vision the people perish | Prov. 29:18 |
| 195 | I am: all things are mine: all mine are thine | John 17:21-23 |
| 197 | It is flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bone | Gen. 2:23 |
| 213 | Universal Power which will not be seen face to face | Ex. 33:18-23 |
| 221 | deny it not before men | Matt. 10:32, 33 |
| 223 | before the world was, they were | Prov. 8:23; Ps. 90:2; John 8:58 |
| 233 | The trail of the serpent | Gen. 3:1; Rev. 12:9 |
| 249 | obsolete as Selah and Amen | Num. 5:22; Deut. 27:15; I. Cor. 14:16; II. Cor. 1:20; Ps. 3:2; 4:2 |
| 249 | Americans . . . have not Faith and Hope | I. Cor. 13:13 |
| 272 | The new voices in the wilderness crying "Repent" | Matt. 3:1, 2 |
| 274 | he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between Bethany and Jerusalem | Mark 11:13 |
| 283 | this privilege of Sabbath | II. Chron. 36:21; Leviticus 25 |
| 313 | vituperated Sodom | Gen. 19:1-11 |
| 316 | slave Moses, who leads away his fellow slaves from their masters | Ex. Chaps. 2-14 |
| 319 | garden of Eden | Gen. 2:4-14 |
| 321 | Sabbath | See ante, Appendix p. 62, n. 145 |
| 335 | Jesus acted so because he thought so | Tit. 1:15; Prov. 23:7 |
| 337 | I would commit sacrilege with David; yea, and pluck ears of corn on the Sabbath | I. Sam. 21; Matt. 12:1-5 |
| 352 | whether in the body or out of the body, God knoweth | II. Cor. 12:2 |
| 355 | dear as the apple of the eye | Deut. 32:10 |

Essays, First Series, Vol. II.

| | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 5 | I can see my own vices in Solomon | I. Kings 11; Neh. 13:26 |
| 9 | the Garden of Eden | Gen. 2:4-14 |
| 9 | the sun standeth still in Gibeon | Jos. 10:12, 13 |
| 18 | creation of light and the world | Gen. 1:1-2:4 |
| 28 | worshippers of Moses, of Zoroaster | Pentateuch |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|------|--|---|
| 30 | Prometheus is the Jesus; he is the friend of man; stands between the unjust and "justice" [Mediator] | I. Tim. 2:5; Heb. 8:6 |
| 30 | Jesus was not [known] | John 1:11; 14:3 |
| 32 | of the earth and of the waters that are under the earth | Gen. 1:7 |
| 39 | Apples of Knowledge | Gen. 2:9; 3:5, 6 |
| 39 | Calling of Abraham | Gen. 12:1-3 |
| 39 | building of the Temple | I. Kings 6 |
| 39 | advent of Christ | Matt. 1:18; Luke 2:1-21 |
| 45 | trumpets of the Last Judgment | I. Cor. 15:52; Matt. 24:31 |
| 45 | Moses [spoke what he thought] | Pentateuch; Ex. 2:11-15 |
| 50 | Devil | Pet. 5:8; Rev. 22:2 |
| 51 | I would write on the lintels of the doorposts, <i>whim</i> | Ex. 12:7 |
| 57 | Leave your theory, as Joseph his coat in the hand of the harlot, and flee | Gen. 39:7-12 |
| 58 | Jesus and Luther and Copernicus and Galileo and Newton | |
| 61 | Christ is born . . . an institution is the shadow of one man | Acts 2:47; 11:26; Rev. 1:4-6 |
| 67 | phraseology of I know not what David, or Jeremiah, or Paul | Ruth 4:22; I. Chron. 3:1; Jer. 1:1; Acts 26:1, 16, 18 |
| 77 | God pronouncing his works good | Gen. 1:31 |
| 71 | Bid the invaders take their shoes from off their feet, for God is here within | Ex. 3:5 |
| 71 | it goes abroad to beg a cup of water | Matt. 10:42 |
| 73 | chaste husband of one wife | I. Tim. 3:2 |
| 76 | man is word made flesh, born to shed healing to the nations | John 1:14; Rev. 22:2 |
| 79 | Let not God speak to us lest we die. Speak thou . . . and we will obey | Ex. 20:18-21 |
| 83 | pen of Moses | II. Chron. 34:14; titles to books of Pentateuch |
| 69 | shoves Jesus and Judas equally aside | Mark 14:44; Luke 22:8-6; John 18:26, 27; 18:2 |
| 94 | Last Judgment | Luke 16:24-26; Rev. 20:12-15; 21:8 |
| 99 | he must bear witness to the light . . . hate father and mother, wife and child | Luke 14:26 |
| 100 | become a byword and a hissing | I. Kings 9:7, 8 |
| 102 | It is in the world, and the world was made by it | John 1:10 |
| 104 | The soul says "Eat" | Luke 12:19 |
| 104 | The man and woman shall be one flesh and one soul | Matt. 19:5, 6 |
| 104 | Have dominion over all things | Gen. 1:28 |
| 104 | all things shall be added unto it | Matt. 6:33 |
| 106 | "How secret art thou who dwellest in the highest heavens in silence" | Ps. 91:1 |
| 109 | an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, blood for blood | Ex. 21:23, 24 |
| 109 | measure for measure. Give and it shall be given you | Matt. 7:2; Luke 6:38 |
| 109 | who doth not work shall not eat | II. Thess. 3:10 |
| 116 | Love, and you shall be loved | Matt. 7:2, 12 |
| 124 | Jesus and Shakespeare | |
| 125 | We cannot let our angels go | Gen. 32:24-26 |
| 135 | gnashing of the teeth | Matt. 25:30 |
| 151 | worthy of all acceptation | I. Tim. 1:15 |
| 154 | Blackmore, Kotzebue and Pollok may endure for a night, but Moses and Homer stand forever | Ps. 30:5 |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|---|--|---|
| 156 | Doth not wisdom cry, and understanding put forth her voice? | Prov. 8:1 |
| 159 | sets the mark of the beast on the back of the head | Rev. 13:16; 14:1 |
| 159 | Zeno or Paul | |
| 160 | God is described as saying, I AM | Ex. 3:14 |
| 165 | Story of Virgin Mary, of Paul, of Peter | Luke 1:26-56; Luke 2:5-7; Acts 8:1-3; 9:1-30; Mark 1:16-18; 14:68; Acts 1:16; 2:14-36 |
| 222 | It is God taking thought for oxen | Deut. 25:4 |
| 228 | It is vinegar to the eyes to deal with men of loose and imperfect perceptions | Prov. 10:26 |
| 230 | The men we call greatest are least in this kingdom | Matt. 11:11; Luke 7:28 |
| 232 | nor the wish to reap where he had not sowed | Matt. 25:24 |
| 235 | what he sows he reaps | Gal. 6:7 |
| 235 | If they set out to contend, St. Paul will lie and St. John will hate | Acts 26:9-11; Luke 9:54; Mark 9:38; 10:35-41 |
| 241 | mumbling our ten commandments | Ex. 20; Deut. 5 |
| 255 | King David, who poured out on the ground unto the Lord the water which three of his warriors had brought him to drink at the peril of their lives | II. Sam. 23:14-17 |
| 273 | teaching of Christ | the four Gospels |
| 276 | Closet of God | Matt. 6:6 |
| 282 | Conversion of Paul | Acts 9:4-26; 22:6-16; 26:12-20. |
| 287 | Jesus speaks always from within | John 17 |
| 292 | The simplest person who in his integrity worships God, becomes God | John 14:20 |
| 294 | "go into his closet and shut the door" | Matt. 6:6 |
| 295 | The position men have given to Jesus now for many centuries of history, is a position of authority | Matt. 7:29 |
| 310 | we learn that God is; that he is in me | Ex. 3:14; John 14:20 |
| 310 | under this Pentecost | Acts 2:1-4 |
| 310 | cloven flame | Acts 2:1-4 |
| 313 | "Then shalt also the Son be subjected to him who put all things under him, that God may be all in all." | I. Cor. 15:28 |
| 317 | temple of the true God | I. Kings 8 |
| 319 | Let them then become organs of the Holy Ghost | Matt. 28:19 |
| 331 | no man can see God face to face and live | Ex. 33:20 |
| 341 | descending Holy Ghost | Luke 3:22; Acts 2:1-4 |
| 343 | Leave father, mother, house and lands, and follow me. Who leaves all receives more | Mark 10:29, 30 |
| 345 | "The cherubim know most, the seraphim love most." | Gen. 3:24; I. Sam. 4:4; Is. 6:1-7 |
| <i>Essays, Second Series, Vol. III.</i> | | |
| 6 | Father, the Spirit, the Son | Matt. 28:19 |
| 17 | The circumcision is an example of the power of poetry to raise the low and offensive | Gen. 17:10-14 |
| 29 | God's wine | Mark 14:23-25 |
| 31 | stars fall from heaven as the fig tree casts her untimely fruit | Rev. 6:12, 13 |
| 40 | thought may be ejaculated as Logos or Word | John 1:1 |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| 40 | all the creatures by pairs and by tribes pour into his mind as into a Noah's ark, to come forth again to people a new world | Gen. 6:14-19; 7:9; Gen. 8:17-19 |
| 54 | shall I preclude my future by taking a high seat . . . | Luke 14:7-10 |
| 54 | the commonest books,—the Bible, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton | |
| 64 | keep the commandments | Ex. 20; Deut. 5 |
| 65 | stay there in thy closet | Matt. 6:6 |
| 68 | "the kingdom that cometh without observation" | Luke 17:20 |
| 72 | Fortune, Minerva, Muse, Holy Ghost | Luke 11:13; John 14:26 |
| 73 | Zoroaster by fire, Jesus and the moderns by love | John 14:21; II. Cor. 13:11 |
| 75 | Fall of man | I. Cor. 15:22 |
| 76 | Jesus, the providential man | |
| 98 | Catholic Purgatory, or the Calvinistic Judgment Day | Matt. 25:31-46; I. Pet. 3:18-22 |
| 106 | Patmos of thought | Rev. 1:9 |
| 115 | keep sabbath or holy time | II. Chron. 36:21 |
| 135 | and hide ourselves as Adam at the voice of the Lord God in the garden | Gen. 3:8 |
| 172 | and should converse with Gabriel and Uriel [a personal name in Chronicles. Emerson is probably alluding to Uriel in <i>Paradise Lost</i> .] | Dan. 8:16; 9:21; Luke 1:19-26; I. Chron. 6:24 |
| 175 | which makes Edens | Gen. 2 |
| 175 | Mosaic and Ptolemaic schemes | |
| 199 | Plato or Paul | |
| 202 | Laban who has flocks and herds. . . . Jacob eats their bread and not his own? | Gen. 31:44-53 |
| 216 | we are yet only at the cock-crowing | Matt. 26:34 |
| 216 | his memory is myrrh to them; his presence, frankincense | Matt. 2:11 |
| 217 | the fig-leaf with which the shamed soul attempts to hide its nakedness | Gen. 3:7 |
| 239 | Jesus would absorb the race | |
| 244 | Jesus is not dead, he is very well alive, nor John, nor Paul, nor Mahomet, nor Aristotle | |
| 246 | There is nothing we cherish . . . but in some hour we turn and rend it | Matt. 7:6 |
| 247 | ark of God were carried forward some furlongs | II. Sam. 6:2, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17 |
| 247 | a man should never leave his point of view without sound of trumpet | Num. 10:2-10 |
| 251 | authority of the Sabbath and priesthood | See <i>ante</i> , Appendix p. 62, n. 145 |
| 252 | These made unleavened bread | Ex. 12:15-20 |
| 261 | in the assault on the kingdom of darkness | Matt. 8:12; 22:13 |
| 275 | all that a man has will he give for right relations with his mates | Job 2:4 |
| 284 | does an angel seem to arise before a man and lead him by the hand out of all the wards of the prison | Acts 12:7-10 |
| <i>Representative Men</i> , Vol. IV. | | |
| 10 | "He saw that they were good." | Gen. 1:31 |
| 20 | nor can the Bible be closed until the last great man is born | |
| 23 | Scourges of God | Josh. 23:13; Isa. 28:15 |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| 44 | Jewish Bible has implanted itself in table-talk and household life | |
| 94 | Moses, Menu, Jesus | |
| 122 | "Servant of the Lord Jesus Christ" | Rom. 1:1; Phil. 1:1 |
| 128 | The Eden of God is bare and grand | Gen. 2 |
| 128 | God is the bride or bridegroom of the soul | Rev. 21:2-9 |
| 131 | hell and pit | II. Pet. 2:4; Rev. 20:1-3 |
| 155 | jasper and sardonyx, beryl and chalcedony | Rev. 21:19, 20 |
| 155 | arks | Ex. 25:10 |
| 155 | passovers | Ex. 12:21-28 |
| 155 | ephahs | Ex. 16:36 |
| 155 | ephods | Ex. 39:2 |
| 155 | lepers | Leviticus 13 ff. |
| 155 | emeralds | Deut. 28:27; I. Sam. 6:4 |
| 155 | heave-offerings | Ex. 29:27 |
| 155 | unleavened bread | Ex. 23:15 |
| 155 | chariots of fire | II. Kings 2:11 |
| 155 | dragons, crowned and horned | Rev. 12:3 |
| 155 | behemoth | Job 40:15 |
| 155 | unicorn | Job 39:9 |
| 136 | palm-trees | Lev. 23:40; John 12:13 |
| 136 | shittim-wood | Ex. 25:5; 27:1 |
| 139 | I am in them, and they in me | John 14:10; 17:23 |
| 142 | to the Teacher | John 3:2 |
| 145 | I cleave to right, as to the sure ladder that leads up to man and to God | Gen. 28:10-12 |
| 134 | harbors angels | Hebrews 13:2 |
| 155 | He will not be a Gibeonite | Jos. 9:3, 5, 15, 16, 27 |
| 174 | They found the ark empty | Ex. 25:16; 24:12; 16:33, 34; Num. 17:10; Deut. 31:26; Heb. 9:4 |
| 181 | heaven is brass | Deut. 28:23 |
| 174 | lawgivers and saints | Ex. 21:1; Rev. 14:12 |
| 174 | my finger ring shall be the seal of Solomon | I. Kings 1:38-40; Esther 3:10 |
| 182 | to say he has no pleasure in them | Eccl. 12:1 |
| 184 | water of life | John 4:14 |
| 191 | he enters into their labors | John 4:38 |
| 200 | Lord's Prayer | Matt. 6:9-13 |
| 219 | Adam's fall and curse behind us | Gen. 2 and 3 |
| 229 | He came unto his own and they received him | John 1:11 |
| 245 | to look on Napoleon as flesh of his flesh | Gen. 2:23 |
| 263 | and he would report the Holy Ghost | John 3:8; 4:24 |
| 263 | he may yet save some true word | I. Cor. 9:22 |
| 275 | old wife's fables | I. Tim. 4:7 |
| <i>English Traits, Vol. V.</i> | | |
| 11 | The doctrine of St. Paul, the doctrine of the Trinity, . . . the doctrine of the Jews before Christ | I. Cor. 13; I. John 5:7; Timothy, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy |
| 17 | every son of Adam | Gen. 2:15-25 |
| 18 | Christ dies on the tree | Acts 5:30 |
| 100 | Their [the English] language seems drawn from the Bible, the common law, and the works of Shakespeare, etc. | |
| 130 | They are of the earth, earthy | I. Cor. 15:47 |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|------|---|------------------------|
| 131 | Hezekiah Woodward wrote a book against the Lord's Prayer | Matt. 6:9-12 |
| 132 | Holy of Holies | Heb. 9:3 |
| 138 | will do what they like with their own | Matt. 20:15 |
| 152 | Thus nobody can throw stones | John 8:7 |
| 152 | that their days shall be long in the land | Ex. 20:12; Deut. 5:16 |
| 153 | they shall have sons and daughters, flocks and herds, wine and oil | Deut. 28:1-14 |
| 157 | let no talent lie in a napkin | Luke 19:20 |
| 159 | instead of the quarrelsome fellow God had made | Gen. 6:5-7; 1:27 |
| 217 | with everything in heaven above and the earth beneath | Deut. 4:39 |
| 218 | betrothal of Rebecca and Isaac | Gen. 24:29-51 |
| 223 | By taste [grace] are ye saved | Eph. 2:5 |
| 227 | moved by the Holy Ghost | Acts 1:8; 2:4 |
| 228 | he shall not kneel to false gods | Dan. 3:18 |
| 228 | the religion of the day is a theatrical Sinai, when the thunders are supplied by the property man | Jud. 5:5; Ex. 19:16-18 |
| 256 | shall I find my heavenly bread | Ex. 16:4 |
| 257 | mount of vision | Luke 9:28-32 |
| 279 | uncovers Nineveh | Jonah 4:11 |

Conduct of Life, Vol. VI.

| | | |
|-----|---|---------------------------------|
| 6 | The broad ethics of Jesus | |
| 11 | "When he locketh on her, he hath committed adultery." | Matt. 5:28 |
| 37 | mud of the deluge dried | Gen. 8:13, 14 |
| 45 | bitter and selfish as Moloch | Lev. 20:2-5; II. Kings 23:10 |
| 46 | what we seek we shall find | Matt. 7:7 |
| 49 | Solicit the pure in heart | Matt. 5:8 |
| 66 | Judas as steward | John 12:4-6 |
| 73 | A man cannot return into his mother's womb and be born with new amounts of vivacity | John 3:4, 5 |
| 86 | since the Flood | Gen. 7:17 |
| 91 | and this doctrine of the snake will come also from the elect sons of light | Matt. 24:24 |
| 161 | a wise man who knows not only what Plato, but what St. John can show him | Rev. 21:1-5 |
| 165 | Christianity with its charity | I. Cor. 13:13 |
| 179 | the spirit that appears at the window of the house | Eccl. 12:3 |
| 192 | The novels are as useful as Bibles if they teach that the best of life is conversation, and the greatest success is confidence, or perfect understanding between sincere people | |
| 203 | No Isaiah or Jeremy has arrived | Isa. 1:1; 6; Jer. 1 |
| 204 | God builds his temple in the heart | Jer. 31:33-34 |
| 205 | Song of the Elders in the Apocalypse | Rev. 4:9-11; 11:16-18 |
| 266 | There are three wants which never can be satisfied: the rich . . . the sick . . . the traveller | Prov. 30:15, 16, 18, 21, 24, 29 |
| 278 | "Seekest thou great things? seek them not" | Jer. 45:5 |
| 296 | "To Eve," says the Mohammedan, "God gave two-thirds of all the beauty" | Gen. 3:20 |
| 320 | The cloud is now as big as your hand | I. Kings 18:44 |

Society and Solitude, Vol. VII.

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|------|---|---|
| 12 | They seem a power incredible, as if God should raise the dead | Acts 26:8 |
| 23 | what a police and ten commandments their work thus becomes | Ex. 20; Deut. 5 |
| 137 | The first farmer was the first man | Gen. 2:15 |
| 137 | this [tillage] is the original calling of his race | Gen. 3:17-19; 4:2 |
| 137 | But he stands well on the world,— as Adam did | Gen. 2:15-25; 1:26-28 |
| 160 | The old Hebrew king said, "He makes the wrath of man to praise him" | Ps. 76:10 |
| 169 | The old Sabbath, or Seventh Day | Ex. 20:10 |
| 170 | The angels assume flesh and repeatedly become visible | Gen. 18; 19:1-26; Jud. 13; II. Kings 6:14, 17; Luke 1:11, 26, 27; 2:13, 14; Tobias, Chaps. 5-12 (Douay Version) |
| 176 | Jesus is born in a barn and his twelve peers are fishermen | Luke 2:12; Matt. 4:19 |
| 182 | and knew not that virtue had gone out of them | Luke 8:46 |
| 194 | as the Bible has been the literature, as well as the religion of large portions of Europe | |
| 198 | The Prometheus . . . scope of the Book Job | Job, Chaps. 1-42 |
| 202 | born out of due time | I. Cor. 15:8 |
| 204 | in our Bible . . . easy . . . to render rhythm and music of original into phrases of equal melody | |
| 220 | it takes milleniums to make Bibles | |
| 236 | Jesus spent his life discoursing with humble people . . . in giving wise answers . . . and silencing those who were not generous enough to accept his thoughts. | Mark 12:35-37; Luke 2:46, 47; John 8:3-9 |
| 244 | Boston would shine as the New Jerusalem | Rev. 21:2-22:5 |
| 274 | the axe of the tyrant . . . Jesus, Paul | Mark 15:25 |
| 296 | and makes his Bibles and Shakespeares and Homers so great | |
| 296 | we should know how to praise Socrates, or Plato, or Saint John | |
| 307 | There is but one Shakespeare, one Homer, one Jesus | |
| 315 | Naiveté of his eager preference of Cicero's opinions to King David's | Ps. 90:10 |

Letters and Social Aims, Vol. VIII.

| | | |
|----|--|-----------------------------------|
| 8 | the poet can read their divine significance orderly as in a Bible | |
| 14 | Saint John gave us the Christian figure of "Souls washed in the blood of Christ." | Rev. 7:14 |
| 14 | an amount of life . . . the seventy years | Ps. 90:10 |
| 18 | large vocabulary of many-colored coat | Gen. 37:3 |
| 34 | as if it were the book of Genesis or the book of Doom | |
| 36 | This contemporary insight is transubstantiation, the conversion of daily bread into the holiest symbols; | Gen., Chaps. 1-50. Luke 22:19, 20 |
| 31 | He is a true re-commencer, or Adam in the garden again | Gen., Chaps. 2 and 3 |
| 25 | Then the dry twig blossoms in his hand | Num. 17:8 |
| 39 | The Creator that made and makes men | Gen. 1:26 |
| 42 | Better men saw heavens and earths | Rev. 21:8-22:7 |
| 47 | "At her feet he bowed, he fell . . . down dead." | Jud. 5:27 |

| PAGE | EMERSON | BIBLE |
|------------------------|---|--|
| 47 | "They shall perish . . . and thy years shall have no end" | Ps. 102:26, 27 |
| 51 | yet all were but Babel vanities | Gen. 11:9 |
| 51 | which all Philistia is unable to challenge | Ps. 83:1, 2, 7 |
| 51 | the sturdiest Philistine is silent | Ps. 83:1, 2, 7 |
| 53 | "the clouds clapped their hands," | Ps. 98:18; Isa. 55:12; |
| | "the hills skipped" | Ps. 114:4 |
| 63 | the heavenly bread | Ex. 16:4; John 6:49-51 |
| 64 | "Thus saith the Lord," should begin the song | Jer. 34:13, 18; 33:2; Isa. 50:1; 45:1; 43:1; Ezek. 34:1; 38:3; Amos 1:8; Obadiah 1; Haggai 1:2 |
| 65 | Zoroaster and Plato, St. John and Menu | |
| 71 | among the angels in heaven, is not everything spoken in fine parables? | Num. 22:35; 24:3, 15, 20; Ezek. 20:45-49; Rev. 19:1, 2, 6, 7, 8 |
| 124 | priest and Levite shall come and look on you and pass by on the other side | Luke 10:32 |
| 124 | Him whose law is love | Matt. 5:43-48 |
| 137 | Plough of Adam | Gen. 3:23 |
| 137 | here is man in the Garden of Eden; here the Genesis and the Exodus | Gen. 2:15; Ex. 13:3 |
| 164 | the oldest gibe of literature is the ridicule of false religion | I. Kings 18:27 |
| 170 | Raphael's angel driving Heliodorus from the temple | II. Mac. 3:25, 26 (Douay Version) |
| 182 | The Bible itself is like an old Cremona | |
| 220 | the saints in Judea | Hebrews 11 |
| 244 | Our father Adam sold Paradise for two kernels of wheat | Gen., Chaps. 2, 3; Luke 23:43; II. Cor. 12:4; Rev. 2:7 |
| 249 | Song of Solomon | Solomon's Song, Chaps. 1-8 |
| 256 | Tree of Life | Rev. 22:2 |
| 275 | 'Tis the doctrine of faith over works | Jas. 2:14-26; I. Cor. 13:13; Eph. 2:8, 9 |
| 310 | it [self-respect] is but a grain of mustard seed | Matt. 13:31 |
| 310 | "Seekest thou great things?—seek them not" | Jer. 45:5 |
| 334 | the grand good will of the Creator | Gen. 1:1 |
| 342 | "He that doeth the will of God abideth forever" | Ps. 33:11 |
| 347 | Jesus explained nothing, but the influence of him took people out of time and they felt eternal | Mark 13:32; Acts 1:6-8 |
| 348 | he [Jesus] never preaches the personal immortality | John 11:25, 26; 6:39, 40 |
| <i>Poems, Vol. IX.</i> | | |
| 4 | When man in the bush with God may meet" | Ex. 3:2 |
| 7 | The burdens of the Bible old | Is. 13:1; 17:1; 21; 22; 23; Nahum 1:1 |
| 8 | With Andes and with Ararat | Gen. 8:4 |
| 8 | Even the fiery Pentecost | Acts 2:2, 3 |
| 8 | The word unto the prophet spoken Was writ on tables yet unbroken | Ex. 32:15-20 |
| 8 | One accent of the Holy Ghost | Rev. 22:17 |
| 24 | Rue, myrrh and cummin for the Sphinx | Luke 11:42; Matt. 2:11 |
| 26 | They discredit Adamhood | Gen. 2:7 |
| 53 | Bring again the Pentecost | Acts 2:2, 3 |
| 58 | Once slept the world an egg of stone . . . And God said "Throb!" | Gen. 1:1-10 |
| 69 | Zion [Mount] | Heb. 12:22 |

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| 71 | Bethlehem's heart | Mic. 5:2; Matt. 2:6 |
| 79 | Knows to bring honey Out of the lion | Jud. 14:8-14 |
| 109 | The impossible shall be done And, being two, shalt still be one | Gen. 2:23, 24 |
| 110 | Only two in the garden walked And with snake and seraph talked | Gen. 2:8, 18; 3:1-5, 9-24 |
| 114 | And the point is Paradise | Rev. 2:7 |
| 123 | Eldest rite: two married sides In every mortal meet | Gen. 2:23; Mark 10:6-9 |
| 125 | We buy ashes for bread | Ps. 102:9 |
| 155 | Of ritual, bible, or of speech | |
| 156 | The riches of sweet Mary's son Boy-Rabbi, Israel's paragon. | Luke 2:40-50 |
| 157 | Not of adamant and gold Built he heaven stark and cold; No, but a nest of bending reeds, Flowering grass and scented weeds | Rev. 21:1-22; 7; Gen. 2:8, 9 |
| 157 | House and tenant go to ground Lost in God, in Godhead found | Gen. 3:19; Rev. 5:9, 10; Heb. 10:10-17 |
| 166 | . . . Adam's race Of Eden's bower . . . | Gen., Chaps. 2, 3 |
| 169 | Flows from the heart of love, the Lord | I. Jchn 4:8, 16 |
| 201 | God said, I am tired of Kings | I. Sam. 8:4-22 |
| 217 | Eden's vats that run | Gen. 2:8, 9 |
| 223 | Stooping, his finger wrote in clay | John 8:6 |
| 226 | . . . flesh of her flesh | Gen. 2:23, 24 |
| 229 | Here once the Deluge ploughed | Gen. 7:10 |
| 245 | And still the man-child is not born The summit of the whole | Heb. 5:5-10 |
| 246 | One in a Judaeen manger | Luke 2:16 |
| 258 | No Satan with a royal trick Steal in by the window, chink, or hole | Gen. 3:1; Matt. 25:41; Luke 16:23 |
| 263 | There is no record left on earth Save on tablets of the heart | Jer. 17:1 |
| 282 | Of Lord Christ's heart [religion] | |
| 283 | The perfect Adam lives | I. Cor. 15:45-47 |
| 296 | Lone as the blessed Jew | John 1:11 |
| 332 | The vice of Japhet by the thought of Shem | Gen. 10:21 |
| 333 | When every star is Bethlehem's star | Matt. 2:9 |
| 334 | The Asmodean feat is mine | Tobias 3:8 (Douay Version) |
| 339 | Though Adam, born when oaks were young | Gen. 1:11-27 |
| 345 | Waiting till God create the earth | Gen. 1:2, 3 |
| 348 | Samson stark, at Dagon's knee | Jud. 16:22-30 |
| 350 | The beggar begs by God's command | John 12:8; Deut. 15:11 |
| 352 | Me for the channels of the rivers of God | Rev. 22:1-7; Ezek. 47:5-12 |
| 369 | A brown wren was the Daniel | Dan. 2:3, 5, 11, 19, 28 |
| 384 | The world's light underneath a measure | Matt. 5:15 |
| 383 | East, West, from Beer to Dan | Jud. 20:1 |
| 389 | That God has cherubim who go Singing an immortal strain | Heb. 9:3-5 |

Lectures and Biographical Sketches, Vol. X.

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| 21 | Prince of the power of the air | Eph. 2:2 |
| 28 | Man is the image of God | Gen. 1:27 |

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| 42 | The hero must have the force of ten men | Jud. 15:14, 15; |
| | The chief is taller by a head than any of the tribe | I. Sam. 9:2 |
| 46 | Whilst death is in the pots of the wretched | II. Kings 4:40 |
| 48 | A Moses educated in Egypt? | Ex. 2:10 |
| 61 | Angels walking in the earth | Gen. 19:1 |
| 69 | King David had no good from making his census out of vain glory | I. Chron. 21:1, 3, 7 |
| 97 | as the light | I. John 1:5 |
| 97 | the seed | Mark 4:26-29 |
| 97 | the spirit | John 4:24 |
| 97 | the Holy Ghost | II. Cor. 13:14 |
| 97 | the Comforter | John 14:26 |
| 97 | the Daemon | I. Cor. 10:20, 21; Rev. 16:14 |
| 97 | the still, small voice | I. Kings 19:12, 13 |
| 97 | the excellence of Jesus | Matt. 17:5; Mark 1:11 |
| 97 | "Let not the Lord speak to us; let Moses speak to us" | Ex. 20:19 |
| 98 | But if the child has been killed by Herod | Matt. 2:13 |
| 99 | And no longer believes "because of thy saying" | John 4:42 |
| 110 | Paganism . . . carries the bag | John 12:6; 13:29 |
| 110 | What Christ meant and willed. He was like the son of the vine dresser in the Gospel, who said No, and went; the other said yea, and went not | Matt. 21:28-31 |
| 114 | and the humblest lot exalted | Luke 14:11; Acts 20:34, 35 |
| 119 | The original of the Ten Commandments, the original of Gospels and Epistles | Ex. 20; Deut. 5; Matt., Mark, Luke, John; Romans to Jude |
| 137 | A new Adam in the garden, he is to name all the beasts in the field | Gen. 2:15, 19 |
| 163 | their naughty are like the prophet's figs | Jer. 24:2 |
| 175 | Her communication obeys the gospel rule, yea or nay | Jas. 5:12; Matt. 5:37 |
| 192 | To each shall be rendered his own | Matt. 22:21 |
| 192 | As thou sowest thou shalt reap | Gal. 6:7 |
| 192 | Smite, and thou shalt smart | Matt. 26:52 |
| 192 | Serve, and thou shalt be served | John 13:14-16 |
| 195 | whether Luther, or William Penn, or Saint Paul | |
| 200 | staring with wonder to see water turned into wine | John 2:1-11 |
| 200 | Jesus was better than others, because he refused to listen to others and listened at home | Mark 2:27, 28 |
| 201 | Then up comes a man with a text I. John 5:7, or a knotty sentence from Saint Paul, which he considers as the axe at the root of your tree | I. John 5:7; II. Pet. 3:16; Matt. 3:10 |
| 202 | Shall I baptize daylight and time and space by the name of John or Joshua, in whose tent I chance to behold daylight and space and time? | Rev. 10:1-6; Jcs. 10:12, 13 |
| 203 | in still, small voices, | I. Kings 19:12 |
| 203 | in secrets of the heart, | Ps. 44:21 |
| 203 | our closet thoughts | Matt. 6:6 |
| 211 | Man does not live by bread alone | Deut. 8:3; Matt. 4:4 |
| 211 | "Thou shalt not kill" | Deut. 5:17 |
| 213 | face answers to face in a glass | I. Cor. 13:12; Jas. 1:23, 24 |
| 222 | aimless Cain | Gen. 4:14 |
| 228 | if Beelzebub had written the chapter | Matt. 12:24 |
| 233 | The new wine will make the bottles new | Luke 5:37 |
| 237 | on the first day of Adam and of angels | Col. 1:13-17 |
| 250 | every son of Adam | Gen. 1:27-30 |

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| 250 | where there is no vision the people perish | Prov. 29:18 |
| 345 | some John the Baptist, wild from the woods, rude, hairy, careless of dress | Matt. 3:1, 4 |
| 353 | holy and beneficent republic . . . like that of Plato and of Christ | |
| 384 | following the narrowness of King David and the Jews | II. Sam. 6:8-12; 8:2; Ezra 4:1-6 |
| 388 | 'Ichabod, the glory is departed' | I. Sam. 4:21 |
| 423 | the glory of the Chosen People | I. Sam. 15:8; Ps. 144:1 |
| 423 | nay, it is said that there was war in heaven | Rev. 12:7 |
| 427 | courtly homage to the name and dignity of Jesus | |
| 425 | Moses' cosmogony | |
| 431 | to Him with whom a day is as a thousand years | II. Pet. 3:8 |
| 447 | He was a tithing-man | Gen. 14:20; Heb. 7:4; Mal. 3:8-12 |
| 464 | he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision | Acts 26:19 |

Miscellanies, Vol. XI.

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| 3 | "The kingdom of God . . . joy in the Holy Ghost" | Rom. 14:17 |
| 4 | when he ate the Passover | Luke 22:15, 27, 28 |
| 5 | account of the Last Supper is given by four evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John | Matt. 26:26-30; Mark 14:22-26; Luke 22:19, 20; John 13 |
| 5 | Matthew and John were of the twelve disciples | Matt. 10:2-4 |
| 5 | John, the beloved disciple has recorded with minuteness | John 13:23 |
| 9 | Jews ate the lamb and unleavened bread and drank the wine in a prescribed manner | Ex. 12:3-11 |
| 9 | He always taught by parables and symbols | Matt. 13:34 |
| 10 | He stopped and wrote on the sand | John 8:6 |
| 10 | He admonished his disciples respecting the leaven of the Pharisees | Luke 12:1 |
| 10 | He instructed the woman of Samaria respecting living water | John 4:14 |
| 10 | He permitted himself to be anointed, declaring it was for his interment | John 12:3, 7 |
| 10 | He washed the feet of the disciples | John 13:12 |
| 10 | He calls the bread his body | Luke 22:19 |
| 10 | John had reported a similar discourse of Jesus at Caperneum | John 6:26-60 |
| 11 | "The flesh profiteth nothing: the words that I speak to you, they are spirit and they are life" | John 6:63 |
| 12 | The disciples lived together; they threw all their property into a common stock | Acts 4:32 |
| 13 | The censures of Saint Paul | I. Cor. 11:20, 21 |
| 14 | "I have received of the Lord, that which I have delivered unto you." | I. Cor. 11:23 |
| 14 | [St. Paul's view] second coming of Christ would shortly occur | I. Thess. 4:15 |
| 14 | At that time the world would be burnt up with fire | II. Pet. 3:7 |
| 18 | But is not Jesus called in Scripture the Mediator? | I. Tim. 2:5 |
| 21 | the sandy foundations of falsehood | Matt. 7:26, 27 |
| 37 | Nimrod | Gen. 10:9 |
| 50 | "to win them to the knowledge of the true God" | Phil. 3:8; John 17:3 |

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| 50 | the lost ten tribes of Israel | I. Kings 12:21-24; II. Kings 17:20-23 |
| 72 | taking for his text, 2 Chron. 13:12 | II. Chron. 13:12 |
| 76 | you have fought a good fight. And having quit you like men | II. Tim. 4:7; I. Sam. 4:9 |
| 131 | Sacred as the temple of God | I. Cor. 3:16, 17 |
| 145 | clothed and in their own form | Mark 5:15 |
| 167 | turns the other cheek | Matt. 5:39 |
| 167 | "Thus far, no farther" | Job 38:11 |
| 171 | it is to hear the voice of God, which bids the devils that have rended and torn him come out of him . . . clothed . . . right mind | Mark 5:15 |
| 190 | the higher Law | Ex. 20; Matt. 22:36-40 |
| 190 | "render unto every one his due" | Matt. 22:21 |
| 94 | Will the American government steal? Will it lie? Will it kill? | Ex. 20:13-16 |
| 190 | nay, if any human law should allow or enjoin us to commit a crime(his instance is murder) we are bound to transgress that law; or else we must offend both the natural and the divine | Ex. 21:14; Gen. 4:10, 11; Num. 35:30, 31 |
| 194 | Ten Commandments | Ex. 20; Deut. 5 |
| 194 | "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" | Matt. 7:12 |
| 210 | down into the bottomless pit | Rev. 9:1, 2 |
| 211 | Judæa was a petty country . . . Greece and Judæa furnish the mind and the heart by which the rest of the world is sustained | Micah 5:2 Matt. 2:6 |
| 213 | Let us not lie, not steal | Ex. 20:15, 16 |
| 218 | I have my own spirits in prison,—spirits in deeper prisons, whom no man visits if I do not | I. Pet. 3:19 |
| 219 | Lord's Prayer | Matt. 6:9-13 |
| 221 | He was there in his Adamitic capacity | Gen. 1:27-31 |
| 234 | They quote the Bible, quote Paul, quote Christ to justify slavery | Deut. 5:14, 15; Philemon |
| 354 | "Every man to his tent, O Israel" | I. Kings 12:16 |
| 413 | omnipotence of Eve is in humility | Gen. 3:16 |
| 414 | woman yet occupies the same leading position as a prophetess | Jud. 4:4; Ex. 15:20; II. Kings 22:14; Luke 2:36 |
| 251 | The murderer's brand shall stamp their foreheads wherever they may wander in the earth | Gen. 4:15 |
| 258 | the governor and legislature shall neither slumber nor sleep | Ps. 121:4 |
| 268 | The Golden Rule | Matt. 7:12 |
| 270 | The Golden Rule | Luke 6:31 |
| 289 | John Baptist to speak tart truth | Mark 6:16-19 |
| 290 | and the truth is not in you | II. Tim. 3:1-7 |
| 290 | can save you from the Satan which you are | John 8:44 |
| 297 | God is God because he is the servant of all | Mark 9:35; John 13:15, 16; Phil. 2:7 |
| 292 | Stars in their courses | Jud. 5:20 |
| 303 | There are Scriptures written invisibly on men's hearts, whose letters do not come out until they are enraged | Heb. 10:16; II. Cor. 3:3 |
| 334 | In the Babel of counsels and parties | Gen. 11:9 |
| 400 | "Well done, good and faithful,—" | Matt. 25:21 |
| 430 | We give our earth to earth | Gen. 3:19 |

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| 471 | "Her [China's] strength is to sit still" | Is. 30:7 |
| 472 | What we call the Golden Rule of Jesus, Confucius had uttered | Matt. 7:12 |
| 480 | the close association which bound the first disciples of Jesus | See <i>ante</i> , Appendix p. 72, n. 12 |
| 498 | The religious bias of our founders had its usual effect to secure an education to read the Bible and hymn-book | |
| 501 | Utilitarians prefer that Jesus should have wrought as a carpenter, and Saint Paul as a tent-maker | Mark 6:3; Acts 18:3 |
| 506 | I have stolen the golden vases of the Egyptians to build up a tabernacle for my God far away from the confines of Egypt | Ex. 3:22; 25:1-9; 35:21-29 |

The Natural History of Intellect, Vol. XII.

| | | |
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| 4 | Where a thousand years is as one day | II. Pet. 3:8 |
| 14 | in season and out of season | II. Tim. 4:2 |
| 36 | behemoth ways | Job 40:15 |
| 45 | yet the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets | I. Kings 19:19-21; II. Kings 6:1 |
| 48 | —a vessel of honor or of dishonor | Rom. 9:21 |
| 71 | Ancient of days in the dew of the morning | Dan. 7:22 |
| 121 | Men are as they think | Prov. 23:7 |
| 150 | how many days should Methuselah go out and find something new! | Gen. 5:27 |
| 165 | No, it is bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh | Gen. 2:23 |
| 195 | How needful is David, Paul, Leighton, Fenelon to our devotion. | |
| 204 | The people did not gather where they had not sown | Matt. 25:24 |
| 229 | The lawgiver is supposed to gaze upon the worshippers of the golden calf | Ex. 32:19 |
| 229 | His David about to hurl the stone at Goliath | I. Sam. 17:49 |
| 253 | Virtue goes out of him into others | Luke 8:46 |
| 267 | he who disdained not to be born in a manger disdains not to be preached in a barn | Luke 2:7 |
| 274 | Was there not a fitness in the undertaking of such a person to write a poem on the subject of Adam, the first man? | Gen. 1:26; 2:7, 19 |
| 274 | He beholds him as he walked in Eden | Gen. 2:15; 3:8-10 |
| 276 | that the men knew not what they did | Luke 23:34 |
| 283 | new dispensation of Jesus, or by angels; Heaven, Hell | Heb., Chaps. 1-12; 7:11-17; Rev. 9:1-12; 20:1-3; 21:1-22:7 |
| 311 | Plato and Paul and Plutarch | |
| 316 | Moses and Confucius | |
| 351 | The prayer of Jesus is (as it deserves) become a form for the human race | Matt. 6:9-13 |
| 367 | obey the heavenly vision | Acts 26:19 |
| 370 | draw all men after them | John 12:32 |
| 385 | this flaming sword of Cherubim waved high in air | Gen. 3:24 |
| 407 | if you say the Lord's Prayer backward | Matt. 6:9-13 |

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NEBRASKA FOLK CURES

BY

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PREFACE

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Lincoln, Nebraska

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INTRODUCTION

Folk cures form a conspicuous part of Nebraska lore. Nebraska pioneers from many states and many countries brought with them certain remedies which they believed particularly efficacious, and which became a tradition in families or communities throughout the state. The cures in the following collection have come directly from the residents of the state and are not limited to any specific locality. They have been recorded as nearly as possible just as the informants gave them. Some alterations have been made in diction and sentence structure to clarify ambiguity. The collection is doubtless incomplete, but it lists, I believe, most of the folk cures now prevalent, or used at one time, in Nebraska. Only a few suggestions have been made concerning the origins of the remedies. In these instances the informant knew the immediate source of the cure which he reported. Obviously in a state where the population is as mixed as in Nebraska, any attempt to trace all folk cures to accurate sources would be futile.

The remarks prefacing each section reveal that some of the diseases for which there are folk cures lend themselves more readily to strange remedies than others. I do not know the explanation for their greater popularity. Nor do I know how widely the cures listed in the following pages are believed in and made use of at the present time. Many have been reported to me as currently employed here and there over the state with faith in their efficacy. Some are cited by their contributors as traditional cures of doubtful value. Others are kept alive in the mouths of persons who repeat them with unmistakable jocularity or skepticism.

The cures are classified in general under specific ailments. A departure from this plan was made in only the last three sections, one of which is concerned with dung as a widely used pioneer cure for many ailments, another with general preventives and cure-alls, and the third with cures for the diseases of animals.

I

CURES FOR ACHES

Headache and earache seem to be the most frequent aches for which folk cures have currency. Toothache cures, which are also common, are treated under a separate heading.

Although there seem to be no explanations in Nebraska for the origin of earache or headache, one informant from Table Rock, Nebraska, submits a curious explanation for chronic headache. She affirms that the combings of hair from the head of a person who has headache always must be burned, lest some bird find them and build its nest with them. If the latter happens, the person from whose head the combings were taken will suffer from headache until the fledglings leave the nest.

HEADACHE

1. Blow smoke in the ear of a person who has headache.
2. Carry rattlesnake rattlers in your hat band to cure headache.
3. Wear earrings to cure headache.
4. Cure headache by rubbing a stone on your forehead.¹
5. Tie a red bandana handkerchief around the head to cure headache.
6. Let your hair grow long to cure and to prevent headache.
7. A person born in October has power to cure a headache by rubbing the forehead and temples.
8. Paste a leaf of cottonwood on each temple and leave it there until it falls off and takes the skin with it. The patient will never again be bothered with headache.
9. Put a mustard plaster on the back of the neck and one under each foot. Let them stay on about five minutes and then remove. The headache will be gone.
10. If a man has headache, put a bowl on his head. Then cut his hair around the bowl, and burn all the hair. This will stop headache.
11. Soak the feet in hot water to cure headache.

EARACHE

12. Heat a seeded raisin very hot over a kerosene lamp or a fire. Put the raisin into the aching ear and close the entrance with cotton.
13. Drop one drop of very cold water into an aching ear. This is a permanent cure for earache.
14. Bake a potato, split it and put it over the ear to let the steam go into the ear.
15. Thin out a piece of cotton and fill it with black pepper. Make a small ball of it and put it into the ear.
16. Drink camomile tea to act as a sedative when you have earache or headache.
17. Melt a grubworm and use the warm oil in the ear of a person who has earache. The aching will stop.
18. The wax in the ear of a person who does not have earache will cure the earache in another person's ear.
19. Chop onions and strong tobacco together, using half as much tobacco as onions. Wrap in a wet cloth and roast in ashes. Squeeze out the juice and put three or four drops into the ear. It gives almost instant relief to earache.

¹ Reported as an Indian cure.

20. Put human milk in the ear to cure earache.
21. Pour a teaspoonful of warm water into the ear. Let it remain awhile, then let it run out.
22. Put mare's milk in the ear to cure earache.
23. Put sweet oil or olive oil in your ear to cure earache.
24. Have someone blow smoke in your ear to cure earache. The smoke must be from a pipe.
25. Have someone spit tobacco juice in your ear to cure your earache.

II

COLDS AND RELATED AILMENTS

It is not surprising that more cures are available for colds than for any other ailment. There are few persons who have not at some time experienced one or more symptoms of a cold, thereupon finding themselves the center of interest to solicitous friends, each of whom volunteers the best and only home remedy which will exterminate the cold germ. Their suggestions may range from wearing a soiled, black cotton stocking around the neck with the heel always placed directly over the Adam's apple, to plasters made of mustard, lard, turpentine, or onions. There are many variations of these remedies. Some persons prefer a clean silk stocking to one of soiled, black cotton. Others advocate the healing propensities of a red, wool sock. The plasters themselves vary much in the number and proportion of each ingredient used and the exact location of the plaster to assure the best results to the patient.

This section includes both minor troubles, such as coughs and cold sores, and the more serious diseases of pneumonia, whooping cough, or sore throat. Colic and hiccoughs are also treated here for convenience, although strictly they do not belong in this section.

COLD

1. For a chest cold, make a flaxseed poultice and put it on the chest.
2. For a cold on the lungs, put heavy brown paper over the lungs.
3. Wear a mustard plaster made from a mixture of mustard and white flour, then mixed with water and spread between two cotton or wool cloths.
4. Put three tablespoons of asafoetida into one quart of whiskey. Shake well. For children the dose is one tablespoonful. Adults should use their own judgment as to the amount.
5. Make a tea from the leaves of the mullein plant. Gather the leaves when the plant is in bloom.
6. A mixture of turpentine and lard rubbed on the neck and the chest will cure a cold.
7. Gargle a solution of salt and vinegar for a cold.
8. Rub on goose grease. It must be goose grease rather than any other kind to cure the cold.
9. Drink whiskey with rock candy dissolved in it to cure a cold.
10. Wear a clean, silk stocking around your neck to cure a cold.
11. Grease the chest and neck with hot skunk oil to cure a cold.
12. Drink a tea made of sage and catnip to cure a cold.
13. Eat asafoetida as well as wear it around your neck.
14. Gather the red seeds of the sumac bush. Make a tea of them and sweeten well with honey or sugar. Drink to cure a cold.
15. Eat fried onions to cure a cold. Put fried onions around your neck also.
16. Put some honey on a sheet of heavy paper. Hold it over a kerosene lamp until the honey boils, then eat the honey. This will cure a cold.
17. Spread a woollen cloth with butter. Sprinkle it with pepper and put it on the chest to cure a cold.

18. Drink horehound tea for colds.
19. Wrap a cold wet cloth around the neck, then a dry cloth over the wet cloth before going to bed.
20. Rub a mixture of camphor and lard on the neck and chest.
21. Drink hot ginger tea to cure colds.
22. Slice a lemon, rind, seeds, and all, and boil it in a cup of water until there is about a cup of pulp left. Let it set all night and eat it in the morning before breakfast. Repeat this for three days.
23. Soak the feet in hot water to which mustard or ginger has been added.
24. Wear an onion plaster on your chest to cure a cold.
25. Rub goat tallow on the neck and chest.
26. Skin a skunk. Then cut the ribs and legs from the rest of the body. Put the body in a pan over the fire in the open. Cook until no more grease will come out. Then take out the meat which is left, and give the grease by teaspoonfuls to the sick person.
27. To cure colds, rub the chest, the palms of the hands, and the soles of the feet with goose grease.

COLD SORES

28. Rub earwax on cold sores to cure them.
29. Rub the head of a match over them.
30. When you think you are getting a cold sore, rub behind your ear and then rub your lip. Do this three times in succession. Cold sores will not come then.

COUGH

31. Gather the blossoms from elderberry bushes and dry them. Make them into tea to give as a cure for a cough.
32. For a tickling cough caused by getting the feet wet, take one-half of a teaspoon of plain coal oil straight down. It gives instant relief.
33. Make a syrup of kerosene, sugar, and onion juice, and take as often as necessary to cure a cough.
34. Make a syrup of flaxseed for cough medicine.
35. Make a syrup of vinegar, butter, and molasses.
36. Make a syrup of slippery elm bark steeped in water and mixed with honey and licorice.
37. To cure a tickling cough, cut all the fuzz off a feather, leaving only a brush-like surface. Tickle your throat with it to counteract the original tickle.
38. Mix sulphur, molasses, cream of tartar, flaxseed syrup, and slippery elm bark to make a cough syrup.

CROUP

39. Apply a flannel cloth saturated with lard, kerosene, and turpentine to the chest to cure croup.
40. For croup, drink a mixture of alum and sugar. Boil the leaves of the horehound plant. Take the liquid and make a syrup of it by adding sugar or home-made syrup or rock candy.
41. Pour hot water over mullein leaves. Let it steep a few minutes, then draw the water off and sweeten it a little. This cures croup.
42. Eat a teaspoonful of kerosene to cure croup.
43. Render lard from a skunk and apply it to the throat and chest of a child who has croup.

SORE THROAT

- 44 Touch the tongue with a drop of oil of wintergreen for an instant cure for sore throat.
- 45 Boil the inner bark from an oak tree until you obtain a dark brown fluid. Cool, and gargle three times a day.
- 46 Cut bacon in strips and dip it in vinegar. Then tie it around the throat to cure sore throat.
47. Eat raisins to cure a sore throat.
- 48 Wear a slice of fat pork under a flannel cloth around your neck.
- 49 Wear a necklace of amber beads to cure or to ward off sore throat.
50. Make sliced tomatoes into a bandage and tie them around the throat.
- 51 Wear a red woolen sock bound around your throat. The sock must have been removed recently from the foot so that it is still warm.
52. Wear a soiled, black, cotton or wool stocking around the neck to cure sore throat.
53. Wear a rubber band around your arm to cure sore throat.
54. Wear some red wool yarn around your neck to cure sore throat.
55. Put a slice of fat salt pork on your throat. Be sure to cover it with your own dirty stocking, and put a piece of flannel on the outside. Some persons sprinkle pepper on the pork.

INFLUENZA

56. To cure influenza, the Indians in Nebraska placed the sick person in a little tent and packed hot rocks around him. Friends outside the tent kept heating rocks and packing them around the sick Indian. As soon as he was wet with perspiration he leaped out into the ice-cold water to chase the evil spirit away. Many of the Indians died from this "cure".

PNEUMONIA

57. Fry sliced onions with rye flour and make a poultice of it. Apply this to the chest and lungs to cure pneumonia.
58. Cut a live chicken in two and place it over the lungs of a sick person to cure pneumonia.
59. Rub the chest and the neck with kerosene and lard.
60. Cook onions thickened with cornmeal, and place the mixture while it is warm over the lungs.
61. Wilt large cabbage leaves over a fire to make them soft, then put them over the sick person's chest, sides, and back. Wrap a thin cloth around them to hold them on and pour on hot vinegar. It will make the person sweat and break up the pneumonia.

WHOOPIING COUGH

62. Drink warm mare's milk to cure whooping cough.
63. One drop of belladonna taken on sugar three times a day will cure whooping cough.
64. Make a drug from the buttercup to cure whooping cough.
65. Chestnut leaves made into syrup will cure whooping cough.

COLIC

66. Take a teaspoonful of soot in a cloth. Pour over it three tablespoonfuls of hot water. Let it steep awhile, then give the baby a teaspoonful every half hour.
67. Have the baby's mother chew caraway seed and blow her breath in the face of the child who has colic.

68. Feed a baby a few drops of peppermint on a teaspoonful of sugar, or a lump of sugar, to cure colic. Sweetened water fed to the child will also cure colic.
69. Blow tobacco smoke in a spoonful of milk and give it to the child.

HICCOUGHS

70. Let someone scare the person who has hiccoughs and the fright will cure him.
71. Drink nine swallows of water, holding the breath. Then think of the person with whom you are in love and take the tenth swallow. The hiccoughs will be gone.¹
72. When you have hiccoughs think of a member of the opposite sex. If that person loves you, the hiccoughs will go away.
73. Fill a dessert spoon half full of sugar and fill the rest with vinegar. Swallow this to cure hiccoughs.
74. If you have hiccoughs, think of someone. If that person is thinking of you, the hiccoughs will leave.
75. Hold the breath and count to ten and the hiccoughs will be gone.
76. Drink ten swallows of water without drawing a breath.
77. Eat a teaspoonful of sugar and follow it immediately with a drink of water.
78. Have someone pull your tongue hard until your mouth bleeds a little. This is a sure cure for hiccoughs.

OTHER CURES

79. Smoke mullein leaves in a pipe to cure catarrh.
80. To cure chills, wear nutmeg on a string around your neck.
81. Drink warm animal blood to cure consumption.²
82. Eat quantities of watercress as a salad to cure lung trouble.
83. To cure quinsy, gargle gunpowder and glycerin mixed.

¹ This cure usually is practiced by children.

² This cure is used widely along the Dismal River in Thomas county.

III

EYE TROUBLE

Eyes lend themselves readily to superstitious cures based upon charms and incantations. The most widely circulated eye cure is for sties. Despite the fact that sties are now much less common than they once were, one can find many suggestions for curing them or transferring them from one person to another.

The most popular cure is to rub the sty with a gold wedding ring. The ring has long been the symbol of eternity, possessing extraordinary remedial powers. "But the real merit of the wedding ring is not because it is of gold, but because it is something which, once given, cannot be reclaimed. In the West Indies if you give a thing away and take it back, you are sure to have a sty, you will be told."¹ Thus, the wedding ring, which can never be taken back, has in that region, special powers to cure sties. Although Nebraskans cling to this use of the wedding ring to cure their sties, they offer no explanation for its curative powers. It may be that the Nebraska cure is an outgrowth of the superstition prevalent in the West Indies and widely accepted in the Old World.

There are two current explanations in Nebraska for the coming of sties. One is that if a person urinates in the road he will get a sty. The other is that sties are caused by a chair which is so held above the eyes that the legs point toward the eyes. Persons believing this are careful when carrying a chair never to lift it so high that the legs point toward them. This belief is common in Swedish communities and is of Swedish origin. The word "sty" in Swedish is *stolsteg* which literally means "stool step." In other words, if the stool or chair "steps" on you, you will get a sty. It was suggested in Oakland, a Swedish community in Burt county, that perhaps fear of the chair's hitting the eye may cause eye strain eventually leading to a sty.

1. A wedding ring rubbed on a sty in the eye will cure it. The ring may be either gold or brass.
2. To cure a sty, rub it with a cat's tail.
3. Rub turpentine on a sty that has just started.
4. Spit on a sty to cure it by rubbing a moistened finger over it.
5. Startle the person who thinks a sty is forming on the lid of his eye, and the sty will never come.
6. Walk to the first corner and repeat:
Sty, sty go off my eye
And take the first that passes by.
Be careful that you are not the first to go by that corner yourself or you will get the sty back.

¹ Black, W. G., *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883, p. 173.

7. Run scraped potato on your eye.
8. Go for a ride early in the morning. Stop at the first crossroads and say:
 Sty, sty, come off my eye
 And go to the next passer-by.
 Do not look at this spot again until you are sure that someone has gone by.
9. Bathe sore eyes with tea made from mashed mulberry leaves to heal them.
10. For inflamed eyes, make an eye wash from the root of wild roses.¹
11. Rub the eyes with saliva every morning before breakfast.²
12. For sore eyes, bathe the eyes and the head with cold water night and morning, and bathe the feet at night in cold water.
13. For sore eyes, do not use any water about the eyes or the face.
14. For swollen eyelids and sore eyes, apply a poultice of flaxseed.
15. Piercing the ears strengthens the eyes.
16. To remove a foreign object from the eyes, slip a wet flaxseed under the eyelid. It will catch the object on its sticky surface and carry it out.
17. Put cow's milk in a baby's eyes to cure sore eyes.
18. Avoid wearing rubbers in the house because to do so causes one to develop weak eyes.
19. Peel potatoes and put the peelings over the eye to cure inflammation.
20. Bathe sore eyes in rain water and sugar to cure them.
21. Apply raw beefsteak to black eyes to draw out soreness.
22. Wearing gold rings in pierced ears will cure weak eyes.³
23. To cure cataract in the eyes, grind up egg shells into a fine powder and sprinkle them into the eye.
24. Rub a black eye with a silver knife to draw soreness out.
25. To remove an object from the eye, make a loop from a long horse hair. Put it into the eye and close the lid. When the hair is pulled out, it will bring the object with it.
26. To cure cross-eyes, pierce the child's ears and insert gold hoops.
27. A baby's first tear will cure a blind man of blindness.

¹ This cure was reported as of Pawnee Indian origin.

² Reported by a Canadian woman now living in Nebraska.

³ A cure practiced daily by a person in Lincoln.

IV

INFLAMMATION AND INFECTION

Folk cures for inflammation and infection are homemade poultices which have power to draw out the poison or the soreness. No charms are connected with these cures. If a superstitious element enters in, it lies in the strict adherence of some persons to one specific poultice and their firm belief in the efficacy of that particular concoction above any other. An informant from Custer county relates the following incident:

A woman of seventy, our next-door neighbor, was cutting sunflowers in her front yard with a sharp knife. The knife slipped in her hand, cutting her thumb nearly off. Refusing to see a doctor, the woman gathered some weeds from her yard, mashed the leaves to make a poultice, and bound them on the wound. Not only did she ward off blood poison, but she healed the thumb entirely by her continued applications of mashed weeds.

Cures for burns are more numerous than those for other ailments in this group. Remedies for inflammation and infection are drawn from such sources as one would expect of Nebraska pioneers, namely, animals and plants common to Nebraska.

INFLAMMATION

1. Make a poultice of bread and milk to draw out inflammation.
2. Make a poultice of boiled onions for swollen joints or inflammation of all kinds.
3. Make a poultice of tumblebugs. Mash the bugs up and put them on raw.
4. Mix turpentine, vinegar, and eggs and apply to a swelling.
5. Put raw beefsteak on a bruise to draw out inflammation.
6. Tie a piece of salt pork upon an inflamed or infected surface.
7. Mix brandy, soft soap, and salt and rub the part affected thoroughly once or twice a day.

BURNS

8. Spit on a burn to cure it.
9. Burns can be cured by persons who have the miraculous power of "blowing the fire out of the wound." A woman can teach a man the trick and a man can teach a woman.
10. Rub grease on burns to cure them.
11. If you burn your finger, stick it in your ear and the soreness will go away.
12. Put soda on a burn to cure it.
13. Boil about fifty strong red pepper pods. Strain the solution through cheese cloth. Reduce this to a small quantity by heating it, then pour it into a pint of melted buffalo tallow. Lard is nearly as good as buffalo tallow. The pain will leave five minutes after the application of this remedy.
14. If you rub the white of an egg over a burn, the burn will heal and not leave a scar.
15. Put salt on a burn to cure it.
16. Put pepper on a burn to draw soreness out.
17. Put ice on a burn.

15. Suck a burn to draw out the fire.
19. If you have a burn, the best thing you can do to cure it is to burn the same place over again immediately.
20. Apply the lining of an egg shell.
21. Make a paste of lard and baking soda and apply freely.
22. Slices of new potato applied to a burn heal it.
23. Cover a surface which has been burned with a lather of soft soap.
24. Men working with stock frequently "burn" their hands on a rope. The best remedy for this is to wash the hands in strong salt water at body temperature.
25. Pulverize the root of the cat-tail plant and spread it on burns as a salve.¹
26. Apply wet tea leaves to burns to cure them.
27. Applications of turpentine and gunpowder cure a felon.
28. Strong lye soap and tobacco boiled together and thickened with cornmeal make an excellent poultice for felons.
29. Use common rock salt that is used for salting pork or beef. Dry it in the oven and pound it very fine. Mix it with equal parts of turpentine and put it in a rag. Wrap around the affected parts and as fast as it gets dry put on more. This cures a felon in twenty-four hours.

INFECTION

30. Put a piece of fat bacon over the infected part.
31. Apply a poultice of slippery elm bark to draw out infection.
32. Make a poultice by putting bacon grease and salt on a rag and wrapping the rag around the infected part.
33. Make a poultice from the cactus plant and apply it while hot. It will draw out thorns, sandburrs, boils, or splinters.²

OTHER CURES

34. To cure erysipelas, apply a poultice made of beets mixed with fresh-cut chewing tobacco.

¹ Reported as of Pawnee Indian origin.

² Reported to be of Mexican origin.

V

KIDNEY AND BOWEL TROUBLES

Like the cures in the preceding section, the remedies for kidney and bowel troubles seldom involve charms. For the most part these cures are various liquids or teas carefully prepared from herbs or weeds, or they are mixtures of many home ingredients. It is possible that these remedies do alleviate the pain somewhat, and benefit the patient in this way. Even though there may be no actual medicinal value in the tea, the warmth may have a propitious result.

Under the heading of the present section are grouped such diseases as diarrhea, dropsy, bladder trouble, dysentery, and piles.

1. For bladder trouble, drink much tea made from watermelon seeds.
2. To cure bladder trouble, boil a quart of cockleburrs and drink the tea¹
3. To cure dysentery, cook the pink bark of a live oak tree for half an hour. Take a tablespoonful of this liquid every half hour as long as it is necessary.
4. Apply the white of an egg externally to the abdomen to cure dysentery.
5. For dysentery drink water in which white writing paper has been soaked.
6. To cure dysentery, brown a teaspoonful of flour, add milk, and boil until the mixture is smooth. Drink this.
7. Feed a baby the white of an egg to cure dysentery.
8. Drink tea made from mullein leaves to cure dysentery.
9. To cure bed wetting, feed the patient the hind legs of a rat fried crisp.²
10. Eat radishes with rock candy to cure kidney trouble.
11. Eat asparagus to cure kidney trouble.
12. Eat raisins to cure kidney trouble.
13. To check diarrhea, make a concoction from the leaves of horehound.³
14. Drink tea made from red-root or the inside bark of a live oak to cure diarrhea.
15. To cure diarrhea, put one tablespoonful of flour into a glass. Add water until it is a thin solution. Add a lot of cinnamon and cloves. Pour it back and forth until the mixture foams, then drink.
16. Put one beef gall in a quart of whiskey and shake well. Drink a swallow three times a day, half an hour before eating. This will cure dropsy.
17. Carry a buckeye in the pocket at all times to cure piles.
18. To cure piles, apply buffalo tallow mixed with salt.

¹ This advice was given by a trained nurse to a man in the Sand Hills.

² This cure was brought to Nebraska by a Mexican.

³ Reported as an Indian remedy.

VI

RHEUMATISM

Rheumatism cures abound in Nebraska. Many of the oldest residents in the state, ordinarily non-superstitious, still cling tenaciously to charms to ward off or to cure rheumatism.

The cures most frequently practiced in this state are those involving the wearing of copper or brass rings or the carrying of an amulet in the pocket. It is believed that persons who carry a rabbit's foot in the left pocket are never troubled with rheumatism; but if they lose the talisman or neglect to carry it in the proper pocket, they are immediately seized with excruciating pain.

One Nebraska farmer living in the Sand Hills tells his experience with rheumatism as follows:

For years I've been wearing a copper wire around my finger and I've never suffered from rheumatism. One afternoon I was working with a team in the field too far from the house to go in for repairs. Suddenly a harness strap broke and without thinking I wired it together with the copper wire from around my finger. In just a little while I was seized with rheumatism, and it didn't quit till I put that wire back on.

The use of the ring to cure disease has been cited in connection with eye trouble. Its remedial powers are accepted so widely by folk of all countries, that it is difficult to trace its origin in Nebraska where the population is so mixed.

Cats and snakes both play an important part in folk remedies for rheumatism. Belief in their efficacy is doubtless a legacy of the old, almost universal belief in the use of cats and snakes for mysterious healing by witches.

1. Bare your back or arm and let someone shake a drove of bees on it to sting you. This will cure your rheumatism.
2. Wear a brass belt to cure rheumatism.
3. Sleep with a cat on the foot of your bed. When the cat gets your rheumatism, you will not be bothered with it any longer.
4. To cure rheumatism, put a raw, skinned herring under your left foot.¹
5. Rub snake oil on the patient's joints.
6. Take a teaspoonful of common soda three times a day in half a glass of water.
7. Wear a paper sack around the neck to cure rheumatism.
8. Rub rattlesnake oil on the affected parts. The oil must be from a rattler.
9. Wear the rattles of a rattlesnake or carry them in your pocket to cure rheumatism.
10. Boil two gallons of cockleburrs and mix the juice with lard. Rub this mixture on the affected parts.²
11. Rub on skunk oil, well tried, and heat it in with hot packs. This oil will cure immediately when all other oils fail.

¹ Reported as brought from Sweden.

² Used much by a woman in Shubert, Nebraska.

12. Get some dirt from a graveyard and walk over it for ten nights and your rheumatism will be cured.
13. To cure rheumatism, allow a bee to sting the affected joint.
14. Sleep with a dog to cure rheumatism. When the dog catches rheumatism from you, yours will be gone.
15. Wear red flannel to cure rheumatism. No other color will work.
16. Carry a lucky bean in your pocket to cure rheumatism.
17. Use tincture of cat to cure rheumatism.³
18. Put a piece of snake skin in your hip pocket.
19. An Irish potato carried in the pocket will cure rheumatism.
20. Carry a rabbit's foot in your pocket.
21. Bind a small potato upon the painful surface. After a while the potato will become hard as wood. Then put on a fresh potato.
22. Boil potatoes and then soak the feet in hot water to cure rheumatism.
23. If you carry a buskeye in your pocket, it will cure rheumatism. It must be carried in the left pocket, according to some persons.
24. Put copper plates in your shoes to cure rheumatism.
25. Procure the fat from an entirely black cat and use it as a liniment.
26. If you wear a ring made of silver, brass, or copper on your little finger, it will cure rheumatism.
27. Boil cactus roots to make juice. Mix juice with red clay and pack it on the affected parts.
28. Carry a horse chestnut in your pocket.
29. Make a ring from a horseshoe nail, wear on finger.

³ In Omaha, a negro sold a preparation called tincture of cat to cure rheumatism and other ailments. To advertise his wares, he used a cat's skeleton mounted in a glass case.

VII TOOTHACHE

Cures for toothache are must less extensive in Nebraska than one would expect in view of the fact that the tooth has been the subject of much curious lore from the earliest records of ancient history. Folklore of the teeth has developed prolifically in all countries. W. G. Black cites many instances of its use on the British Isles.¹ The Nebraska remedies include the use of magic and charms and home "medicines." Although the cures for toothache are not abundant in this state, those which are in use or have been used point to many superstitious beliefs concerning the teeth.

Cures for teething as well as for toothache are included in this collection. Most of them are of a superstitious nature.

TOOTHACHE

1. Hold bruised horseradish leaves on the face with a heavy hot flannel cloth over them to cure toothache
2. Stick a red hot needle in the center of the cavity in an aching tooth and the tooth will stop aching.
3. Slice a little piece off the frog of a horse's front hoof and put it between the aching tooth and the one next to it.
4. If you have a toothache, put a horseradish poultice on the wrist opposite the side the tooth is on, and the ache will go.
5. Chew tobacco to cure a bad toothache²
6. Put gunpowder on an aching tooth to ease it.
7. Wear a piece of string around your neck.
8. Suck a toothpick into the aching tooth or the gum until the gum bleeds. Remove the toothpick and put it into the bark of a tree. No one must see you do this or the tooth will not stop aching.
9. Cut the first skin off the frog of a horse's front hoof and put the skin over a fire until it chars. Crumble it and put it on the aching tooth.
10. Put a drop or two of clove oil in the tooth cavity.
11. Hold whiskey in the mouth to deaden the pain³

TEETHING

12. Put a string of beads (Job's tears)⁴ around the child's neck and the teeth will come through without pain.
13. Put a rattlesnake rattle in a tobacco bag and hang the bag around the child's neck during teething.
14. When a baby is fretful while teething, string three large snake rattles on a red cord and put it around the child's neck. Do not remove until child is through teething.

¹ *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883.

² This cure is prevalent in the Sand Hills.

³ The informant said that it was difficult to get the patient to hold the whiskey in his mouth.

⁴ "Job's tears" are large, gray seeds.

15. Give the baby cartridges from a six-shooter to chew while it is teething. They must be from a six-shooter.
16. Let the baby chew rattlesnake rattles to help his teeth through.
17. Give the child Job's tears to cut teeth on.
18. Rub the baby's gums with an ivory ring or a celluloid ring.
19. Rub the baby's gums with a silver thimble to bring teeth through.
20. In order to cut teeth without pain, a baby must wear a red, flannel vest.
21. Rub the swollen gums of a teething child with the brains of a freshly killed rabbit to bring the teeth through.

VIII

WARTS

Cures for warts are more numerous than are those for any other ailment with the exception of colds and other diseases grouped under that heading in Section II. Considering the fact that warts are seldom found now, this seems strange. The oldest living settlers of Nebraska tell of early days when warts were common, and there was much debate as to the cause of this affliction and the best means of getting rid of it.

It was a commonly accepted belief that handling toads was responsible for the appearance of warts on one's hands. Some persons went so far as to say that the number of warts which appeared would correspond definitely to the number of protuberances on the toad. This belief concerning the origin of warts is upheld now mainly by children, who are responsible for the perpetuation of many superstitious cures. Children are fascinated by charms, and warts seem to yield themselves readily to charm cures. By charm is meant "a treatment whose action is not apparent even to the people who use it. It is taken as a cure on faith, and the possibility of curative action never questioned."¹ The latter part of this statement is essential. One must have absolute faith in the cure before any healing will result. Thus, it is possible to dismiss the person who has no luck with a specific cure as one who shows a positive lack of faith.

It is possible to classify the cures for warts under eleven headings, namely: bean-, bone-, corn-, meat-, pebble and stone-, pin and needle-, potato-, rag-, string or thread-cures, cures for transference, and miscellaneous cures. Under the first nine headings the cures are chiefly variations of the same cure; for instance some persons maintain that meat which has been rubbed on a wart to cure it should be buried; others assert that unless the meat is thrown over the left shoulder, no cure will take place. Still others insist that only when the meat is fed to a dog will the warts disappear.

Associated with warts is a belief in the transference of disease which is seldom found with regard to other ailments. Warts may be "sold" to a person who becomes afflicted immediately and in turn must sell them to another to rid himself of them. Warts also may be transferred to someone by putting pebbles in a sack and leaving the sack for some unwitting person to pick up. Anyone unfortunate enough to pick up a stick which has been rubbed on another's warts may find himself the immediate recipient of these annoying little tumors.

¹ Walter R. Smith, "Animals and Plants in Oklahoma Folk-Cures," *Folk-Say*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1929, pp. 72-73.

It is probable that this idea of transference of warts came from the British Isles. W. G. Black in his chapter on "Transference of Disease" says, "In Cheshire the absolute transference of warts is worth noting."² Black also cites similar examples found in Lancashire and Scotland.

BEAN

1. Face the front door at home. Bite a bean in two and rub it on each wart. Then throw the bean over the left shoulder and never look for it. The warts will disappear.
2. Cross a wart with a bean and feed the bean to a rooster. The wart will soon leave.
3. Select a large, dry bean either navy, Boston, or lima bean. Rub it gently over the afflicted area and plant the bean. If it sprouts and grows, the warts are guaranteed to be removed. If it fails to sprout, repeat the treatment.
4. Split a bean. Cut the wart and put a drop of blood in the bean. Then bury the bean at midnight. Turn around three times and walk home without speaking to anyone on the way. The wart will disappear. The blood on the bean draws the wart toward it.
5. Toss a bean over your left shoulder into a well. Your warts will soon leave.
6. Take a leaf from a string bean vine and rub it on the wart. When the wart is green, hide the leaf. The wart will disappear.
7. Split a bean in two and rub one half on the wart, then bury it. Throw the other half of the bean as far as possible. When the buried half decays, the wart will disappear.
8. Steal some white beans from your neighbor and bury them. When they rot, your warts will be gone.

BONE

9. Walk in the woods until you find the bone of an animal. Rub the bone carefully over the wart with the side which was next to the ground. Then dig a hole in the ground and bury the bone. When it decays the warts will disappear.
10. Rub the wart with a bone which you find under a tree. You must hunt until you find the bone under a tree, then after rubbing the wart with it, put the bone back in its identical position.
11. Pick up a bone from the ground and rub the warts with it. Then throw the bone backwards as far as you can. Do not look back at the bone, and your warts will come off.

CORN

12. Steal a grain of corn and destroy it so that its owner will never have it again, and your warts will leave.
13. Rub the warts with a kernel of corn and feed the corn to a rooster. Be sure the rooster gets it and your warts will disappear.
14. Touch seventeen different kernels of corn to each wart, then feed the corn to the chickens. If they eat the corn, the warts will disappear.
15. Bury a small bag of corn. When the corn decays, the warts will leave.
16. Throw away a grain of corn for each wart, and the warts will soon disappear.
17. Cut a corn cob crosswise and take out the white pulp center. Put this on the wart. Then fill the inside of the cob with soda and add a drop of vinegar to boil the soda away. Hold this over the warts. Repeat two or three times a day until cured.

² *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883, p. 38.

18. Pick the wart open and rub it with the pulp inside of a kernel of corn. Then feed the corn to a chicken.
19. Throw a handful of corn in a well to cure warts. When the corn decays, the warts will disappear.

MEAT

20. Rub the wart with a piece of raw meat. Bury the meat under a stone upon which water drips. When the meat decays, the wart is gone.
21. Put a slice of fat pork between two boards and put the boards under the eaves. Eventually your warts will be cured.
22. Rub a piece of meat over the warts, then feed the meat to a dog. Warts will soon leave.
23. Throw a piece of fat meat over your left shoulder and never go back to hunt for it.
24. Tie beefsteak on warts.
25. Rub a piece of bacon on a wart and then bury the bacon in the ground. By the time the bacon has decayed the wart will have disappeared.
26. Steal a slice of bacon from your mother and fry it. Put it between two bricks and bury it. When the bacon rots, the warts will fall off.

PEBBLE AND STONE

27. Touch every wart with a pebble. Put the pebble in a bag and bury the bag at night.
28. Rub the wart with a smooth stone, then hurl the stone without looking at it, over the left shoulder. The warts will be gone before long.
29. If you make a little bag, drop a white pebble in it for every wart you have, and bring it at midnight to the cross-roads without letting anyone see or know of it, your warts will disappear.

PIN AND NEEDLE

30. Prick the wart with a needle. Run the needle into a grain of corn and bury the grain of corn.
31. Stick a pin through the wart and burn the end of the pin.
32. Pick a wart with a new pin and then throw the pin away. The warts will soon leave.

POTATO

33. Carry an Irish potato in your pocket to cure warts.
34. Cut a slit in a potato. Pinch it over the wart, so that the wart is in the slit. Then bury the potato. When it decays, the wart will disappear.¹
35. Cut a potato in half. Rub each piece on the wart and fit the pieces together again. Then throw the potato over your shoulder. Do not watch where it goes. When the potato rots, your warts will disappear.
36. Cut a potato. Rub it on the wart and then bury the potato. When the potato decays the warts will be gone.

RAG

37. Rub a dish rag on the wart, and bury the rag under a rock.
38. Rub an old, much-used rag on the wart and then bury the rag in the ground secretly. The wart will soon disappear.
39. Rub a stolen dish rag over the wart and bury the rag behind the barn. When the rag decays, the wart will be gone.

¹ Reported as brought to Nebraska from Germany.

40. If you have a wart, have someone else hide your dish cloth. You must not know where it is hidden. When it decays your wart is gone.
41. Steal your neighbor's dish rag. It must be your neighbor's or the cure will not work. Bury the rag, and when it rots the warts will be gone.
42. Steal a dish cloth, preferably from your mother. Dampen it and pass it over the warts. Take the cloth in a paper sack and bury it by the light of the moon. The warts will disappear within the week.
43. Rub a dish rag on the wart and bury the rag anywhere in the ground. When it decays, the warts disappear.
44. Steal your mother's dish rag, and bury it in the damp ground on the north side of a building before the sun rises and before you eat breakfast. When the rag has decayed your warts will disappear.

STRING OR THREAD CURES

45. To cure a wart, let someone tie a thread around it three times and then bury the string in the ground where human foot cannot tread, as under a stone wall or a building. No word must be spoken during the ceremony. As the string decays, the wart will disappear.
46. Tie a silk thread around a wart. Burn up the rest of the thread and the wart will go away.
47. Tie one end of a string around the wart and the other around a door knob. Shut the door hard in order to yank the wart off.
48. Tie a knot in a string for each wart and bury the string under a hog trough. Let no one see you do it or know of it.
49. Tie a silk thread around the wart and keep pulling it tighter and tighter until the wart comes off.
50. Tie knots in a string for each wart. Bury the string under the eaves where the rain can drip on it. When it rains, the warts will go.
51. Rub the wart with twine and bury the twine under the eaves.
52. Tie as many knots in a string as there are warts on the hands. Bury the string in the ground. When it decays the warts will disappear from the hands.
53. Tie a knot in a string for every wart. Walk backward to a stone and lay the string under the stone. When the string rots the warts will be gone.
54. At night bury a short, white string in the ground. When you awaken in the morning, the warts will be gone.

TRANSFERENCE OF WARTS

55. Rub the wart with a penny and give the penny away. The wart will go with it.
56. You may sell a wart for any amount and the purchaser will get the wart.
57. Count off the number of warts you have on another's hands, touching the person's skin for each wart. Your warts will soon disappear and the other person will have them.
58. Put one pebble in a box for each wart. Wrap the box in paper and place it in some conspicuous place where someone is sure to pick it up. The person who picks it up will have the warts and yours will disappear.
59. Pick the wart until it bleeds, then rub the blood on a smooth rock. Tie the rock up in a package and drop the package in the road. The person who picks it up will get the wart.
60. Count your warts with the point of a pin. Hide the pin. If anyone finds it and uses it, he will get the warts. If you bury the pin, the warts will disappear later.

61. Stick a pin in the wart, wrap the pin in a corn shuck, and put the shuck in the road. The first person who steps on the shuck will get the wart.

MISCELLANEOUS CURES

62. Rub your wart with a wedding ring to cure it.
63. Rub the wart with a penny and throw the penny as far as possible.
64. Sell the wart for a penny and hide the penny in a clock.
65. Tie a horsehair into as many knots as you have warts. Insert it into a bottle of water and secrete it in some damp, dark place for nine days. The warts will leave.
66. Tie a horsehair around the warts. They will soon leave.
67. When the moon is full, pull up a green weed, any kind of weed that is green, rub the wart with it, and throw the weed away without looking at it.
68. The first Friday of every new moon for three nights, look at the moon and repeat the following three times: "What I see increase and what I feel decrease." Rub the wart and it will disappear.
69. Burn the wart with a match and it will disappear.
70. Let someone rub a match over the wart until the match smokes. When this happens, hide the match. If the person who has the wart ever finds out where the match is, his wart will return.
71. Rub two sticks over the warts. Take the sticks to the forks of the road and put them down in the form of a cross. Do not look back at the sticks and the warts will go.
72. Cut notches in a stick corresponding in number with the number of warts. Throw the stick away and the warts will disappear.
73. Steal a fish head, rub it over your warts and then bury it, so deeply that no animal can dig it up. Warts will disappear in a week.
74. Pick open a wart until it bleeds, then let a hen pick it. It must be a hen and not a rooster or the wart will not leave.
75. With a sharp knife, preferably clean, carefully cut off the top of the wart. Wash this dissected part, tie it in a cotton bag and throw it away. If someone picks up the bag, the wart will leave, otherwise it will remain.¹
76. Rub the warts over a dead body and they will soon disappear.
77. Cut a raw egg in two and then throw a dishpan over your left shoulder. This will cure warts.
78. Rub your warts with butter to cure them.
79. Apply olive-oil externally to the warts to cure them.
80. This is called the wishing, wart-removing treatment. After a rigid period of concentration, wish that the wart be removed to some other living animal, such as a dog's ears or the back of a cat.
81. Bathe warts with vinegar to cure them.
82. Take a broom straw and break it at the joint. Then rub it on the wart to cure the wart.
83. Milkweed applied to a wart as often as you think necessary will get rid of the wart.
84. Throw your gum in the cistern and your warts will disappear.
85. Go to the cemetery at midnight with a dead cat. Go to the grave of a friend, stand on it, and rub the cat across the wart. The wart will leave.
86. Take as many peas as there are warts, toss them into a well and run under a roof before the peas hit the water. (Someone else may throw the peas for you.) When the peas decompose, the warts will come off.

¹ Used by a woman in Lincoln who says the cure worked.

87. To cure warts, cut a patch in them.
88. Cut a hole in the top of a turnip and put salt in the hole. Then put the sap on the wart.
89. Pick the wart so the skin is broken. Put on a grain of concentrated lye the size of a pin head. When the lye eats the wart, pull off and put on pure vinegar to keep the lye from eating on through the hand.²
90. Rub a wart on the bottom of a shoe sole. When the sole wears out the wart will be gone.
91. Wash your hands in water found in a hollow stump to cure warts.
92. If you spit on a wart every morning just after you wake up, the wart will disappear in time.
93. Wet your hand, cover it with salt, and let a horse lick it. The warts on the hand will disappear.³
94. Count your warts as you touch them with your finger. Do it several times every day and they will soon leave.⁴

² A woman in Kearney, Nebraska, says that she removed seven warts in this way.

³ A citizen of Lincoln says that his warts disappeared after this treatment.

⁴ A woman in Buffalo county says her warts left in one month after this treatment.

IX

WOUNDS

Included in this section are remedies to stop the flow of blood from cuts and sores, from a nail in the foot, and from nosebleed. In the first two instances these cures are not of a superstitious nature, but for the most part they consist of adaptations of various home products, such as poultices of weeds or animal fat, sugar, and flour. In the case of nosebleed, however, nearly all of the remedies are superstitious with little in them to effect a cure except the user's faith in their potency.

1. Stop bleeding by applying spiderwebs to the wound.
2. If an artery is cut, sear it with a hot iron. If it is a vein, apply a mixture of charred feathers and cobwebs and bind it on the cut.
3. If anyone bleeding from a cut will hang a bunch of keys around his neck, the blood will stop flowing instantly.
4. Put soda on a cut to stop its bleeding.
5. Mix brown sugar and whiskey, and put the solution on the bleeding surface to stop bleeding.
6. Put sugar on a cut to stop bleeding and heal the wound.
7. To stop bleeding, apply a handful of cobwebs to the wound.
8. Apply flour to a cut to cure bleeding.
9. Use milkweed lotion (the sweet juice of milkweed) on cuts and sores to heal them.
10. Put the cut in kerosene to stop its bleeding.
11. Put the cut in mud to heal it.
12. To stop a wound from bleeding, apply the lining of an egg shell.
13. Apply sheep tallow to heal sores and cuts.
14. Soak arnica leaves in alcohol and apply to cuts.
15. Tie a chew of tobacco on the wound.¹
16. The root of the hop vine (crooked root) is used to heal wounds.
17. Apply puff balls to the wound to stop bleeding.²

NOSE BLEED

18. If a woman has nose bleed, have a man read a chapter in a book to her to cure it. If a man is afflicted, have a woman read to him. The charm will not work if the two are of the same sex.
19. Hang a butcher knife down your back to cure nose bleed.
20. Stand with your back to a mulberry tree. Measure your height on the tree, and then bore a hole in the tree there. Cut a lock of your hair, put it in the hole, and drive a rusty nail in it. Your nose will never bleed again.
21. Put a nickel in the roof of your mouth and hold it up with your tongue. At the same time hold both hands high up in the air.
22. Wear a wool thread around your big toe to cure nose bleed.
23. Wear a red necklace around your neck to cure nose bleed.

¹ This was used on a citizen of Lincoln when he cut his foot badly with a garden hoe. The wound healed in a short time.

² Puff balls are similar to toadstools.

24. Put a folded piece of cardboard under your upper lip
25. Put a small piece of brown paper under your upper lip to stop nose bleed.
26. Put a penny under the upper lip and a cold key down your back to cure nose bleed.
27. Wear a blue bead on a single thread around the neck to cure nose bleed.
28. Apply cold wet cloths to the back of the neck.
29. Mash a lead bullet flat around a string and put the string around the neck.
30. Let the blood fall on an axe or knife and suck the weapon in the ground. The nose will soon stop bleeding.
31. Wear a red string around the neck to cure nose bleed.
32. Put a cold coin on the back of the neck.
33. Put a key on a red flannel string and hang it around the neck.
34. Put a wet cloth to the nostrils to clot the blood.
35. Put a half dollar under the upper lip.
36. Put ice on the back of the head or on the forehead.
37. Put a dime on the back of the tongue.
38. Put a nickel under the upper lip.
39. Put a brown cigarette paper in the roof of the mouth to cure nose bleed.
40. Put a penny in the mouth.
41. Hang the head over the back of a chair.

NAIL IN THE FOOT

42. Pull the nail out, grease it, and throw it in the fire. This will keep the foot from ever getting sore.
43. Put a slice of fat salt meat over the wound.
44. Make a poultice by scraping raw beets and apply it to the wound.
45. Soak the foot in kerosene.
46. Soak the foot in hot water into which has been dissolved a lot of Epsom salts.
47. Hold the foot in hot ashes.
48. Let a pup lick a sore that will not heal. It stops the bleeding and cures the sore.
49. When medical aid was not available, Nebraska settlers used to keep a wet rag on a gunshot wound until the wound healed.
50. Indians split cactus leaves, burned the thorns off, heated the leaves thoroughly, and bound them on the wound.

X

BITES AND STINGS

When the early settler "homesteaded" in Nebraska one of the cures which he needed most to know was a remedy for the deadly bite of a rattlesnake. Because most available to him, his most frequent cures were poultices made from such plants as the cactus or the soapweed, or grease or lard from animals, or their warm intestines applied to a wound to draw out poison. Tobacco afforded the most popular poultice. Captain Lute North of Columbus, Nebraska, a resident of the state since 1856, told of a man whom he once saw cured of a rattlesnake bite by application of tobacco. Another man chewed quantities of it and kept the hand well poulticed. According to Captain North, the man who was bitten recovered from the bite without getting sick, but the man who chewed tobacco for the poultices became very ill.

The rattlesnake, which corresponds to the viper of other folklore, has been used much in Nebraska as a cure for such diseases as goiter or headache. Strangely enough, however, only in one case was it reported to have been used as a cure for its own bite. In this instance, a man from Thomas county who was bitten, immediately cut off the snake's head, and then split open its body, cutting it into three-inch pieces. These he applied immediately to the wound, discarding each piece as it became saturated with the poison. In this instance the snake was not used because of any charm which the man associated with the snake, but as a poultice in an emergency.

Classified in this section with snake bites are also insect stings and stings received from such plants as nettles, poison ivy, and cactus.

SNAKE BITE

1. Cut a snake bite criss-cross, then spit tobacco juice on it or empty a pipe on it.
2. If there are any chickens available, cut one open either after it has been killed or while it is still alive, and put it over the snake bite. Before long the chicken will be all green from the poison which it has drawn out. It takes nearly a dozen chickens to draw all the poison from the wound.
3. For rattlesnake bite in an emergency, beat cockleburrs to a pulp and apply the pulp as a poultice to the wound.
4. Kill an animal, preferably a cow, and slit a hole in its abdomen. Bury the snake bitten area into the middle of the animal. Leave it there until the carcass becomes cold and then remove. The poison from the bite will be drawn out.
5. Suck a snake bite to heal it.
6. Apply the warm flesh of an animal to draw out poison.
7. Drink all the whiskey you can hold to cure a snake bite.
8. Pack mud on a rattlesnake bite to cure it.¹

¹ This cure was used by a citizen of Logan county when he was fourteen years old. He was alone in a cornfield when a snake bit him. He sat down immediately and began to pack mud on the bite until the pain was gone. Then after packing fresh mud on it, he went home. The process took him half a day.

9. Soak the bite in coal oil for a long time.
10. Puncture the skin around the bite with the sharp points of the soapweed to let the poison run out.
11. Keep jabbing the swollen places with sharp knives until the black blood and water come out. This will be the poison.
12. Cut the outside prickles off the cactus found in the Sand Hills. Mash the inside of the plant and apply it to the bite as a poultice. Keep it moist with water and change as often as it becomes warm.
13. Apply hog lard to the wound. Heat the lard and have the patient drink all he can.
14. Scarify the flesh as deeply as the fangs went and make at least two incisions. Then apply table salt.
15. Apply a mixture of turpentine and gunpowder to a rattlesnake bite to cure it.
16. Bury that part of the body bitten by the snake in the ground and soak the earth with sweet milk.
17. Mash the roots of the milkweed and apply it to a rattlesnake bite. Also give the patient half of the milk internally.²

DOG BITE

18. Rub axle grease on a dog bite to cure it.
19. When it was thought that the dog was mad, a stone called a "mad stone" was rubbed over the bite to cure it. This stone was found inside a deer.

STING

20. Pack mud on the part which has been stung by a bee or a wasp.
21. For the sting of a bee or a wasp, wrap the leaf of a tomato vine over it.
22. Hold a sting in turpentine to cure it.
23. For stings, pull the stem from a pipe and put the excess nicotine collected there on the sting.
24. Apply common soda, moistened, to cure a sting.
25. Mash the leaves of any kind of vegetation and apply them to insect bites or stings.
26. Apply soda and vinegar mixed to stings.
27. Put tobacco juice on a hornet sting to cure it.

POISON IVY

28. Mix nightshade berries with cream and apply to parts affected by poison ivy.
29. Wash the affected parts with strong salt water.
30. Wear an ordinary fishing sinker around your neck on a string to cure or to prevent poison ivy.
31. Pack mud on poison ivy sting to cure it.
32. Carry a pocketful of cartridges in your pocket to prevent or to cure poison ivy. The lead in the cartridges effects the cure.
33. Rub the poisoned parts with pure apple vinegar.

NETTLES

34. Take the slime off a fish that you have just caught and put the slime on the stinging surface.
35. Pack mud on nettle sting to cure it.
36. Put tobacco juice on nettle sting to cure it.

² Reported as an Indian cure.

XI MISCELLANEOUS

There are numerous cures which cannot be classified conveniently in the foregoing sections, nor are there enough for any one disease to justify their segregation into a separate division. It seems expedient, then, to treat them collectively here. Even in this section a certain amount of classification is possible, and seven divisions may be distinguished, namely: cures for asthma, boils, complexion and skin trouble, corns, goiter, ringworm, and a large group of unclassifiables. Many of the cures for the complexion, and for asthma, goiter, and ringworm are decidedly superstitious. Boils and corns are treated with home remedies, some of which may have healing propensities. The unclassifiables, listed under Other Cures, are especially representative of Nebraska folk cures as a whole, and range from cures for tears caused by peeling onions to cures for muddy drinking water, insanity, vermin, stammering, cracks between the toes, and seven-year itch.

ASTHMA

1. Drink tea made from jimson weed to cure asthma.
2. Blindfold the asthma sufferer, lead him into the woods, and bore a hole at his exact height in a tree. Put a lock of hair in the hole and plug it up. When the child grows taller than the plug, his asthma is supposed to leave.¹
3. If you have asthma, keep cats around you. When nine cats have caught asthma from you, you will be cured.²
4. Go down to a river and catch a frog. Pry its mouth open and blow your breath into it. This must be done before daylight. The frog will die before sundown with asthma, but the person will never have it again.
5. Make a drug from the buttercup to cure asthma.
6. Make a tea from the leaves of sumac and drink it.
7. Mix bee's honey with sulphur and take a teaspoonful every hour until relieved.
8. Stand the child up to a tree which is as tall as he is. Pound some of the child's hair into the tree. If the tree outgrows the child, he won't have any more asthma. If the child outgrows the tree, he will always have asthma.

BOILS

9. Make a bread and milk poultice with saffron fried and flour mixed in it.
10. Put a strip of bacon on the boil. It will soon bring the boil to a head.
11. Apply a poultice made of soft soap and strained honey.
12. Apply a poultice made of plantain leaves.
13. Apply a poultice of sugar and soap.
14. Swallow nine shots from a shot gun shell to cure boils.
15. Apply a poultice of flaxseed meal. Keep it moist and as hot as can be stood.
16. Apply bread and milk.
17. Make a poultice from the cactus plant. Bake the plant and then split it and apply to the boil while hot.

¹ Practiced by a Nebraska attorney upon his grandmother's request. The asthma left him but returned in twenty years.

² Practiced by a doctor in Thomas county.

COMPLEXION AND SKIN TROUBLES

18. Wash the skin in buttermilk every day to cure freckles.
19. To remove tan, soak wild tansy in buttermilk for several days. Wet a cloth in the solution and apply it to the tan several hours a day.
20. Put some oatmeal in a little bag of cloth and soak in half a cup of milk. When the milk gets syrupy, rub it on the tan or freckles. Repeat until freckles and tan disappear.
21. Apply beef tallow or mutton suet, rubbed well into the skin, to heal chapped hands. Do not wash until healed.
22. Rub buffalo tallow on chapped hands to heal them.
23. Wash the hands in strong, hot, salt water, then in soap and water, and then dry them.
24. For chapped hands, rub vaseline on them and then coat them thoroughly with dry oatmeal and put on cotton gloves.
25. To remove freckles, slice raw cucumbers and rub them on the face.
26. To remove freckles, tie a horsehair into as many knots as you have freckles. Insert the hair into a bottle of water and put the bottle in a damp, cool place. After nine days the freckles will disappear.
27. Arise at dawn, bathe the face in dew, and say while doing this:
 "Beauty come. Freckles go.
 Dewdrops make me
 White as snow."
The freckles will all disappear.
28. To cure freckles, go through the following ceremony: Arise early on the first day of May and without saying anything to anyone, bathe the face at dawn in the dew. Then rub the hands on another part of the body, repeating at the same time, "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." The freckles will leave.¹
29. Brown egg shells in a pan in the oven. Take them out and roll them into a fine powder. Eat the powder and it will immediately clean your system and clear your complexion.
30. Wash the hands in the first snow and it will prevent them from becoming chapped.

CORNES

31. Put onion skins on a corn to heal it.
32. Put raw pork on a corn to cure it.
33. Tie a piece of fat salt pork on a bunion. Put a fresh piece on every night for a week.
34. Put wood ashes in hot water and use the solution as a foot bath to heal corns and bunions.
35. Cut cranberries in two and put the halves on a corn to cure it.
36. Rub kerosene on a corn to cure it.
37. Put a slice of salted lemon on your corn for ten nights, then your corn will disappear.
38. Spit on corns every morning just after you awaken, and they will disappear.

GOITER

39. A string of any kind of heavy beads worn around the neck will cure goiter.
40. Wrap a snake around the neck and allow it to creep off, and the goiter will disappear.

¹ Brought to Nebraska from Germany by the informant's grandfather.

41. Wear a piece of velvet ribbon around your neck to cure goiter.²
42. If a person who has goiter will go into a room where a corpse is lying and take the hand of the dead person and rub it over the goiter, the goiter will disappear.
43. To blow in fire gives one goiter, but to inhale smoke will cure it.
44. Wear a gold chain around the neck to cure goiter.
45. A string of amber beads worn around the neck will cure goiter.

RINGWORM

46. Rub a cigar stub on the ringworm and it will disappear.
47. Press the open end of a thimble around ringworm to cure it.
48. To cure ringworm, take a copper one-cent piece and place it in enough butter to cover it. Let it stand twelve or fourteen hours. When the butter is green around the copper, take this green stuff and place it on the ringworm. It eats in and kills the germ.
49. Use an egg shell for a measuring cup. Take one measure of these ingredients: beaten egg yolk, turpentine, coal oil, vinegar, and salt. Rub the solution on the ringworm.
50. Apply wet gunpowder three times daily for four or five days to kill ringworm.
51. Rub a green walnut skin on ringworm to cure it.

OTHER CURES

52. Let a cow lick straight hair to make it curly.
53. To make straight hair curl, eat charcoal from burned food.
54. To make a cowlick part the other way, put raw egg white on it.
55. To cure measles, eat a roasted mouse, well done.
56. To cure measles, drink lots of cold water and lemonade.
57. For indigestion, eat the dried lining of a chicken gizzard.³
58. For stomach trouble or poisoning, chew tobacco well. Then swallow tobacco, juice and all.⁴
59. To prevent crying while you are peeling onions, cut the onions under water.
60. To prevent tears while peeling onions, peel them over a flame.
61. To prevent tears while you are peeling onions, hold a darning needle dipped in kerosene in the mouth while peeling.
62. For cramps in the legs and feet at night, turn your shoes upside down under the bed when you go to bed.⁵
63. For cramps in the feet, put the feet in hot ashes.
64. Soak frozen feet in kerosene to cure them.
65. For frost-bitten feet, fingers, or ears, apply scraped Irish potato.
66. Chew slippery elm bark to cure or to ease menstruation pain.
67. Drink a tea made from tansy as a relief for menstruation pain.
68. To regulate menstruation, eat beet juice which has been thickened with corn starch and seasoned with sugar and vinegar.
69. To cure a fever, make mustard plasters and put one on the bottom of each foot and one on the back of the neck.
70. Rub pepper on a patient when his temperature is below normal.⁶

² Practiced regularly by a woman in Kearney, Nebraska.

³ Old settlers used to save old chicken gizzards in a bottle so that the linings would be available for indigestion.

⁴ Reported as an Indian cure which was supposed to drive out devils.

⁵ The informant said he had proved the truth of this cure at least seventy-five times.

⁶ Practiced by a practical nurse.

71. For labor pains, boil a gold ring and drink the tea from it after it has cooled by having the early morning dew settle on it.
72. If during pregnancy, the mother will concentrate on any quality or talent which she wishes her child to have, the child will be blessed with this trait.
73. Have the patient blow through a turkey quill as hard as she can to ease her labor pains.⁷
74. Hold the edge of a sharp axe against the abdomen of a woman suffering from labor pains. This will take her mind off her trouble and ease the pain.
75. Spit on a birthmark every day to cure it.
76. If someone will get up out of bed early in the morning and lick the baby's birthmark three times for nine successive mornings without saying a word to anyone, the mark will disappear.
77. Rub the birthmark with a piece of raw meat and then bury the meat. When the meat decays the birthmark will be gone.
78. To cause the wind to blow so that the windmill will pump water for cattle, get up on the windmill tower and whistle. The wind will soon begin to blow.
79. To alleviate suffering from lack of water, put a bullet in your mouth. A dime or a piece of copper will also do. The cactus plant is also especially effective.
80. To cure a person who has ague, dig a ditch in the ground big enough for him to sleep in. Have the person strip off all his clothes and lie down in the ditch. Cover him all up with dirt, leaving only his head uncovered, and in the morning he will be perfectly well.
81. To cure backache, fold a big piece of red cotton flannel six feet by two feet wide, and cut a hole in the fold and fasten the side with safety pins. Backache will soon leave and never return if you leave the flannel on.
82. To cure a person or an animal who has eaten strychnine, give him a large dose of salt swallowed with grease, or if grease is not available, a little water. If the person lives five minutes after the salt reaches his stomach, he won't die from the poison.
83. Drink tea made from the fruit of the cactus plant to cure gall-stones.
84. Hold an onion to the nose of a person about to faint, or to one who has fainted to revive him.
85. To cure lockjaw, make a tea from cockroaches and drink it.
86. For tape worm, feed the patient ground glass to cut the tape worm up.
87. To cure stammering, get a child near an animal that is being butchered and as soon as the lungs are out of the animal, rub them vigorously into the child's face, especially around the mouth.
88. If you get a pain in your side any time you are outdoors, pick up a rock, spit on the side of it that lay next to the ground, and put the rock back as it was when you first found it. The pain will disappear.
89. If the bark of the elderberry bush is scraped in one direction, it acts as a laxative. If it is scraped in the other direction, it acts as an emetic.⁸
90. For pain, apply a hop bag rung out in hot water.
91. Feed a sick baby on cow's milk with sage tea mixed in it.⁹

⁷ This was called "quilling" and was used by some of the oldest settlers of the state.

⁸ Reported as an Indian remedy.

⁹ Mrs. H. O. Skiles of Lincoln said that her grandmother fed her six weeks old granddaughter on this prescription. She asserted that it cured her after doctors had said she could not live.

92. Apply kerosene to the head to kill vermin, such as lice.
93. A dead hand touched to a cancer will cure it.
94. To purify muddy drinking water, peel off the skin and suckers of the cactus plant. Slice them and scatter the pieces over the top of the water. They will soon sink to the bottom carrying all sediment with them.
95. To keep the feet from getting cold, put pepper in the bottom of the shoes. Red pepper is hotter than black.
96. For cracks between the toes, tie a string through the middle of the cracks and leave it there until the crack heals.
97. For appendicitis, apply hot pans over the region of the appendix.
98. For enlarged joints, wrist bones, or knuckles, go to the prairie or pasture. Then seek a well-bleached animal carcass. Take one of the bones from the carcass and rub it against the affected parts. Walk slowly away, throwing the bone over the left shoulder. Do not look back at the bone ever.¹⁰
99. For neuritis, empty whole mustard seeds into sweet cider and drink a lot of the solution.
100. For night sweats, put a pan of water under the bed before you go to bed and you will not be troubled with the ailment.
101. For summer complaint, string allspice around your neck.
102. Put salt on the tongue of a person who is dying of apoplexy and he will get well.
103. If a person is in bed with a fever, burn black feathers in a pan under the bed to cure him.
104. To avoid giving a child a hairlip, a pregnant woman should not see an axe in a chopping block. If she does see this, her child will be born with a hairlip.
105. To cure seven-year itch, mix gunpowder and lard and rub it on at bedtime.
106. If a person is insane, stick his head in a furnace and he will be normal.
107. To cure mumps, take the tonsils from a squirrel and bind one tonsil under each jaw where the mumps are.¹¹
108. To cure hay fever, smoke coffee grounds in a pipe.
109. For dandruff, rub kerosene on your head.
110. For perspiring feet, put powdered alum in the shoes two or three times a week.
111. Apply fish oil to cure stiff joints.

¹⁰ Reported to be of German origin.

¹¹ This cure was used by a citizen of Nebraska City, Nebraska.

XII

DUNG AND RELATED CURES

Many folk cures involve the use of dung. In fact traditional cures of this sort are so numerous that they need a special section, although the groupings of other sections are based on the types of diseases rather than on methods of curing them. The testimony of residents of long standing from different counties in the state seems to indicate that dung was probably the most widely used cure in the earliest days of the settlement of Nebraska. That it is still used in some localities is certain.

There is no better way to illustrate the acceptance of dung as a cure than by citing instances in which it was used. The following incidents were told to the present writer's father by Dick Rutledge, a pioneer who fought Indians on the Platte with Buffalo Bill. He was also with Kit Carson two years.

When he was a boy, Rutledge was hitching a horse to a post when suddenly he caught his finger between the rope and the post with the result that his finger was severed completely from his hand. His sister immediately picked up the severed member, applied fresh, warm cow dung to it, and bound it back on the hand. The pieces grew together again, although the finger remained a little crooked.

At another time Rutledge was a sheriff. He and his posse were chasing train robbers with whom they had a fight. A deputy's leg was shot off just above the foot, leaving only a little skin on it. The nearest doctor was three days distant by horseback, a fact which necessitated instant treatment with materials at hand. Rutledge picked up a blanket, took a man with him, and walked until he found some sleeping cattle. Gathering up their fresh dung in the blanket, the men took it back to the wounded man and bound up the stump of his leg with it. Then after putting him on a horse, they rode three days to a doctor, who marvelled at the perfect condition of the wound. Six months later the man was well and able to go out with the next posse. There are any number of similar stories which old settlers can tell.

No attempt has been made to classify the cures of this group since the diseases for which dung is used are too heterogeneous.

1. For inflammation, pack fresh, warm cow dung on the inflamed surface.
2. To cure wounds, apply a mixture of lime and pulverized cow chips.
3. For snake bite, apply fresh, warm cow manure.
4. To cure milk leg, apply cow dung over the inflamed part.
5. For inflammation of the breast in nursing mothers, called "caked breast", put on warm cow dung. Change the applications frequently enough to keep warm dung on.¹

¹ Used by a woman in Omaha.

6. Pack fresh cow dung on sunburn to cure it
7. Children who run barefooted and stub their toes, tearing the skin, immediately put their feet in warm cow dung to cure the sore.
8. Pulverize dry cow chips and apply to a bleeding wound to stop the bleeding.
9. Spit under a cow chip and walk around it three times to cure hiccoughs.
10. For ant bites, apply mud or fresh cow dung
11. To cure measles, make a tea from sheep dung. This is called "nanny tea".
12. To cure earache, make a tea from sheep pellets and pour while warm into the ear.
13. To cure hives, make a tea of sheep manure and drink a lot of it while it is warm.
14. To cure chilblains, cook chicken manure and pour off the liquid. Make a poultice of the residue and apply.
15. For rattlesnake bite, apply buffalo manure to the wound.
16. To cure earache, pour warm urine into the ear.
17. To cure bladder trouble, follow a coyote or a badger until you see him urinate on the brush or the grass on a prairie. Gather only the wet brush. Boil it and drink the tea. The cure is almost instantaneous.
18. Application of human excrement as a poultice on a felon is a never-failing cure.
19. To cure freckles and tan, wash your face in human urine every night.²
20. Wash rope-burned hands with cowboy urine to heal them.
21. To cure saddle-sores on horses, wash them with cowboy urine.
22. Wash the sore eyes of animals with human or animal urine to heal them.

² Practiced in Thomas county.

XIII

PREVENTIVES AND CURE-ALLS

Somewhat different in nature from the cures for specific diseases is the collection in this section which comprises means of preventing disease. In most cases the preventive is very inclusive, and is for any and all disease. In some instances it is supposed to ward off some special trouble, such as smallpox, rheumatism, or keeping a child from growing a dog's tooth. In most cases, however, it is for general contagious diseases.

It was the belief of many families until a few years ago that every spring the blood becomes sluggish and unclean, thereby making a person highly susceptible to disease. Such families, therefore, had their own spring tonics which were taken regularly by each member to insure his resistance to disease. In most cases these remedies were a concoction of herbs and weeds, mixed according to the prescription handed down in a particular family.

Two cure-alls guaranteed by their advocates to cure anything, are mentioned at the beginning of the list.

CURE-ALLS

1. One or two medicine peddlers appear in Omaha every year selling snake oil supposedly from Indian formulas. This Indian snake oil cures everything, but is especially good for rheumatism and rejuvenation.
2. As a general cure-all, many people used to "let the blood", which meant cutting the patient's skin to let the blood run freely.

PREVENTIVES

3. Carry a rabbit's foot around the neck to prevent contagion.
4. Until a baby is six months old his clothes must be put on over his feet rather than over his head to prevent stunting his growth. His nails, until he is a year old, must be bitten off instead of cut or he will steal when he is grown.
5. Wear a bag of garlic around your neck on a string and it will keep away all infectious diseases.
6. Wear a bag of asafetida around the neck to ward off infectious diseases.¹
7. Nebraska people used to keep a billy goat in the yard always as a preventive or cure-all.
8. Sleep with the windows tightly closed at night to prevent the bad night air from bringing in illness.
9. Do not eat fruit at night or it may make you ill. "Fruit is gold in the morning, silver at noon, but lead at night."
10. Put a few drops of camphor on a handkerchief when you are going to a public gathering to keep contagious diseases away.
11. To prevent still-birth, get all children in the neighborhood to beat tin pans in the sick room to drive the devil away.²

¹ Some persons say the asafetida must be on a blue yarn string; others that it must be on a red string; and others that the bag must be of red flannel.

² Used in Kearney, Nebraska.

12. Plant sunflowers around the house as a preventive for all disease.
13. For a general antiseptic to prevent disease, use very strong soap suds of yellow or home-made soft soap.³
14. Do not eat chokecherries and then drink milk within three hours. It will cause horrible swellings and probably death.
15. Punch a hole in a dime and run a string through it. Wear the dime around your ankle always to prevent all sickness.
16. Wear a bag of camphor around your neck to protect you against all ills.
17. Wrap a spider in silk and seal it in a nutshell. Then suspend it around the neck on a string. This will prevent or cure disease.
18. Burn orange peelings on the stove to cure or to prevent influenza.
19. Hang a bag of sulphur around your neck as a general cure-all and preventive. This is especially good to prevent a cold.
20. If there is contagion or influenza in the neighborhood, slice onions in a dish and place them in some part of the room. The onions will absorb any germs there may be in the room.
21. Burn sulphur right on top of the cook stove to ward off influenza.⁴
22. A string of greased yarn worn around the neck will prevent colds, croup, and other infectious diseases.
23. Wear a string with three knots tied in it around the neck to prevent croup.
24. To prevent influenza or colds, put a few drops of eucalyptus oil on the handkerchief.⁵
25. Drink sassafras tea to prevent spring fever.
26. To prevent summer complaint, drink tea made from horsetail leaves.⁶
27. To prevent spring fever, drink red clover tea.
28. To prevent spring fever and to purify the blood, drink tea made from dock roots.
29. Drink molasses and sulphur to purify the blood and prevent spring fever. Take it three evenings in succession, then skip three evenings.
30. To prevent crooked teeth, put a tooth in a crack as soon as it is pulled.
31. When a child's tooth was pulled, the tooth was kept so that a dog or cat wouldn't get hold of it until another tooth came in. If a dog or a cat did get the tooth then the child would grow a dog or a cat tooth in place of his own, depending upon which animal found the tooth.
32. Do not throw a tooth away after it is pulled, for if you do and a dog should step on it, a dog's tooth will come in where that one has been pulled.
33. Wear a lump of asafetida around the neck to ward off smallpox.
34. Wear a string of rattlesnake rattlers around your neck to prevent smallpox.
35. Carry a buckeye in your pocket and you will never have rheumatism.
36. To prevent insanity caused by a bite from a mad dog, kill the dog immediately.
37. To prevent sneezing, look at the sun when you feel inclined to sneeze.
38. Put asafetida in a sock around one's neck to ward off disease.

³ The informant gave the following testimony with regard to preparing this soap: "Everyone had an ash hopper built in the back yard. Wood ashes from a stove were poured in. Then water on this until the ashes were saturated and began to leak out the bottom into a pail placed there to receive it. Then all old grease scraps or cracklings were put in and boiled together until a smooth soft soap was formed."

⁴ This cure was used by the grandmother of Mrs. H. O. Skiles of Lincoln, in 1918.

⁵ Reported to have been used during the World War when the influenza epidemic was severe.

⁶ Horsetail weed is found in the Sand Hills.

XIV

CURES FOR ANIMAL DISEASES

No collection of Nebraska folk cures could be complete without a section dealing with the diseases of animals. Nebraska is an agricultural state given over, since the beginning of its settlement, to farming and to stock raising. Farmers and ranchmen representing many nationalities and many states in the Union have drifted into Nebraska, bringing with them their diverse methods of taking care of their livestock. With a few exceptions the following list of animal cures was contributed by the writer's father, F. J. Black. He has ranched in Nebraska most of his life, and many of the cures were used by men working on his ranch on the Dismal River in Thomas county, or suggested to him by other ranchmen. The Mexican cures cited were brought to Nebraska by three Mexicans who worked on the Black ranch from 1878 to 1900. Many of the cures are originally from Texas, and were recommended to Mr. Black by Colonel Charles Goodnight of that state. Later some of his cures were published by the Texas Folk Lore Society in its collection of "Ranch Remedies."¹

Although many of these cures are distinctly superstitious, the greatest number of them are applications of simple home remedies which may or may not actually help an animal. Originally they were used when there were no trained veterinaries, and now they are well established on most farms and ranches.

For convenience these cures are grouped under the following headings: bellyache, blackleg, bladder trouble, bloat, botts, choke, colic, distemper, eye trouble, fistula, founder, lampers, lump jaw, saddle sores, snake bite, splint, sprain, stifle joint, sweeny, miscellaneous.

BELLYACHE

1. For bellyache in a horse, rub turpentine in the small of his back and then grease it with bear's grease.
2. Bathe a horse's belly with strong red pepper tea, and then make him drunk half a pint of it. He will probably stampede, but it will cure his ache.
3. To cure bellyache in a horse, set fire to a gunnysack. Place the sack in a bucket and hold it under the horse's nose so that he breathes the smoke.

BLACK LEG

4. Run the animal around until he gets very warm to cure black leg.
5. For black leg in cattle, lift up the tail and on the under side cut the loose skin which makes a little pocket. Into this pocket put a small section of garlic.²
6. Cut a hole in the brisket and tie a piece of rope or cord through the hole.

¹ Frost Woodhull, "Ranch Remedies," *Publications of the Texas Folk-Lore Society*, Vol. VIII, Austin, Texas, 1930.

² Before vaccination was known, one of the first state veterinaries told this cure to Mr. F. J. Black and showed him an animal which was still stiff, but cured after he had nearly died from the deadly disease.

BLADDER TROUBLE

7. Saturate cloths with turpentine and hold them across the animal's loins to cure bladder trouble.
8. Break off a match head and insert it into the horse's penis. Relief will be sudden.

BLOAT

9. For bloat in cattle, stick the animal with a pocket-knife between the second and the third rib and insert a quill to let the gas escape.
10. Drench the animal with a pint of raw linseed oil. If relief does not come in half an hour, repeat.

BOTTS

11. Drench the horse with tea made from tobacco.
12. If a horse has botts, bleed him under his right eye at the cord of the eye.
13. Drench the horse with a cup of strong coffee.
14. Jab a pocket-knife into the third bar of the roof of the horse's mouth.
15. Make a strong tea out of tobacco and mix it with sorghum molasses. Drench the horse with about a pint. The tobacco makes the botts sick.
16. To cure an animal of botts, cut off part of his tail.
17. For botts, put a rider on the horse and run him around the corral or pasture.
18. If a horse has botts, drench him with one-half an ounce of chloroform and one-half an ounce of spirits of niter.
19. Drench the horse with a pint of kerosene.
20. Dip a corn cob in turpentine and roll up the animal's upper lip. Rub the cob vigorously on the lip and relief will come soon.

CHOKE

21. Hold the flat part of an axe against the lump in the animal's throat. Hit the axe with a hammer and break the lump.
22. When the choke is caused by eating dry oats, tie the horse's head up in a tree, pour six raw eggs down his throat, then close his mouth.
23. Pour water into a horse's ear so he will shake his head and stop choking.
24. Jump the horse off a high place to make him stop choking.
25. Make the horse jump over the wagon tongue to cure choking.
26. Drench the animal's nose with a quart of linseed oil to stop his choking.

COLIC

27. Mix a pint of vinegar and a package of soda. Bridle the horse and pull his head over a limb of a tree, and pour the mixture into his nose. If there is no relief, repeat, and in ten minutes do the same thing with a pint of linseed oil and a quart of molasses.
28. To cure a horse of colic, put one or two tablespoons full of turpentine in a shallow saucer and hold the dish to the horse's navel. The turpentine disappears instantly and cures the colic.
29. Keep the animal moving continually.
30. Drench with soda water and half a pint of kerosene oil.
31. Tie the horse down and whip his belly with a wet rope.

DISTEMPER

32. Make a good smoke, preferably of pine tar and feathers, and let the horse inhale it.
33. Burn feathers and tar in a tin can and hold it under the horse's nose. This is also used to cure distemper in cattle.

34. Cut the end off a large cow horn to make a funnel of it. Make a smoke of rags and chip off horn and let it go through the funnel into the horse's nostrils.
35. For distemper in dogs, mix gunpowder and corn bread and feed the dog as much as he will eat.
36. Put a teaspoonful of coal oil in each ear and then ride or drive the animal.

EYE TROUBLE

37. For pink eye, wash the eyes of the animal with salt or sugar solution.
38. For film over the eye, pulverize dry salt or sugar and blow it into the animal's eye with a paper quill.
39. For film over the eye, put salt in the eye, and lard on the outside in the hole above the animal's eye.
40. For cancer-eye, when it first starts cut off the upper or the lower eyelid, whichever is affected, and burn the eye well with a hot iron.
41. Blow powdered calomel in the animal's eye to cure film over the eye.

FISTULA

42. Heat a sharp, pointed iron red hot, and run it through the infected or swollen part. Begin low down and burn clear through to the mane.
43. Rub turpentine on the affected parts. Cover with a thick wool rag or blanket and iron it with a hot iron.
44. Run a circle around the spot with a hot iron.
45. Cut the fistula out and let the horse run in the pasture for a year.
46. When the fistula has come to a head, tie the horse down. Then take a small lump of concentrated lye and push it into the wound. Leave it until fresh blood starts to run. Then pour melted lard into the wound to stop the lye from eating any more.

FOUNDER

47. To cure a horse of founder, cut his hoofs down short in front and file them until they bleed. Then soak each foot well in hot tallow heated to about 110 degrees. Do not give him any grain.
48. Clean the foot out thoroughly and fill it full of turpentine. Light a match to the turpentine until the turpentine burns out.
49. Cord the horse's leg until the vein puffs out, then cut the vein. Use hair from the horse's tail to cut off the flow of blood.
50. Stand the horse in water two or three feet deep for several hours a day for a few days.

LAMPERS

51. Cut the lampers in three places.
52. Cut them out and sear with a hot iron.
53. Grease the horse's tail and croup with old bacon rind and grease.

LUMP JAW

54. Tie the animal down and burn a cross on the lump with a red hot iron.
55. Pull the teeth of cattle to cure lump jaw.
56. Cut the lump open, insert salt and lime. Next allow screw worms to eat awhile. Don't let them eat too much for worms can kill an animal.

SADDLE SORES

57. Apply axle grease to a saddle sore to cure it.
58. Spread strong bacon grease over the sore.
59. Wash saddle sores with strong salt water at body temperature.

SNAKE BITE

60. Drench the animal with warm lard out of a bottle to cure snake bite.
61. Make a fire right away and hold a chunk of it up close to the wound, not touching it. The heat will draw out the poison.
62. When a horse is bitten by a rattler, take a sharp knife and scarify the wound until it bleeds freely. Cut the tips from five or six blades of soapweed, stick them all around the wound under the skin, and leave them for twenty-four hours.³

SPLINT

63. Rub the splint with tallow and a hot mutton or calf bone.
64. Rub the splint with a hard twisted rope every two or three days for thirty days.
65. Split the skin and remove the splint with a chisel.

SPRAIN

66. Sprain or bruise on a horse may be healed by applications of bacon.
67. For bad sprained ankles that cannot be cured in other ways, bathe with turpentine, then light with a match and fan the flame out with your hat after a little while.
68. Make a pouch out of cloth. Fill with salt and tie it up. Then wet the salt and tie the pouch around the horse's ankle. This will cure a sprain.
69. Apply tallow and rub with a hot mutton bone.

STIFLE JOINT

70. Burn a circle around the stifle joint about four or five inches in diameter and burn a dot in the middle. Apply kerosene to the wound afterward.
71. Bleed the horse all around the top of his hoofs.
72. When all other methods fail, try this one: Tie one end of a rope sixty feet long to the sore leg and the other end to a gate post. Open the gate and let the horse run out as fast as he can. It will snap the stifle back into place.
73. Let the horse stand in a creek for twenty-four hours.
74. Tie a strong, buckskin string between the ankle and the knee of the leg that is not affected. In a while this will make the horse throw his weight on the other leg and slip the stifle back into place.
75. Swum the animal in the river or lake.

SWEENY

76. Fill a shingle full of rather long tacks. Spank the affected shoulder with this sharp surface. Then apply liniment made by beating eggs in vinegar.
77. Slit a place on the shoulder and insert a piece of leather.
78. Puncture two holes through the hide on the shoulder. Pass string through the holes and leave long ends so that you can pull the string back and forth every day.
79. Mix a dozen raw eggs with coarse salt until very thick. Then add bacon grease and rub the mixture over the shoulders. Leave for twelve hours.
80. Pull the horse's hide loose from the shoulder and knead the shoulder each day.

³ Used by Escapula Gyagus, a Mexican, on the Black Ranch.

81. Bathe the affected parts with caustic balsam every other day for three days. Don't use the animal for at least a month.
82. Slit the horse's skin and tie mane or tail hair through the slits.
83. Split a small hole at the top of the shoulder and put a dume in it. Take a quill and blow the hole full of hair. Then sew it up with thread to hold the air in.
84. Rub the shoulder regularly with a corncob.
85. Rub with a hot iron after rubbing the animal with a solution of five parts of castor oil to one part of croton oil.

MISCELLANEOUS

86. To cure any illness in cattle, hang bittersweet around the animal's neck.⁴
87. As a cure-all for the flu epidemic, hang a bag of asafetida around the cow's neck.
88. After a horse has been castrated, pull the horse's tail three times and the horse will never die.
89. For wire cuts on stock, throw lime or puff balls in the cut.
90. If a dog gets poisoned, feed him washing soap suds diluted with water by forcing it into his throat through a bottle or powder horn. Vomiting occurs.
91. When poll-evil first starts, rub a solution of one part of castor oil to one part of croton oil on the wound. If the wound has broken, insert bulk lime into it.
92. For scours, bind the horse's tail about six inches from the root. Use a stout cord or hair from the horse's tail and let it stay bound not longer than four hours.
93. For hoof-splits, bore a little hole in the hoof at the upper end of the split with a knife. This keeps the split from running on up.
94. For horse blemish, apply tallow with a hot bone.
95. Bacon applied to a horse will make hair grow where it has quit growing.
96. If a dog is sick, even though you do not know just what has made him sick, feed him a tablespoonful of gunpowder, charcoal, sulphur, and salt petre.
97. For chicken cholera, feed the chickens dry clabber and soda, half and half, to cure it.
98. If an animal is bleeding to death, apply mashed mushrooms, puff balls, snuff, cobwebs, or soot.
99. If a dog has running fits, feed him four doses of gunpowder.
100. Feed a dog four doses of chewing tobacco to cure its fits.

⁴Reported to have come to Nebraska from England. Now used in Lancaster county.

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Walt Whitman as a Critic of Literature

By MAURICE O. JOHNSON



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PREFACE

For this study I have made use of the libraries of the University of Nebraska, the University of Chicago, and the private library of Dr. Louise Pound. It was Dr. Pound who suggested that I might enjoy working with Walt Whitman's criticism of literature; who read the manuscript; and who accepted the finished essay as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's degree.

There has been no full-length portrait of Whitman as a literary critic. The nearest approach is Norman Foerster's chapter on Whitman in his *American Criticism*, an argument for humanistic philosophy in literature. But Professor Foerster has made no attempt at exhausting the material, and he provides little documentation. The present study, tentative and incomplete as it is, at least makes accessible Whitman's most meaningful judgments on literature. My task has been one of organization, chiefly. In the main, Whitman has been allowed to speak for himself; and he does so in interesting and characteristic fashion.

M. O. J.

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I hate literature. I am not a literary West Pointer: I do not love a literary man as a literary man, as a minister of a pulpit loves other ministers because they are ministers: it is a means to an end, that is all there is to it: I never attribute any other significance to it.

—*Walt Whitman to Horace Traubel*

I am a hell of a critic.

—*Walt Whitman to Horace Traubel*

WALT WHITMAN AS A CRITIC OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

In these pages the emphasis will be placed not upon Walt Whitman's literary theory, but upon the theory which underlay his criticism of other writers, both ancient and modern. Whitman made ample statement of his literary theory, and it has been expounded by almost everyone who has had anything to say of the poet himself, of his *Leaves of Grass*, or of his prose writings. To ascertain a theory upon which Whitman based his literary criticism one must examine his chaotic prose and scrappily recorded talk with an eye to selection and organization. One must with purpose arrange the materials at hand. In such an attempt it is necessary to venture into strange territories: to examine judgments originally written upon scraps of wallpaper or in the pages of books and magazines; to appraise almost illiterate, garbled passages; to come with delight upon bright and flashing phrases; to wander bewildered between sharp contradictions; to encounter wonderfully shrewd observations by the side of naïve speculations.

When the difficulties of organizing it have been overcome, Whitman's literary criticism stands as a body of work peculiarly revealing. It indicates much which is important for understanding Whitman and his *Leaves of Grass*; and it is in itself thoroughly interesting; sometimes amusing; sometimes profound. Whitman says that Agnes Repplier "tries for smartness at all hazards," that Henry James "is feathers to me," that Matthew Arnold "is porcelain, chinaware, hangings," that John Keats "is sweet—oh! very sweet—all sweetness," that John Milton soars "with an unwieldy motion," that Shakespeare "often falls down in his own wreckage." Whether accurate or not, Whitman's opinions on literature are seldom dull. And they are usually worth listening to. Whitman was a careful critic, in that he sought certain literary qualities in all he read, never hesitating to be stern in his disapproval if those qualities were found lacking. Moreover he sought democratic ideas in all he read, just as he sought to instill them into all he wrote. Thus, Whitman's criticism of literature was based upon a double standard: the search for artistic excellence and the search for democratic thought.

Walt Whitman's prose has evoked almost as much argument as did his poetry: it has been both enthusiastically praised and uncompromisingly disparaged. In 1884 Walker Kennedy wrote that "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" was vague, elusive, and incoherent. Whitman's plea for an original American literature was a praiseworthy one, he admitted,

but he denied that such a literature could ever come from the undisciplined pen of Walt Whitman.¹ On the other hand, John Macy has spoken superlatively of "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" as being of as great moment as "The Arte of English Poesie" or Wordsworth's prefaces.² Macy tells us of Whitman: "No reader can neglect his prose, for like all great poets he writes excellent prose." And yet again, Ernest Boyd insists that Walt Whitman's prose is in "graceless, banal English. . . , dog-eared from constant use."³ Boyd speaks harshly of the pedestrian quality of the prose, which in his estimation is mere "competent journalesque" at its best, but which usually falls even below that level. In Whitman's own time, however, in 1887, the *Critic* magazine quoted from the *St. James Gazette* the opinion that Whitman's prose has none of the peculiarities of his poetry, and that the prose is in "vigorous, unaffected, picturesque English."⁴ Whitman does not belong among the masters of American prose, Louise Pound writes; and she continues: "His prose does not range widely enough, is not finished enough, and it has been overshadowed by his poetry. But it is characteristic, illuminating, and original, and, as time passes, it receives more, not less attention."⁵

Statements concerning Whitman's literary criticism are of course less frequent but no less diverse than those concerning his prose as a whole. Whitman is recorded as having referred to himself as "a hell of a critic."⁶ Other expressions of opinion have been kinder. Norman Foerster speaks of Whitman as one of the most important critics America has produced, "by virtue of a few pages of speculation on the nature of poetry."⁷ In their foreword to *Rivulets of Prose*, a volume of Whitman's critical pieces, Carolyn Wells and Alfred F. Goldsmith offer numerous apologies and deny that they are presenting the selections as prose masterpieces or with any emphasis on their literary value.⁸ Paul Elmer More has emphasized the predominance of bookish talk in Whitman's recorded conversations. This talk, says More, reveals Whitman as "a trenchant and just critic—as might be inferred from his essays on Carlyle and Burns."⁹ Edgar Lee

¹ "Walt Whitman," in the *North American Review*, CXXXVIII (June, 1884), pp. 591 ff.

² *The Spirit of American Literature*, New York, 1913, p. 218.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴ "Walt Whitman," in *Literary Blasphemies*, New York and London, 1927, p. 190.

⁵ "Caviare to the General," in the *Critic*, VIII (Sept. 17, 1887), p. 144.

⁶ Introduction to Walt Whitman's *Specimen Days, Democratic Vistas, and Other Prose*, Garden City, 1935, p. xxix.

⁷ Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 3 vols., New York, 1906-1914, Vol. I, p. 56. Hereafter, this work will be indicated by the name "Traubel."

⁸ "Walt Whitman," in *American Criticism*, Boston and New York, 1928, p. 157.

⁹ New York, 1928, p. xv.

¹⁰ "Walt Whitman," in *Shelburne Essays*, Fourth Series, Boston, 1906, p. 181.

Masters surely exaggerates when he says that as a critic of literature Whitman is not surpassed by any other American,¹¹ and his thirty pages of uninterrupted quotation from Whitman's criticism are perhaps out of proportion to the rest of his study; but the enthusiasm of Masters testifies to a growing modern interest in what Whitman said about books and authors. More stable, Emory Holloway finds that, although his early journalistic book reviews are too often hastily written or incomplete, Whitman's later literary judgments are "pleasantly stimulating."¹²

An examination of the more or less unconscious theory upon which Whitman built his literary criticism should also prove "pleasantly stimulating." It is with that theory, and its consistently employed double standard, that this paper is concerned.

¹¹ *Walt Whitman*, New York, 1937, p. 237.

¹² Introduction to *The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 2 vols., New York, 1921, I, p. lxxx.

I

BACKGROUND OF READING

Rhymes and rhymers pass away, poems distill'd from poems pass away,
The swarms of reflectors and the polite pass, and leave ashes,
Admirers, importers, obedient persons, make but the soil of literature,
America justifies itself, give it time, no disguise can deceive it or conceal from
it, it is impassive enough.

Only toward the likes of itself will it advance to meet them,
If its poets appear it will in due time advance to meet them, there is no fear
of mistake,

(The proof of a poet shall be sternly deferr'd till his country absorbs him as
affectionately as he has absorbed it.)

—From "By Blue Ontario's Shore"

Almost all his critics and biographers express surprise that Walt Whitman's reading should have been so extensive and that his choice of books should have been so discerning. Perhaps the reason for this surprise is that Whitman, a man of little formal schooling, suggested many times that he would rather listen to the roar of the sea than listen to the most powerful epic; and he often spoke with scorn of writing which was not original, as he interpreted the word. It is a fallacy to conclude that Whitman was ignorant of the classics because he forbade any great American poet's making models of those works of literature. He wanted "no illustrations whatever from the ancients or classics, nor from the mythology, nor Egypt, Greece or Rome—nor from the royal and aristocratic institutions and forms of Europe."¹ And yet he was well acquainted with literature of many nations and many ages; and most of his reading was of a thoughtful sort.

Whitman's letters have been published; many of his notebook entries and pasted-in clippings have been preserved; we have many of his early journalistic book reviews and reports on plays; a considerable amount of his conversational comment on books and authors has been recorded; and in several autobiographical passages Whitman mentions books which pleased or offended him.

Of these various materials for study, the letters are least revealing. Whitman had correspondence with such personages as Lord Tennyson and Edward Dowden, but in his letters he remained non-committal for the most part concerning any other author than himself and any other book than his own. The bulk of his letters, written to his mother and to Peter Doyle, the horsecar conductor, are almost devoid of literary references:

¹ "Notes and Fragments," in *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*. Camden Edition (ed. Richard M. Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace L. Traubel), 10 vols., New York and London, 1902, Vol. IX, p. 35. Hereafter, all references to Whitman's prose and poems, unless otherwise stated, are made to the *Complete Writings*.

doubtless this is because the mother and the horsecar conductor would not have been much interested in Whitman's opinions on Æschylus or Shakespeare. The letters appear to have been hastily written, with conciseness their chief object. Ernest Boyd has pointed with scorn at the choppy inconsecutive style, the ugly, unnecessary abbreviations, and the obscure syntax of the letters;² and these matters are indeed more memorable than the letters' substance.

Typical of Whitman's letters to his mother is this excerpt: "It is beautiful weather here to-day—I have got my new trousers—\$20!! only think of that!—it is lucky I wear my clothes a long time—WALT."³ When he did make mention of books, it was usually of this sort: "I sent Han a book *Lady Audley's Secret*—shall send her a letter to-day."⁴ Whitman went even so far as to profess little interest in bookish things when writing to his mother: "Heyde has just sent me a letter,—he seems to be in a very good humor—writes a lot of stuff—but *not* about domestic affairs this time—on 'poetry' & 'Criticism' &c. &c.—of no interest at all to me. . . ."⁵ This attitude is all the more surprising when one knows that the letter from which this excerpt was taken was written more than ten years after the first appearance of *Leaves of Grass*, and at a time when the notebooks showed deep concern with both "poetry" and "Criticism."

The notebooks give the lie to any affectation of disinterestedness which might please a mother who would not wish to think of her son as putting on airs. The whole concern in the preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* had been with the nature of poetry, and this concern is to be found abundantly in the notes. There are entries such as: "The work of the poet is as deep as the astronomer's or engineer's, and his art is also as far-fetched."⁶ Others are more personal: "No, I do not choose to write a poem on a lady's sorrow, like Catullus—or on a parrot, like Ovid—nor love-songs like Anacreon. . . ."⁷ Then there are entries which speak for Whitman's interest in verse-forms. Such an entry is this: "Trochee —(from a Greek word signifying to run). A poetic foot consisting of two syllables, the first long, the second short (I suppose such as this): 'Would you/ gaze up/ on the/ waters/ of the/ lordly/ Missis/ sippi.'"⁸

GREEK AND ROMAN LITERATURE

It is just as invalid to assume that Whitman knew nothing of the classic forms of poetry as it is to assume that he knew nothing of metrics. Perhaps

² *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

³ "Letters Written by Walt Whitman to His Mother," VIII, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 10-11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁸ *Ibid.*, X, p. 6.

he never fully mastered either, but he knew more than a little about metrics, and he knew more than a little about classical literature. As a youth Whitman read much of the literature of ancient Greece. In "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" he tells of reading translations of Homer, Æschylus, and Sophocles while on jaunts into the country.⁹ But Whitman did not exhaust his interest in these authors in his youthful days. Horace Traubel, who painstakingly recorded all that Whitman said in the last years of his life, wrote that the poet was "very familiar with the formal classics in a general way."¹⁰ In one day's conversation Whitman mentioned Aristophanes, Plato, Socrates, Marcus Aurelius, Euripides, Seneca, and the *Bhagavadgita*; he advised Traubel to read "in Buddhist and Confucian books," saying: "Tackle them anyhow, anyhow: they will reward you."¹¹

Homer was Whitman's favorite among the Greeks. "I envy Homer," Whitman rather naïvely told an interviewer. "I envy him that first strong impression of things. To him it was a new heaven and a new earth. Every poet since Homer has been at a disadvantage, has had to see and feel and describe what has all been seen and described before."¹² Whitman thought that the *Iliad* and its author were unmistakably of Asiatic genesis;¹³ and he thought that, no matter what its genesis might be, Homer's work embodied the ruthless military prowess and consecrated, "god-descended" dynastic houses of Greece.¹⁴ Homer, like Shakespeare, did his work "divinely" in Whitman's estimation. He sang of great men and their wars, "throwing together in perfect proportion a perfect poem, noisy, muscular, manly amative, an amusement and excitement, a sustenance and health."¹⁵ The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* seemed excellent to Whitman, in that they eulogized courage and dependence upon self; but they did not fit into his Utopian picture of an ideal democracy.¹⁶ After all, Homer had written of god-like kings in his epic poetry; and grand as the poetry might be, god-like kings were not acceptable in democratic America. This was the fault Whitman had to find with almost all works of literature and their authors. He found it necessary to praise them on the one hand and to decry them on the other.

⁹ III, p. 55.

¹⁰ Traubel, II, p. 332.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Anonymous, "An Impression of Walt Whitman," in the Contributors' Club, *Atlantic Monthly*, LXIX (June, 1892), p. 852.

¹³ "The Bible as Poetry," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 104.

¹⁴ "A Thought on Shakspeare," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 124.

¹⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 123.

¹⁶ "Robert Burns as Poet and Person," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 136.

Of all the dramas of the world, Whitman considered those of Æschylus the most moving; and he gave preference to Æschylus over Shakespeare on this score. He was exaggerating for the occasion when he said that such tragedies as the death of Lincoln in America seemed more fateful and heroic to him than the Trojan wars. He was being patriotic when he said that America afforded men "prouder than Agamemnon," as "hardy as Ulysses," who might expire with "deaths more pitiful than Priam's."¹⁷ At least he did feel that it was upon such "grand deaths" as Lincoln's that great tragedies were based. Among Whitman's notes there are certain paragraphs which differentiate Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. From his reading of their works, or from the suggestions of commentators, Whitman came to speak of Æschylus's characters as "shadowy, vast, majestic, dreamy—moving with haughty grandeur, strength and will," of Sophocles's "great poetic beauty," and of the "love and compassion" and "scientific refinement" of Euripides.¹⁸ The notes concerning Aristophanes are more succinct. Whitman mentions that a small proportion of the Greek comedian's plays remain, and that he lampooned his contemporary, Socrates, in *The Clouds*.¹⁹ And in the notes one reads of other Greeks: "Plato treated philosophy as an art—Aristotle as a science."²⁰

Whitman exhibits less enthusiasm for Roman writers than for Greek. In 1859 he commented on the Riley translation of Terence's comedies in the Brooklyn *Daily Times*.²¹ The volume is recommended to the public, but there is no mention of the reviewer's opinion of the quality of the plays. Virgil was of some interest to Whitman, and during October and November of 1857 he read the *Bucolics*, *Eclogues*, and the *Æneid*.²² He found great merit in the lesser poems, but he had a rather valid criticism to make of Virgil's longer work:

Of the *Æneid*, it seems to me well enough except for the fatal defect of being an imitation, a second-hand article—Homer's *Iliad* being the model. It is too plain an attempt to get up a case, by an expert hand, for Roman origin and for the divine participation in old Italian affairs just as much as in those of besieged Troy and mythical Greece. The death of Turnus, at the conclusion, seems to me a total failure as a piece of invention, description, etc.²³

"A very choice little Epictetus" was among the books, twine, jars of Cologne water, and yellow chrysanthemums Whitman late in life describes

¹⁷ "Death of Abraham Lincoln," in *Collect*, V. p. 255.

¹⁸ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 99.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, X, p. 16.

²¹ *I Sit and Look Out* (ed. Emory Holloway and Vernolian Schwarz), New York, 1932, pp. 68-69.

²² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 100.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

as being in his study.²⁴ Whitman found the reading of Epictetus as pleasurable at seventy as he had at sixteen: "He belongs with the best—the best of great teachers—is a universe in himself. He sets me free in a flood of light—of life, of vista."²⁵ In addition to his comments on Terence, Virgil, and Epictetus, Whitman made several incidental mentions of Juvenal and Lucretius: all in his notes. But he found no Homer or Æschylus among the Romans.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE

An entire essay was devoted by Whitman to the subject of the Bible as poetry in *November Boughs*. In comparison with the great epics of the world, he finds the "spinal supports" of the Bible simple and meagre.²⁶ Yet he concludes that no poet will ever eclipse the power of the Bible: he feels certain that even in a time when the book will have no religious significance, it will still be just as much read for its beautiful poetry.²⁷ Whitman's attention was not limited by any means to the Christian or Hebrew religions, although there are about 160 Biblical references in his works.²⁸ A long entry in the notes is concerned with such various names as Zoroaster, Apollo, Confucius, Kneph, Zeus, Rhadamanthus, and Buddha. The entry begins: Religions—Gods. Supposed to be about one thousand religions. Names of Gods, sects and prophets: Phtah, Isis, Osiris, Kneph, Chiven (god of desolation and destruction), Mahomet with a green banner, a sabre, a bandage and a crescent, priests: imauims, mollahs, muftis, dervish, santan with dishevelled hair."²⁹ The effect, at length, is that of *Rogers's Thesaurus*.

Anyone who has read in *Leaves of Grass* or *Democratic Vistas* of Whitman's demand for an American literature to supersede all literatures of the past is surprised to discover so much attention given to ancient works. It is surprising, too, to find pleas, in Whitman's writings, for the appreciation of "the tiny ships we call Old and New Testament, Homer, Æschylus, Plato, Juvenal, &c. Precious minims!"³⁰ Whitman was able to approve on one basis and condemn on another, when treating of a single work or of many.

ARABIAN NIGHTS

For a time during his early adolescence Whitman worked in a lawyer's office, and one of his employers gave him a subscription to a circulating

²⁴ *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VII, p. 61.

²⁵ Traubel, II, p. 71.

²⁶ "The Bible as Poetry," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 105.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

²⁸ Gay W. Allen, "Biblical Echoes in Whitman's Work," in *American Literature*, VI (May, 1934), pp. 302-315.

²⁹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 211-214.

³⁰ "Democratic Vistas," in *Collect*, V, p. 117.

library. He calls this one of the signal events of his life up to that time; and the first book he chose to read was the *Arabian Nights*—"an amazing treat."³¹ Years later he wrote of those romantic tales in his newspaper book-column. The pages of a new edition of the *Arabian Nights*, he says,

bring up the loving and greedy eagerness with which boyhood read these tales—a love surpassing the love for puddings and confectionery!—"What a gorgeous world to revel in withal!"—the turbans and mirrors, the gemmed garments, the beautiful women, the slaves, the cutting off of heads, the magic changes, the dwarfs, the spiteful old sorcerers, the disguises, the dark caves, the cobblers transformed into princess—O, it was indeed gorgeous! Then that caliph, always a-going through the by streets of the city at night—what on earth could be more novel and interesting? . . . Certain moralists there are, of the vinegar complexion, who would forbid all works of fiction to the young. Yet such is always a foolish interdiction. The minds of boys and girls warm and expand—become rich and generous—under the aspect of such florid pages as those of "Robinson Crusoe," "The Arabian Nights," "Marco Polo," and the like.³²

Here Whitman's enthusiasm is so wholly charming as to be infectious: his pleasure in the tales is of such intensity that he forgets to remind us that American literature must eclipse even the most glittering fables of the ancient world.

DANTE AND CERVANTES

In *Democratic Vistas* Whitman speaks of Dante, "stalking with lion form, nothing but fibre, not a grain of superfluous flesh."³³ This striking description of Dante's style speaks for Whitman's admiration for the Italian poet and his work. Although Whitman's poetry is frequently tangled and florid, he sought after simplicity, and he respected that quality in the writing of others. He read Dante's *Inferno* in the spring of 1859, and his first impression was that the work was wonderfully free from unnecessary elaboration.³⁴ Dante, Whitman wrote in his notes, presents his narrative in the manner of a New England "blue light" minister, bent upon telling a story as pointedly and as convincingly as possible. It seemed no wonder to Whitman that the people of the Middle Ages thought Dante might actually have descended into the depths of Hell to see what he so vividly described.³⁵ In the virtue of economy of words Whitman thought it possible that Dante might never be equaled.³⁶ Of an Italian poet three centuries later than Dante, Whitman made voluminous notes concerning his career and peculiar appearance; but there is no evidence of Whitman's personal

³¹ *Specimen Days*, IV, pp. 17-18.

³² *The Gathering of the Forces* (ed. Cleveland Rodgers and John Black), 2 vols., New York and London, 1920, Vol. II, pp. 306-307.

³³ V, p. 118.

³⁴ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 91-92.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

acquaintance with any of the works of Tasso which he enumerates.³⁷ By the time Whitman wrote "British Literature" he was willing to accept for America certain ancient works which he thought adjusted themselves to the New World through their compliance with some of the democratic requirements. Almost no British work was in this category. Whitman mentioned the Bible, Homer's works, the *Cid*, and Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, as being among the acceptable relics.³⁸ Like the notes on Tasso, however, the numerous paragraphs concerning the Spanish Cervantes are almost entirely biographical. Some of the notes on Cervantes are quoted by Whitman from commentators' books, but perhaps he was expressing his own opinion when he described the Don as a "crazed, gaunt, dignified knight" and Sancho Panza as a "round, selfish, amusing squire."³⁹

GERMAN LITERATURE

Whitman's interest in the literature of Germany was possibly influenced by Carlyle; and Norman Foerster has suggested that it might have been influenced also by the attraction New Englanders, like Emerson, felt for German philosophy and *belles-lettres*.⁴⁰ Among Whitman's notes, and among his articles meant for publication, there are comments on the ancient German myths, the *Nibelungenlied*, Goethe, Hegel, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Lessing, Schlegel, Richter, Schiller, Niebuhr, and Heine. He calls the *Nibelungenlied* objective, like the *Iliad*; and he characterizes Siegfried as heroic, Chriemhild as beautiful, Brunhilde as relentless, Hagen as brave.⁴¹ In the notes he cites and seems to accept the opinions of critics who hold that the *Nibelungenlied* was the work of numerous persons, being a collection, merely, of ballads belonging to several ages.⁴²

One of the most mature of Whitman's journalistic book reviews is that concerning the translation of Goethe's autobiography. He quotes four long extracts from the book and comments on it at length, saying: "This Life of Goethe—this famous *Wahrheit und Dichtung*—seems shaped with the intention of rendering a history of soul and body's growth. . . . It goes right on, stating what it has to say, exuberant in its seeds of reflection and inference—though it doesn't reflect or draw the inference."⁴³ Whitman wanted to find, in a prose autobiography, the same qualities he was seeking to put into his own poetical autobiography; and Goethe's book pleased him as far as it went. Ten years after his review appeared in the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 163-166.

³⁸ "British Literature," in *Collect*, V, p. 276.

³⁹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 64-69.

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

⁴¹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 83.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴³ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 140.

Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, Whitman wrote down some of his reflections on Goethe in his notebook. There he gives Carlyle credit for most of his critical impressions of the German poet, and when he begins to express his personal views he inserts a parenthetical "Had I not better read more of Goethe before giving an opinion?"⁴⁴ He told Horace Traubel some decades later that Goethe's purpose in writing seemed to him to be that of centering all life in himself, of making the universal personified in a single life. "I have read *Faust*," he told Traubel; "looked into it—not with care, not studiously, yet intelligently, in my own way. . . . Goethe was for beauty, erudition, knowledge—first of all for culture."⁴⁵ Goethe seemed to him a profound reviewer of all experience, the first great critic who stood aside from all men to judge them. But is Goethe entirely suited to American needs? No, Whitman says; he is not: and he points to the undemocratic Goethean philosophy which places the artist or poet in a world removed from that of common life. Goethe has deserved the acclaim which followed him to the petty, beribboned court of Weimer; but America glances upon him and his kind with indifference, for "our road is our own."⁴⁶

Whitman made page after page of notes on the German metaphysicians, in preparation for speeches he never gave. He had obviously weighed the German philosophy carefully in his mind. To Whitman, Kant's writings seemed in their final analysis to be an attempt to state the philosophy of the understanding—an attempt of undecidable value, "but which after all is said, paradoxically 'decides little or nothing.'"⁴⁷ Fichte's philosophy, growing from Kant's, took subjectiveness as its all-explaining principle, Whitman wrote; and Schelling's philosophy differed from Fichte's in that it was more emphatically objective; Leibnitz's favorite themes were natural theology and the moral government of the world.⁴⁸ Only Hegel proved "fit for America," however; he alone was sufficiently all-embracing. Whitman exalted Hegel to the place of "Humanity's chief teacher and the chiefest teacher of my mind and soul."⁴⁹ This is extravagant indeed. And the two-line poem "Roaming in Thought" is subtitled "After reading HEGEL":

Roaming in thought over the Universe, I saw the little that is Good steadily
hastening toward immortality,
And the vast all that is call'd Evil I saw hastening to merge itself and become
lost and dead.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 110-111.

⁴⁵ Traubel, III, p. 159.

⁴⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 114.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-184.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-172.

⁵⁰ In *Leaves of Grass*, II, p. 35.

Of the Jewish Lessing, Whitman wrote in his notes that he was the Emerson of Voltaire's time, and that he had prepared the way for Goethe and Schiller.⁵¹ Concerning Schiller, Whitman seems to have been most impressed by the fact that his last years were spent in pain.⁵² Schlegel was a man of prejudices in Whitman's opinion: he undemocratically set off the great masters from the crowds of common persons. But Schlegel's prejudices were those of "a zealous, newly converted Roman Catholic."⁵³ Richter is characterized by Whitman as "a thoroughly irregular genius," a man whose work seems "unnatural and lurid, judged by the calm and wholesome models." Whitman made Richter responsible for introducing the soft and sentimental tales which were popular in England and America in the period that the virile *Leaves of Grass* was shouting to be heard. Niebuhr is mentioned in the notes with merely biographical information. Shortly after Heine's death, in 1856, Whitman wrote of his poems, attributing to them a strange assortment of qualities: they were "fanciful and vivacious, rather ironical and melancholy with a dash of poetical craziness."⁵⁴ An then, more than three decades later, Whitman cried out to his friend Traubel: "Heine! Oh, how great! The more you stop to look, to examine, the deeper seem the roots, the broader and higher the umbrage."⁵⁵

Whitman's interest in German literature was surely not a superficial one. He wanted to get at the essential meaning of each of the German writers' thought and to accept or reject what he found there as being suitable or unsuitable for America. Whitman read and talked about the Continental writers of his day; in his notes is this entry which illustrates his curiosity about the Germans: "Conversation with Mr. Held about German poets—his talk—as follows—: Freiligrath a democrat—impulsive when he meets any one, or as he walks the road, or at a meal etc. etc. he composes—he improvises easily. Ruckert, Uhland, Kinkel, Hoffman, Heine, Xavier."⁵⁶

RUSSIAN LITERATURE

There is only incidental reference to Russian writers in Whitman's criticism which has been preserved. He knew of Ivan Turgenev and Leo Tolstoy. "O that the United States, especially the West," he wrote, "could have had a good long visit and explorative jaunt, from the noble

⁵¹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 155.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵⁵ Traubel, I, p. 461.

⁵⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 117.

and melancholy Tourguéneff, before he died. . . ." ⁵⁷ When he had attempted to read books by Tolstoy, Whitman said in conversation that he was offended by the asceticism, the introspection, in the works.⁵⁸ "Tolstoy's questionings: how shall we save men? sin, worry, self-examination—all that: I have never had them. . . ." ⁵⁹

FRENCH LITERATURE

Norman Foerster states that Whitman's knowledge of French literature was mostly derived from hearsay, and that he had no more profound judgment to pronounce on modern French literature than that it had the virtue of not being Puritanical.⁶⁰ Whitman was, it is true, concerned with defending the subject matter of Émile Zola's books rather than with commenting on their literary worth. But there is evidence that Whitman had read with care the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau, George Sand, and Victor Hugo, at least. If Whitman knew of French writing only by hearsay he could hardly have ranted on in so convincing a fashion for the pleasure of friends in his sick-room:

The French have a wonderful knack in certain directions—for extreme finesse, often—why, it is so good sometimes it seems almost natural. Here is a thing from Joubert: "Where there is no delicacy there is no literature." How much there is in that! Don't you think so? Oh! how subtle! You feel it—it gets into you and spreads about. . . . The French writer [Joubert] contradicts himself on several points. Here is another of his magnificent phrases: "Virility is a fine thing, but the ideal is finer." I have long thought of literature by just such light as this man throws on it. The easy touch of French writers does not necessarily come from frivolity, insincerity: Arnold was wrong if he ever thought that. There are incomparable things in Hugo—in some others of the French literature: immense, immortal things: things that belong to every day of all time.⁶¹

And in the notes there is even mention of the old troubadours, "fit for lords and ladies in saloons [sic]," and there is mention of the more democratic trouvères;⁶² but Whitman had probably never read any of the French poetry of the Middle Ages. His opinion of the plays of Racine and Corneille was that they moved on stilts, so faithfully did they follow the old Greek models. All the talk in these plays, he pointed out, was in heroics. The French classical works were to be differentiated from the Greek in that one was a native and normal growth, while the other was mere emulation of spontaneous art. In November of 1855, the year *Leaves*

⁵⁷ "Our Eminent Visitors," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 103.

⁵⁸ Traubel, I, p. 58.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, III, p. 494.

⁶⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

⁶¹ Traubel, I, p. 465.

⁶² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 90.

of *Grass* was first published, Whitman saw Racine's Biblical *Athalie* at the Academy of Music.⁶³

The note on La Fontaine speaks of the Frenchman's good family, of the property he inherited, and of his Aesop-like fables in verse; but the note does not testify to Whitman's even having seen the fables.⁶⁴ Although Whitman quotes from Voltaire's criticism of Shakespeare, and although he mentions the *Philosophical Dictionary*,⁶⁵ the evidence of acquaintance with the works of the author of *Candide* is scant. "Now, there was a great man, too," Whitman said of Voltaire; "an emancipator—a shining spiritual light: a miraculous man whose ridicule did more for justice than the battles of armies."⁶⁶ Much more complete is the treatment of Rousseau. Bliss Perry places great stress upon the theory that Rousseau's shadow is to be seen in all Whitman's work. Indeed, Whitman's lecture to the Brooklyn Art Union in 1851 dwelt upon Rousseau as one of the most genuine of artists, and as one who made the mistake of subordinating art to Nature.⁶⁷ "Whitman read Rousseau early," Perry says, "and planned a poem about him, although he never wrote it."⁶⁸ And Perry proceeds to draw several interesting parallels: both Whitman and Rousseau were sentimentalists, both were rhapsodists, each had a mystic's mind which could on occasion arrive at vital truths, both were earnest, both were self-conscious and suspicious of the civilized world. These may be honest parallels, and Whitman obviously did resemble Rousseau in many ways; but Whitman wrote in his notes that an American poet may read Rousseau but never imitate him.⁶⁹ Rousseau did not pass the test of the double standard in Whitman's estimation. Admiration of Rousseau is evident; but, surprisingly enough, Whitman found the *Confessions* distasteful. He called it "this frivolous, chattering, repulsive book," admitting, however, that there is a "great lesson in its pages."⁷⁰ Whitman reviewed the poet Lamartine's *History of the Girondists* as being so excessively dramatic that it defeated the purposes of history.⁷¹ The criticism of Michelet's *History of France* accords the author with credit for taking pains to make his the most complete and understandable history of France.⁷²

A number of the book reviews Whitman wrote for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* were based upon the works of Dumas. In 1846 he wrote concerning

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁶⁶ Traubel, II, p. 16.

⁶⁷ *Walt Whitman: His Life and Work*, Boston, 1906, American Men of Letters Series, p. 52.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁶⁹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 80.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

⁷¹ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 133.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

the *Count of Monte Cristo*, which he admitted not having read, although he spoke of "a pleasant gracefulness and vivacity" in the earlier works of Dumas with which he was more familiar.⁷³ The next year he reviewed at least three novels by Dumas: *Diana of Meridor*, *Sylvandire*, and *Memoirs of a Physician*. He speaks of each as being of great interest. *Memoirs of a Physician* is called "a wild, hurrying, exciting affair."⁷⁴ Whitman was not carried away by Dumas' swashbuckling cloak-and-sword romances; more to his liking were the novels of George Sand. In "Good-bye, My Fancy," Whitman speaks of having George Sand's *Consuelo* near him in his study;⁷⁵ and in his notes there is a quotation from that work which evidently pleased him. The quotation ends with the sentence: "It was the soul of the whole humanity that spoke to you through mine";⁷⁶ this is of course the sentiment which is omnipresent in *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman reviewed George Sand's *The Journeyman* for his newspaper when he was still in his twenties. He spoke of her talent with praise, and he nominated her as "one of a class much needed in the world—needed lest the world stagnate in wrongs merely from precedent."⁷⁷ Whitman felt that Victor Hugo, despite his democratic humanitarianism, was not friendly toward America;⁷⁸ and he also felt that Hugo lacked certain qualities necessary in a good artist. In an interview, Whitman said of Hugo that it was a pity he was "not truer and less bombastic."⁷⁹ The author of *Leaves of Grass* took Hugo again to task for his lack of restraint when he wrote that Hugo "runs off into the craziest, and sometimes (in his novels) most ridiculous and flatulent, literary botches and excesses, and by almost entire want to prudence allows them to stand."⁸⁰ Even against such faults, Whitman felt that the fine passion of Hugo's poetry saved it from the plight of the novels.⁸¹ George Sand's works, again, were much more to Whitman's liking. Her simple, yet profound, stories were refreshing to him, and were a healthy stimulus: she did not seek after Hugo's excesses.

SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

Whitman seems to have been much impressed by the work of Frederika Bremer, a Swedish novelist called by John Macy "as honest as George Sand but much less interesting." Her novels were composed of tempered senti-

⁷³ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, pp. 299-300.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 300, and *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 132.

⁷⁵ "Good-Bye, My Fancy," VII, p. 61.

⁷⁶ Quoted in "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 19.

⁷⁷ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 135.

⁷⁸ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 211.

⁷⁹ Anonymous, "An Impression of Walt Whitman," in the Contributors' Club, *Atlantic Monthly*, LXIX (June, 1892), p. 853.

⁸⁰ "A Christmas Garland," in *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, p. 53.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

mentality, and Whitman speaks of them as both profitable and charming—especially when contrasted with the “affected sentimentality of Bulwer and the verbose weakness of [G. P. R.] James.”⁸² Whitman excused Miss Bremer’s tendency toward transcendentalism, for indeed that tendency was his own as well. The first book to place in children’s hands, after the New Testament, Whitman wrote in a lamentable moment, should be Frederika Bremer’s collected novels: they would be sure to “melt and refine the human character.”⁸³ Of another Scandinavian woman novelist, Emelie Flygare-Carlen, Whitman wrote that her work was much like that of Miss Bremer, wholly suited to reading aloud to one’s mother; and her *Temptation of Wealth* and *The Rose of the Island*, now long forgotten, impressed him satisfactorily as being of the charming class of novels which diffuse sweetness and render no taste morbid.⁸⁴ In commenting on Whitman’s interest in Swedish writers, Adolph B. Benson has pointed out that Miss Flygare-Carlen’s style and technique are by no means like Miss Bremer’s, and that her work is far from free from the sensationalism which Whitman could not, or did not wish to, see there.⁸⁵ Whitman wrote that Swedenborg, the Scandinavian philosopher and theologian of the eighteenth century, was an innovator who escaped the usual fate of innovators.⁸⁶ Consistently and almost pitifully stumbling in his judgments on Scandinavian writers, praising that which was mediocre, Whitman went on to deny praise to that which was excellent. He had little good to say of Ibsen. After reading *Pillars of Society*, Whitman remarked that it seemed to be “too prettily done”;⁸⁷ and he offered the book to Traubel:

“Take it—take it for a long while, take it for a long while. . . . Take it for good if you can make good out of it.”

“You don’t seem to take any great shine to Ibsen,” Traubel said.

“No—it seems that way; and yet I realize him to be an immense power: he is dynamic, vital: I do not seem to find the exact place for him.”

“But you think he has a place?” Traubel asked.

“Do you?”

“Sure—don’t you?”

“Sure—sure—but where is it?”⁸⁸

⁸² *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 268.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁸⁴ “Whitman’s Interest in Swedish Writers,” in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XXXI (July, 1932), p. 334.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ “Notes and Fragments,” IX, p. 80.

⁸⁷ Traubel, II, p. 371.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 483.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

Twenty-two pages of Whitman's "Notes and Fragments," in the Camden Edition of his works, are given over to his series of notes on English history up to 647 A.D.⁸⁹ These notes were written shortly after *Leaves of Grass* was first published, and cover the unused fly-title pages of the book. Among these notes is mention of Ossian,⁹⁰ whom Whitman seems to regard as an authentic ancient third-century poet, son of Fingal. Whitman had declaimed Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* by the seashore as a youth, and he read the poems throughout his life.⁹¹ Among Whitman's notes concerning the Ossianic poetry are these sentences: "Ossian must not be despised. . . . How misty, how windy, how full of diffused, only half-meaning words! How curious a study! (Don't fall into the Ossianic, *by any chance*)." ⁹² It is difficult not to apply Whitman's description to his own poetry, for it was often Ossianic. But he told Traubel: "I don't think Ossian would satisfy the modern young man—the radical—the new man with the new spirit." ⁹³ And it was precisely this new young man to whom Whitman himself did appeal.

In "A Thought on Shakspeare," Whitman speaks of the poems of Chaucer as being among the most distinctive ever written, as being among those poems "most permanently rooted and with heartiest reason for being." ⁹⁴ On the page-margins of a magazine article on Chaucer, Whitman wrote biographical notes which seem to have been meant for lecture use.⁹⁵ Chaucer was to Whitman "a strong wholesome man with large perceptive organs," and with almost as much humor as Shakespeare. But Whitman denies that Chaucer might be as great a poet as Shakespeare: he was easily as great as Spenser and Milton in Whitman's estimation, and he was on a plane with Dante—"but wait awhile before putting him with Homer or Shakespeare." ⁹⁶ Gower is mentioned simply as Chaucer's friend.⁹⁷ Whitman does not display much evidence of offense at Spenser's adulation of a Queen, in all the un-democratic stanzas of a flattering poem; throughout the length of the *Faerie Queene* the single object of the author, in Whitman's opinion, was to present a gentleman "of noble person in virtuous, brave and gentle discipline." ⁹⁸ Whitman speaks of Spenser as a highly

⁸⁹ "Notes and Fragments," X, pp. 39-60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁹¹ Bliss Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁹² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 95.

⁹³ Traubel, II, p. 18.

⁹⁴ In *November Boughs*, VI, p. 124.

⁹⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 227 (note).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, X, p. 15.

not make this bold statement without glossing it: the harsh judgment was based upon the fact that *Paradise Lost* "takes themes entirely out of human cognizance and treats them as Homer treats his siege and opposing armies and their disputes. The Iliad stands perfectly well and very beautiful for what it is, an appropriate blooming of the poet and what he had received and what he believed and what to him was so in a certain sense." The *Iliad* had purpose, Whitman thinks, in that it gathered floating myths and shaped them beautifully together; there was no such need for Milton's poem. Then, too, Whitman adds that there is too much sectarian theology in *Paradise Lost*. What, he pointedly asks, would that poem mean to Asians or Africans who did not understand Biblical traditions and their intricacies?¹⁰⁸ The truly democratic poet, the poet for America, would of course write of common experiences for all mankind. Even in 1888 Whitman said to Traubel: "[Milton] seems to me like a bird—soaring yet overweighted: dragged down, as if burdened—too greatly burdened: a lamb in its beak: its flight not graceful, powerful, beautiful, satisfying, like the gulls we see over the Delaware in mid-winter." And he said: "I could never go Milton: he is turgid, heavy, over-stately. . . . It is true, Milton soars, but with a dull unwieldy motion."¹⁰⁹

In Whitman's notes Dryden is properly mentioned as a satirist, the founder of the school of poetry which was celebrated by Pope.¹¹⁰ Whitman deplores that Dryden should have sung at such great length in the "inflated, distressingly classical style of those times."¹¹¹ The chief work of James Thomson, *The Seasons*, served as subject for one of Whitman's newspaper literary articles. He speaks of it perhaps too superlatively, as being the best descriptive poetry within his knowledge.¹¹²

Among the books reviewed by Whitman for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* was Boswell's biography of Samuel Johnson. In that work, Whitman wrote, there are the "fiery-breathed" Burke, the "poverty-pressed" Goldsmith, the "massive abstracted" Gibbon, and Sheridan with his "dazzling wild genius." But for Whitman the picture was dominated by a "sour, malicious, egotistical man"—Doctor Johnson himself.¹¹³ Above all else, Whitman disliked the anti-democratic spirit which he felt was in everything Johnson did or said. Whitman piled his defamation high, calling Johnson a sycophant, a fawner, a tyrant, a didactic, an eccentric with "vile low nature" and a bad soul.¹¹⁴ In the notes of Whitman one finds another

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁹ Traubel, III, p. 185.

¹¹⁰ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 86.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹¹² *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 301.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-282.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 282-283.

categorizing of Johnson's unpleasant qualities: there he is called "physically queer, scrofulous, purblind, crotchety, alimentive."¹¹⁵ The Doctor might be most thoroughly disposed of with the title of "burly aristocrat," indicating his enmity for all humanitarian democracy which Whitman loved.¹¹⁶ After reading of all this abuse one is not a little startled to know that on a Sunday in April, 1888, Whitman borrowed Boswell's *Johnson* from Thomas Harned, saying: "I have never so far read it."¹¹⁷ When he had read the book, however, his opinion did not waver; and he said loftily to Traubel:

Dr. Johnson, it is plain, is not our man: he belongs to a past age: comes to us with the odor, the sound, the taste, the appearance, of great libraries, musty books, old manuscripts. My chief complaint against Johnson is that he lacks veracity: lacks the veracity which we have the right to exact from any man—most of all from the writer, the recorder, the poet. Johnson never cared as much to meet men—learn from men—as to drive them down roughshod—to prod them out—to crush them against the wall. He is a type of the smart man—a ponderous type: of the man who says the first thing that comes—who does anything to score a point—who is not concerned for truth but to make an impression.¹¹⁸

Goldsmith, casually mentioned in the early review of Boswell's book, is the subject of numerous lines of informal biographical notes;¹¹⁹ and Whitman once said late in life that he had read *The Vicar of Wakefield* more times than he could count.¹²⁰ The poet Cowper's whole career was succinctly dealt with when Whitman wrote at the head of a newspaper article concerning him: "Cowper 1731-1800—an enuycyed poet."¹²¹ He was un-American to extreme in his teaching blind loyalty to the "divine right of kings."¹²² Blake was an important poet but not one to be imitated.¹²³ On a review of the *Prelude*, Whitman's marginal note reads: "So it seems Wordsworth made a 'good thing' from the start out of his poetry. Legacies! a fat office! pensions from the crown!"¹²⁴ Whitman felt that there was a most un-American aloofness in Wordsworth,¹²⁵ and it was not to his credit, certainly, that he had moved with Southey and Coleridge from youthful rebelliousness and subscription to the rights of man, to a quiet obedience and dependence upon kingcraft.

¹¹⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 124.

¹¹⁶ "Home Literature," in *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 243.

¹¹⁷ Traubel, I, p. 38.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

¹¹⁹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 118-119.

¹²⁰ Traubel, I, p. 64.

¹²¹ "Notes and Fragments," X, p. 64.

¹²² "Home Literature," in *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 241.

¹²³ Traubel, II, p. 99.

¹²⁴ "Notes and Fragments," X, p. 66.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, IX, p. 98.

Coleridge was by no means to be so greatly frowned upon as Wordsworth, however. In *Specimen Days* Whitman quotes admiringly from Coleridge's "Work Without Hope,"¹²⁶ and Whitman was pleased that Coleridge had been among the several English writers, including Arnold, Dickens, Thackeray, Froude, and Wilde, who had come to visit the United States.¹²⁷ In his newspaper book-column he praised Coleridge as "that legitimate child of imagery, and true poet."¹²⁸ Later in the same year, when he was near the end of his twenties, Whitman reviewed the two-volume edition of *Biographia Literaria*, that rich book which sums up a whole movement of poetry and philosophy. "*Biographia Literaria*," Whitman wrote, "will reach the deepest thoughts of the 'choice few' among readers who can appreciate the fascinating subtleties of Coleridge. . . . In some respects we think this man stands above all poets: he was passionate without being morbid—he was like Adam in Paradise, and almost as free from artificiality."¹²⁹ Coleridge's painstaking versification is so far removed from the freedom of expression in Whitman's poetry that it is difficult to think that the two might have been compatible; and yet Whitman's criticism of Coleridge's chief prose work is appreciative beyond expectation.

Charles Lamb is mentioned by Whitman as merely pleasant and delicate-humored.¹³⁰ Among the book reviews is an over-long paragraph dealing enthusiastically with the *Napoleon* of Lamb's contemporary, William Hazlitt. In calling the adjectives which might describe the work, Whitman includes "noble," "grand," "democratic," and "wholesome."¹³¹ In Hazlitt, Whitman found a soul sympathetic with the democratic idea and hostile to "the fangs of kingcraft." The first American edition of Ruskin's *Modern Painters* was reviewed by Whitman as a book scorning the "flip-pant tricks and petty arts of small writers"—a book distinguished by its "intellectual chivalry, enthusiasm, and a hightoned sincerity."¹³²

Bliss Perry writes that Whitman knew Matthew Arnold as a critic only, and despised him as such.¹³³ Traubel records Whitman's saying that he had tried to give Arnold a chance to make an impression, and had attempted to read his books again and again, but that he found he was not interested: Arnold simply made him weary.¹³⁴ When Arnold

¹²⁶ In *Collect*, V, p. 4.

¹²⁷ "Our Eminent Visitors," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 97.

¹²⁸ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 131.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

¹³¹ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 285.

¹³² *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 135.

¹³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

¹³⁴ Quoted by John Howard Birss, "Whitman on Arnold," in *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII (May, 1932), p. 317.

died, in 1888, Whitman was asked to write some comment for the New York *Herald*. He allowed, in the article he wrote, for the possible significance and influence Arnold might have had in literature; but he found that Arnold had failed in that he had nothing new to say. He had been a gentleman and a scholar; but gentlemen and scholars, especially when they were purists like Arnold, did not seem much needed in Whitman's world. "I doubt," Whitman wrote, "whether America will miss Arnold at all."¹³⁵ In the years near Whitman's own death he spoke to Horace Traubel at least eight or nine times concerning Arnold. Once he commented: "Arnold always gives you the notion that he hates to touch the dirt—the dirt is so dirty! But everything comes out of the people, the everyday people, the people as you find them and leave them. . . ."¹³⁶ Later he said: "I can never realize Arnold—like him: we are constitutionally antipathetic: Arnold is porcelain, chinaware, hangings."¹³⁷ Still later, in the same vein, Whitman said that Arnold "brings into the world what the world already has a surfeit of: is rich hefted, lousy, reeking, with delicacy, refinement, elegance, prettiness, propriety, criticism, analysis: all of them things which threaten to overwhelm us."¹³⁸ Whitman's final and kindest criticism was that Arnold was "weak on the democratic side."¹³⁹

Reverting from comment on nineteenth-century essayists to comment on poets of the same century, Whitman spoke of Byron, Shelley, and Keats. He once said in conversation that Byron had fire enough to burn forever;¹⁴⁰ and he admired Byron's "vehement dash"; he admired, too, the suggestion of democratic thought in his works. But on the whole, Byron's was a poetry much too lurid for the "free, sunny race" of Americans.¹⁴¹ Shelley is mentioned in Whitman's notes as a delicate young poet who liked bread and raisins and was expelled from college.¹⁴² Concern with Keats, however, is much more searching; and Whitman's inconsistent judgment of Keats is one of the most interesting of all his criticisms. As a note on the idealistic description in "Hyperion," Whitman wrote: "See how these fellows always take a *handsome* man for their God!"¹⁴³ Again, he made a note to the effect that Keats wrote Grecian poems, even though their words were English.¹⁴⁴ Whitman said that Keats's richly orna-

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Traubel, I, p. 232.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 391.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 400.

¹³⁹ "Whitman on His Contemporaries (From the Camden Diary of Horace Traubel)," in the *American Mercury*, II (July, 1924), p. 330.

¹⁴⁰ Traubel, I, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 216.

¹⁴² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 84.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

mented poetry expressed, at second hand, the sentiment of ancient gods and goddesses; and in a passage more felicitously phrased than truthful, he said that the feeling in Keats's poetry "is the feeling of a gentlemanly person lately at college, accepting what was commanded him there, who moves and would only move in elegant society, reading classical books in libraries."¹⁴⁵ Keats wrote lines too classically disciplined to please Whitman; and he felt that Keats did not interpret the life of his century.¹⁴⁶ This criticism is not unexpected from the Whitman who demanded spokesmen for the people; and not unexpected also is his cruel description of Keats's works as "sweet—oh! very sweet—all sweetness: almost lush: lush, polish, ornateness, elegancy."¹⁴⁷ Strangely enough, however, when he reviewed Keats's *Poetical Works* for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, twenty-five years after the English poet's death, Whitman wrote a wise judgment which must satisfy any disciple of Keats, no matter how exacting: "Keats—peace to his ashes—was one of the pleasantest of modern poets, and had not the grim monster of Death so early claimed him, would doubtless have become one of the most distinguished."¹⁴⁸ Obviously, Keats was acceptable to Whitman as a poet; but he was unacceptable in that he was no strong-lunged chanter of democracy.

Almost at the end of his years, Whitman wrote that he knew too little about Browning to speak with authority of him: he knew only that Browning required deep study, and he complained that he was too old and indolent to give the labor Browning required.¹⁴⁹ Swinburne was one of the technical versifiers criticized by Whitman; and after Swinburne had made counter-criticism in the *Fortnightly*, the American poet asked: "Ain't he the damned simulacrum?"¹⁵⁰ And in reference to Swinburne he said: "I know of nothing I think of so little account as pretty words, pretty thoughts, pretty china, pretty arrangements."¹⁵¹

AMERICAN LITERATURE

The heart of Whitman's essay called "British Literature" is the expression that, while England is among the greatest of lands, "the spirit of English literature is not great, at least is not greatest—and its products are no models for us."¹⁵² In an early editorial Whitman exclaimed: "And what perfect cataracts of trash come to us at the present day from

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ Traubel, III, p. 83.

¹⁴⁸ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, pp. 303-304.

¹⁴⁹ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 295.

¹⁵⁰ Emory Holloway, *Whitman: An Interpretation in Narrative*, New York and London, 1926, p. 256.

¹⁵¹ Traubel, II, p. 188.

¹⁵² "British Literature," in *Collect*, V, p. 276.

abroad!" His plea for an independent American literature is present in *Democratic Vistas*, in "Poetry To-Day in America," in "British Literature," in "Old Poets," and almost everywhere in his formal and informal criticism. One of the things Whitman most deplored in the reception of native literature, beyond the stubborn obsession that good things must come from abroad, was the ridiculously small compensation paid by American publishers. He asks: "Shall Hawthorne get a paltry seventy-five dollars for a two volume work?"¹⁵³ And, again, he writes bitterly that he knows of a capable American writer who received a mere five dollars a month for his services to a magazine—and this "while a mademoiselle who can kick her nose with her heels goes home with two or three 20000s."¹⁵⁴ But, most important of all, American literature would have to be indigenous, with its roots in the soil of Long Island, or Kentucky, or California, and not in Athens or along the Thames.

When Whitman reviewed the American Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, he waived any personal commendation as being too insignificant for a man with such a reputation as Irving's.¹⁵⁵ But it was a matter of reputations which interested him when he talked of Charles Brockden Brown and James Fenimore Cooper. He was pleased to contrast the merits of the two novelists. Brown he found unnecessarily rank and crude, calling the novel *Wieland* "a sort of Udolpho business watered—twice watered—thinned out. A ghost story," he went on, ". . . must be interesting: it is a bad sign when it is not. . . ."¹⁵⁶ Brown, in Whitman's estimation, was no more a James Fenimore Cooper than a "molehill is a mountain, than disease is health!"¹⁵⁷ Whitman regarded Cooper as an important writer to be recommended with enthusiasm, and he isolated *The Prairie*, *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish*, and *The Pilot* as his finest novels.¹⁵⁸ On one occasion, at least, Whitman talked at length of Cooper with Horace Traubel:

W. questioned me closely. How was I impressed with Cooper's "outdoor-ness"—and so forth? Then: "I do not wonder that he lasts—that you still find yourself drawn to him. He is justified by what you say: Cooper was a masterman in many very significant ways. Cooper had a growl—the cynicism of Carlyle, without the toplofticalness with which Carlyle carried it off: and there was a healthy vigor in everything Cooper did—even to the libel suits he had so many of. . . . Have you got the Cooper stories: the Leatherstocking tales? The Last of the Mohicans, chiefly?—and The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish? Can you bring me that? It is beautiful indeed: and The Bravo, too—I remember that:

¹⁵³ "Home Literature," in *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 245.

¹⁵⁴ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 276.

¹⁵⁵ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 133.

¹⁵⁶ Traubel, III, p. 183.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁵⁸ John Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *Visits to Walt Whitman in 1890-1891*, London, 1917, p. 216.

the wonderful, splendid Jacapo—who can forget him? It is years and years since I read Cooper: now the mood comes back to me, I should like to take him up again." He asked me: "Do you ever find Cooper long-winded—tiresome? I have always regarded Cooper as essentially fresh, robust, noble: one of the original characters—the tonic natures. Over in England, among the fellows, there's a word they use—'guts': if a man is a man of power they say he has 'guts'. . . . Well—Cooper has guts."¹⁵⁹

Although he did not approve of "a morbid streak" in Hawthorne, Whitman thought highly of him;¹⁶⁰ in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* he wrote of his pleasure upon learning that Hawthorne had been given a government appointment—an appointment not greatly different from the one he begrudged Wordsworth. Whitman called Hawthorne the "Elia of America";¹⁶¹ he called Bronson Alcott "one of the divine simples. . . , the wise wondering seers";¹⁶² he welcomed Margaret Fuller's *Papers on Literature and Art* "right heartily";¹⁶³ and he praised William Gilmore Simms's *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, although he objected to coarse details in that collection of stories.¹⁶⁴ "Rather too wordy, overloads his descriptions—too self-conscious," he said of Simms.¹⁶⁵

Edgar Allan Poe, whose reputation today is as secure as that of any of Whitman's literary contemporaries, was spoken of at some length in *Specimen Days*. During most of his life Whitman confessed to a distaste for the gloomy writings of Poe;¹⁶⁶ he saw, however, that "beyond their limited range of melody (like perpetual chimes of music bells, ringing from *b* flat up to *g*) they were melodious expressions, and perhaps never excell'd ones, of certain pronounc'd phases of human morbidity."¹⁶⁷ Neither Hawthorne nor Poe provided for Whitman the optimism he desired. But late in life Whitman came to appreciate what Poe was trying to do artistically, and he spoke with respect of Poe's melodious, though limited, poetry. In the section of *Specimen Days* called "Edgar Poe's Significance" he states his impressions exactly. Based upon no moral code, and containing none of the warm human affection which Whitman loved, Poe's work finally appealed to him as excellent in its technical and abstract beauty, as well as in its profound suggestiveness.¹⁶⁸ With critical acumen Whitman wrote that "Poe's verses, . . . by final judgment, probably belong among the electric lights of imaginative literature, brilliant and dazzling,

¹⁵⁹ Traubel, II, pp. 531-532.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 111.

¹⁶¹ T. A. Zunder, "Walt Whitman and Nathaniel Hawthorne," in *Modern Language Notes*, XLVII (May, 1932), pp. 314-315.

¹⁶² Traubel, III, p. 267.

¹⁶³ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 132.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹⁶⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 166.

¹⁶⁶ "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," III, p. 56.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ IV, p. 285.

but with no heat."¹⁶⁹ Poe was not a singer of American democracy, certainly; and Whitman felt that in all he wrote one might find evidence of his spurning his native land. Whitman told of a lurid dream he had had, in which he saw a small voyaging ship flying with rent sails and shattered spars through the night. On the deck of the ship was a "slender, slight, beautiful figure, a dim man," who seemed to be enjoying the chaos. This dim man Whitman thought might aptly stand for Poe and his writings—"all lurid dreams."¹⁷⁰ In reading "The Poetic Principle" Whitman felt agreement with Poe's idea that there can be no such thing as a successful long poem.¹⁷¹

Henry David Thoreau's love of Nature seemed too confined to literary boundaries to suit Whitman; but he did admire Thoreau's "going his own absolute road let hell blaze all it chooses."¹⁷² In conversation Whitman spoke of Thoreau as an American, a Transcendentalist, a protester, an "outdoor man," and a force not easily defined.¹⁷³ The popularity of Thoreau's writings in a later day adds weight to Whitman's remark that the author of *Walden* "looms up bigger and bigger: his dying does not seem to have hurt him a bit: every year has added to his fame."¹⁷⁴

In less critical fashion than that in which he spoke of the "dim man" who was Poe and the "outdoor man" who was Thoreau, Walt Whitman made mention of Herman Melville, James Russell Lowell, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Bayard Taylor. He called Melville's *Omoo* the "most readable sort of reading,"¹⁷⁵ but he seems not to have come upon *Moby Dick*. Horace Traubel records Whitman's avowal that Lowell was one of his "real enemies." "He not only objected to my book," Whitman explained; "he objected to me."¹⁷⁶ Two years after *Leaves of Grass* first appeared, however, Whitman had written of Lowell as "one of the truest of our poets."¹⁷⁷ Stedman was called "a bit overripe here and there, too much cultivated, too little able to be foolish. . . : cute, but hardly more than cute. . . ." ¹⁷⁸ Bayard Taylor's youthful *Views Afoot* was read by Whitman with "much enjoyment," and thirteen years later Whitman maintained that judgment, calling Taylor a "delightful author."¹⁷⁹

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

¹⁷¹ "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," III, p. 56.

¹⁷² Traubel, III, p. 375.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 134.

¹⁷⁶ "Whitman on His Contemporaries (From the Camden Diary of Horace Traubel)," in the *American Mercury*, II (July, 1924), p. 328.

¹⁷⁷ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 63.

¹⁷⁸ Traubel, I, p. 56.

¹⁷⁹ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 136, and *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 69.

With more penetrating phrases, and in language which exhibits his own sensitivity to music in poetry, Whitman spoke at length of Sidney Lanier:

This extreme sense of the melodic, a virtue in itself, when carried into the art of the writer becomes a fault. . . Study Lanier's choice of words—they are too often fit rather for sound than for sense. His ear was sensitive. He had genius—a delicate clairvoyant genius: but this over-tuning of the ear, this extreme deference paid to oral nicety, reduced the majesty, the solid worth of his rhythms. . . .¹⁸⁰

Both Joaquin Miller and John Burroughs were intimate with Whitman. In his letters to Peter Doyle there are such casual references to those men as: "I have been spending a couple of hours with Joaquin Miller—I like him real well";¹⁸¹ or "I hear often from John Burroughs—he has bought a spot of land."¹⁸² Whitman liked Miller's dependence upon American landscapes in his writings and thought that this alone in Miller's work might put him in advance of all his Old World-imbued contemporaries.¹⁸³ Burroughs, the Nature lover, served as a critic of Whitman, but Whitman seems to have accepted Burroughs and his work without making judgment. It has lately been discovered that Burroughs's *Notes on Walt Whitman as a Poet and Person* was not written by the naturalist, but by Whitman himself, in the main.¹⁸⁴ William Dean Howells was too conservative for Whitman. "He's fine, subtle, but not revolutionary," Whitman told Horace Traubel; he "goes a certain distance—then hauls himself in with a shock. That's enough—quite enough, he is saying to himself."¹⁸⁵

Because Walt Whitman and Henry James are sometimes singled out as dominating figures in American literature, it is interesting to read what the grandly blundering poet had to say of the subtle novelist. "Look at the younger Henry James," Whitman told his friend Traubel. "I don't see anything above common in him: he has a vogue—but surely his vogue won't last: he don't stand permanently for anything."¹⁸⁶ On another occasion and in more memorable fashion, Whitman said: "James is only feathers to me."¹⁸⁷ Writers of mere stories, he was saying, seemed to him to have doubtful significance; and he wondered whether they would have any significance at all after a few years had passed. He considered

¹⁸⁰ Traubel, I, pp. 170-171.

¹⁸¹ *Calamus*, V, p. 88.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁸³ *Specimen Days*, IV, p. 276.

¹⁸⁴ Frederick P. Hier, Jr., "The End of a Literary Mystery," in the *American Mercury*, II (April, 1924), pp. 471 ff.

¹⁸⁵ "Whitman on His Contemporaries (From the Camden Diary of Horace Traubel)," in the *American Mercury*, II (July, 1924), p. 331.

¹⁸⁶ Traubel, II, p. 233.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 78.

such writers as ephemeral and trivial, asking, "Don't they just come and go—don't they just skim about, butterfly about, daintily, in fragile literary vessels, for a while—then bow their way out?"¹⁸⁸ Generalization of this sort is amusing, is a good weapon, and perhaps is to some extent applicable in the case of Henry James. But Mark Twain, usually credited with as much literary importance as Whitman or James, could certainly never have been accused of butterflying about in fragile literary vessels. One is curious as to why Whitman seems to have said nothing of Mark Twain's work: surely he would have liked it: it would qualify as excellent whether judged as literature or judged as being meaningful to the common people of America. Whitman was not ignorant of his young contemporary. Mark Twain wrote him the famous letter which biographers have found so interesting; and Mark Twain was among those who sent the aged poet a handsome birthday gift. The most obvious gap in the literary criticism of Walt Whitman is his having said nothing now recorded of Mark Twain.

The aging Whitman seemed to become less and less able to read with any pleasure work by younger Americans. When he spoke of Agnes Repplier he called her "a woman who tries for smartness at all hazards,"¹⁸⁹ and dismissed her with the characterization. When Hamlin Garland interviewed Whitman, he was told that American literature lacked a certain distinctive tang—the tang of "a wild strawberry, a wild grape."¹⁹⁰ Upon Garland's suggestion that the work of young writers like George W. Cable, Joseph Kirkland, Joseph Harris, and Mary E. Wilkins might have just such a flavor, Whitman admitted that he had read little of their productions. But he felt that these writers, like Poe, wrote too often of abnormal "delirium tremens" characters, rather than celebrating the normal man as he himself tried to do in *Leaves of Grass*.

We have now examined Whitman's casual comments on the world's literature, from the writings of Homer to those of Agnes Repplier. Some of his judgments were wise, and some of them were too colored by his desire for a democratic literature at any price. So far as a background of acquaintance with books is of value to a literary critic, Whitman was well equipped. "He was," says Norman Foerster, "better equipped than Poe, probably in quantity of reading, quite certainly in quality."¹⁹¹

In the next three chapters of the present paper, Whitman's formal and careful criticism of ten authors is treated in detail. Whitman singled out, for his special attention: Shakespeare, Tennyson, Scott, Dickens, Carlyle, Burns, and four Americans—Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, and Whittier.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 77.

¹⁹⁰ "Walt Whitman Old and Poor," in *Roadside Meetings*, New York, 1930, p. 135

¹⁹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

II

SHAKESPEARE

Pass'd! pass'd! for us. forever pass'd, that once so mighty world, now void,
inanimate, phantom world,
Embroider'd, dazzling, foreign world, with all its gorgeous legends, myths,
Its kings and castles proud. its priests and warlike lords and courtly dames.
Pass'd to its charnel vault, coffin'd with crown and armor on,
Blazon'd with Shakspeare's purple page,
and dirged by Tennyson's sweet sad rhyme.

From "Song of the Exposition"

It seems fitting that the poet who designated himself a literary spokesman for the New World should have written at length in judgment of the poet he accepted as the most estimable spokesman for the Old. Even at the beginning of his career, Walt Whitman evinced considerable interest in the life and works of Shakespeare, and that interest never diminished. Concern with Shakespearean matters is indicated by the titles of some of Whitman's essays and sketches: "A Thought on Shakspeare," "What Lurks Behind Shakspeare's Historical Plays," "Poetry To-Day in America—Shakespeare—The Future," and "Shakspeare for America."¹ In these prose works and elsewhere Whitman displays close acquaintance with Shakespeare's writings. He reread the plays in an eight-volume edition when he was forty-six,² and in the last years of his life he conversed with friends about Shakespeare as the poet of "lordly port."³ Whitman was often a member of Shakespearean audiences; as a boy or young man he saw, always reading them carefully one or two days beforehand, "quite all Shakspeare's acting dramas."⁴ He was impressed by the excellence of the productions; and he remembered with pleasure having seen Booth as Richard III, Lear, and Iago; Tom Hamblin in *Macbeth*; Mrs. Austin as Ariel, with Peter Richings acting the part of Caliban.⁵ Whitman's essay "The Old Bowery" dwells at length upon New York plays and acting of the time of his youth.⁶ He opens the piece with a quotation from an article called "Mrs. Siddons as Lady Macbeth,"⁷ and he proceeds

¹ Throughout the bulk of Whitman's criticism the spelling *Shakspeare* is usually employed; but *Shakespeare* and *Shakespeare* are also used.

² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 189; "Reading Shakespeare, Sept., 1865, Washington. Edition in eight volumes of Wm. Veazie, Boston, 1859."

³ John Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁴ *Specimen Days*, IV, p. 26.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ In *November Boughs*, VI, pp. 184-195.

⁷ Whitman identifies the article as being by Fleeming Jenkin, in *The Nineteenth Century*.

to tell of having seen, among other plays, *Hamlet* and *Henry IV* at the Park, and *Julius Caesar*, *King John*, and *Richard III* at the Bowery. In detail Whitman pictures the famous Shakespearean actor Booth père and judges him to be an actor in many respects excelling all of his kind on record. Plays having to do with intense human passions were popular in Booth's day, and Booth as Iago, or Shylock, or Richard III, was certain to draw a crowded house, Whitman tells us. He would note such personages as Cooper, Bryant, Irving, Charles King, N. P. Willis, Halleck, and Presidents Adams and Jackson in the Bowery audiences; but more memorable to Whitman were Booth's performances—perhaps as Richard, coming quietly down the stage to the footlights, musingly kicking his sword. Whitman exhibits his appreciation of the action of Shakespearean drama when he writes:

Though fifty years have pass'd since then, I can hear the clank, and feel the perfect following hush of perhaps three thousand people waiting. . . . And so throughout the entire play, all parts, voice, atmosphere, magnetism, from

"Now is the winter of our discontent,"

to the closing death fight with Richmond, were of the finest and grandest . . . Especially was the dream scene very impressive. A shudder went through every nervous system in the audience; it certainly did through mine.⁸

Whitman's familiarity with the plays is attested to in his telling how he declaimed stormy passages from the histories and tragedies while on Broadway omnibus jaunts. And while on walks about Washington with his driver-friend Peter Doyle, Whitman would often recite poetry—especially that of Shakespeare.⁹

Among the magazines and newspaper articles studied and preserved by Whitman, and which were found in his huge and chaotic scrapbooks, those having to do with Shakespeare were several. They include newspaper pieces dealing with Shakespeare as a man, Shakespeare's stage, the text of Shakespeare's plays, and a report of an oration on Shakespeare. Numerous fragmentary references are made to Shakespeare in the notes which Whitman left to Dr. Bucke. Most of these references are either of an uncritical sort or formally quote the work of other commentators. Whitman repeatedly read Edward Dowden's Shakespearean criticism: he called Dowden "One of the best of the late commentators on Shakspeare."¹⁰ Edward Dowden was perhaps the first scholarly admirer of Whitman, and Whitman felt indebtedness to him for his faithful defense of *Leaves of Grass*. He told Horace Traubel that if he had any right to pride at all, he might be proud to have convinced the learned Dowden that he was

⁸ "The Old Bowery," in *November Boughs*, p. 193

⁹ Richard M. Bucke, "Interview with Peter Doyle," in *Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*, VIII, pp. 8-9.

¹⁰ "Abraham Lincoln," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 205.

not "entirely useless."¹¹ Whitman had read with care the critical work of his friend William O'Connor, as well, and there is heavy dependence upon O'Connor in such essays as "What Lurks Behind Shakspeare's Historical Plays." Richard C. Harrison has made the conjecture that Whitman was familiar with the criticism of Donnelly, Voltaire, Jenkin, Winter, and Elze;¹² but although Whitman on occasion cited these writers on Shakespearean subjects, one suspects that his familiarity with their writings was second-hand, or at least that he had made no special study of them.

To impose order upon Whitman's scattered criticism of Shakespeare it is suitable to make the approach a biographical one. Whitman himself gave much attention to the facts and conjectures concerning the dramatist's life; and this attention was justified in his saying that he held in high esteem Hippolyte Taine's efforts to make criticism largely a matter of biography and history.¹³ Whitman agreed with Taine that the only way to understand completely a great literary work lies in minutely studying the personality of the one who created it. An author's origin, times, surroundings, and his actual fortunes, life, and ways, supplied Whitman "not only the glass through which to look, but . . . the atmosphere, the very light itself."¹⁴ Who, he asks, can profoundly explain the works of Byron and Burns without making these significant inquiries? He would apply the rule to Shakespeare too, he says, and do so unhesitatingly; for to him the great poet's plays "are not only the concentration of all that lambently played in the best fancies of those times—not only the gathered sunset of the stirring days of feudalism," but they indicate and measure the kind of man Shakespeare was, the particular life he led, and all that was absorbed by his individual experience.¹⁵

In Whitman's notes there are informally catalogued some 235 lines of facts and observations having to do with Shakespeare's course of activity: the dates of his birth, marriage, and his children's births;¹⁶ the amount of his income in 1608;¹⁷ the facts concerning Lord Southampton, the actor Burbage, and the Elizabethan theater;¹⁸ and a conclusion that "Shakespeare, Drayton and Ben Jonson had a merrie meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted."¹⁹ Some of the observations, however, are not mere impersonal inventories, but

¹¹ Harold Blodgett, "Whitman and Dowden," in *American Literature*, I (May, 1929), p. 182.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 1208.

¹³ "How I Get Around," in the *Critic*, I (Dec. 3, 1881), p. 331.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 88.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

reflect Whitman's own nature and interests. He employs italics to emphasize the point that the plays were printed neither at Shakespeare's instigation nor with his assistance. "It is thought quite certain *he was indifferent as to their appearance in print*, and did not mind even the blunders and omissions that marred them—probably for the same reason that Forrest²⁰ would not like to have his plays printed now."²¹ Among the notes is the expression of belief that, although the florid style of praise was applied almost indiscriminately in Shakespeare's time (unlike Whitman's time, he would suggest), the Stratford poet was acknowledged as a master in his own day.²² Something of the wide, embracing sweep of Whitman's own poetry is in his generalization that Shakespeare, like all men, "Did right and wrong—was entrusted with commissions—lost by fires, thieves, cheats, committed follies, debaucheries, crimes."²³ Amusing rather than enlightening is the conclusion that "He must have been a superb man. He left children, two sons."²⁴

There is evidence in his jotted-down notes and in his recorded conversations that Whitman found a certain fascination in the Baconian theory. In giving his attention to that fruitless controversy, says Norman Foerster, he "wasted not a little time."²⁵ Only three or four substantial references are made to the subject, however, in Whitman's writings. One of these is a definite statement that at one time, at least, Whitman gave credence to the belief that Bacon, or perhaps Raleigh, had some part in the construction of Shakespeare's plays. "How much," Whitman writes, "whether as furnisher, pruner, poetical illuminator, knowledge infuser—what he was or did—if anything, it is not possible to tell with certainty."²⁶ That dubious "if anything" would lead one to believe that Whitman's interest in the Baconian conjecture was based upon its romantic aspects, rather than upon any scholarly conviction that it would bring startling truths into daylight. This impression is furthered when one examines the poem Whitman called "Shakspere-Bacon Cipher": in it one reads of a "mystic cipher" which "waits infolded" in "every object, mountain, tree, and star—in every birth and life."²⁷ Here it is quite obvious that he is primarily interested in the imaginative idea the cipher affords. Less revealing is the isolated note which is in the main a quotation from a paper²⁸ by William

²⁰ Edwin Forrest, actor prominent in the first half of the nineteenth century.

²¹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 71.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

²⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 70.

²⁷ From *Leaves of Grass*, III, p. 12.

²⁸ Identified by Whitman as being from the *Illustrated London News* (Oct. 25, 1856).

Henry Smith, the author of *Was Lord Bacon the Author of Shakespeare's Plays?* Its suggestion is that either all the plays were works of unknown authors or that they were merely revised and added to by a man named Shakespeare.²⁹ Whitman makes no comment of his own. Elsewhere he says that he can understand why scholars of his own time introduce the theory that "other brains and fingers" had to do with the Shakespearean plays: it is because of the remarkable paucity of information about the individual Shakespeare, leaving as it does, many a riddle unsolved, and preventing the "last and dearest descriptive touches and dicta of criticism."³⁰

The bulk of information concerning Whitman's interest in the Baconian theory lies in Traubel's notes on Whitman's conversations. Asked "Do you accept the whole Bacon proposition?" Whitman replied that he did not accept the whole of it. He was "anti-Shakespeare," but he could make no final conclusions. He sensibly added that he was not considered a scholar worthy "to go with the critics into any thorough examination of the evidences."³¹ In a later conversation with Traubel, Whitman summed up what he thought about the problem in a few lucid sentences:

I do not know that I really care who made the plays—who wrote them. No—I do not think it a supreme human question, though it is without doubt a great literary question. I am not as much interested in the question direct as in what it drags along with it—the great store of curious information that it turns up—information forgotten or near lost . . . But after all, Shakespeare, the author Shakespeare, whoever he was, was a great man: much was summed up in him.³²

The chapter entitled "The Camden Bard," in Bliss Perry's biography of Whitman, introduces and dismisses Whitman's Shakespearean criticism in a single sentence. "He enjoyed the simplicity of Homer," says Perry, "but Shakespeare was to him something 'feudal,' remote, 'lacking both in the democratic and the spiritual.'"³³ Taken as a generalization this statement has much truth in it; but that Shakespeare meant much more to Whitman than Perry suggests can easily be discerned from the evidence which lies in his discussions of the individual plays and the characterization, style, and form which distinguish those plays. This matter is to be found chiefly in Whitman's occasional essays on Shakespeare's art and in the allusions scattered throughout his prose and conversations.

The historical plays held special significance for Whitman. Foerster suggests that he loved their "pageantry, color, vivid action," and "splendid personalities" because they were an escape from the drab American life

²⁹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 75-76.

³⁰ "How I Get Around," in the *Critic*, I (Dec. 3, 1881), p. 331.

³¹ Traubel, I, p. 29.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

familiar to persons of his class.³⁴ Perhaps this is the explanation. At any rate, Whitman devoted to these dramas an entire essay called "What Lurks Behind Shakspeare's Historical Plays." Here he asserts that mature judgment confirms his early impression that Shakespeare's distinctiveness and glory are in the plays having to do with the French wars and contests of English dynasties, rather than in his overpraised dramas of the passions. They are, Whitman says, in some respects greater than any other works of literature: they are given blood from the fullest pulse of European feudalism, and they excellently portray the medieval aristocracy, with its arrogance and its "towering spirit of ruthlessness and gigantic caste."³⁵ Whitman is fully conscious of the bungling attempts in the worst of the historical plays, the three parts of *Henry VI*. He calls it the seed, merely, for the rest of the dynastic dramas.³⁶ It seems evident to him that after inexpertly drafting the first part of the trilogy, Shakespeare came nearer to developing and defining a plan in the second and third parts; and it seems evident to him that from that time on, Shakespeare systematically perfected and enlarged his plan to include the masterful plays like *Richard II*, *King John*, *Henry IV*, and finally such plays as *Macbeth* and *King Lear*. Before examining the remarkable plan which Whitman finds lurking in these plays, let us look at his general criticism of the plays.³⁷

Whitman's judgment on *Richard II* is that the play is in some respects one of the most characteristic of Shakespeare's works; and it was a favorite, certainly, with Whitman. When an old man, he found a "home-bound" copy of *Richard II* in the piles of miscellaneous papers and books he kept about him in his cluttered room. The sight of the familiar old pages he had long before bound in brown wrapping-paper made him become almost dithyrambic in his enthusiasm: "What a flood of memories it lets loose. It is my old play-book, used many and many times in my itinerant theatre days: Richard: Shakespeare's Richard: one of the best of the plays, I always say—one of the best—in its vehemence, power, even in its grace."³⁸ Happily leafing through the old book, Whitman told Traubel: "That is Richard—this same Richard. How often I spouted this—these first pages—on the Broadway stage-coaches, in the awful din of the street."³⁹ Knowledge that he "spouted" the play on holiday jaunts would lead one to believe that part of Whitman's pleasure in *Richard II* lay in the fancifully rhetorical speeches of the self-indulgent, though rather charming, Richard. In his criticism of the play, Coleridge notes especially

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 188.

³⁵ In *November Boughs*, VI, pp. 120-123.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

³⁷ *Vide post*, p. 49.

³⁸ Traubel, II, p. 245.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

the "constant overflow of feelings" and the "incapability of controlling them" as being characteristic of its tone. Whitman's 1855 preface to *Leaves of Grass* gives evidence of his belief in the good of restraint; but it is difficult not to think of a "constant overflow of feelings" as being inherent in Whitman's nature. He liked the ranting in *Richard II*. Furthermore, its permeating spirit is that of patriotic reminiscence, and if he was not a discerning critic, or even a profound poet, Whitman was nevertheless an ardent nationalist. Although the reference was to feudal England, Whitman could not have kept from glorying in the patriotic sentiment of such lines as Gaunt's exultant:

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise: . . .
This precious stone set in the silver sea. . . .

King John engaged Whitman's attention almost as much as did *Richard II*. In *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, published the year before his death, Whitman told with reminiscent pleasure of a production of *King John* he had seen over forty-five years before.⁴⁰ Charles Kean had played the title role, and his wife, Ellen Tree, had played the part of Constance, the personification of all the hope and despair of maternal passion. The Bastard, Philip Faulconbridge, had been played by Tom Hamblin, who impressed Whitman as surely giving the best of interpretations of that remarkable character. Philip Faulconbridge is the most memorable of the persons in the play: he is the true hero. As Edward Dowden points out, he is a patriot to England when the King is not: he is representative of English courage, manliness, tenderness and humor." Whitman remarks Faulconbridge's "gloating pleasure over the fact that he the *bastard of a King* rather than the legitimate son of a Knight."⁴¹ This pleasure came either from a sentiment since repudiated or was purposefully intended to please the titled patrons of the theater—the aristocracy. As much as he dislikes the aristocracy and all that it implies, Whitman admits that Faulconbridge's attitude is made credible and is well drawn, in that it is a true depiction of the attitude of his day. The Kean production is reported by Whitman as being "an immense show-piece," with elaborate stage settings, crowds of soldiers in fine armor, and a large brass band.⁴² Even all this did not distract Whitman's attention from the exalted scenes of the play. He says that he remembers vividly the interviews between the French and the English armies and the tense conversation between Hubert and the boy Arthur, with its

⁴⁰ VII, p. 51.

⁴¹ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 74.

⁴² *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VII, p. 51.

Will you put out mine eyes?⁴³
 These eyes that never did nor never shall
 So much as trown on you?

Especially memorable to Whitman was the scene of King John's death in the orchard of Swinstead Abbey, when, a doomed man, he cries bitterly:

Within me is a hell; and there the poison
 Is as a fiend confin'd to tyrannize
 On unreprieveable condemned blood.

With even more effective results than would be had from following the old direction of having King John carried upon the stage by attendants, "Kean rush'd in, gray-pale and yellow, and threw himself on a lounge in the open. His pangs were horribly realistic."⁴³ Kean must have taken lessons in some hospital to so faithfully portray the agonies of the dying, Whitman says. There are some tell-tale phrases in Whitman's discussion of *King John*: summing up the effect of the armored stage crowds and the brass band, he mentions with praise the "fine *blare* and court pomp" of the play.⁴⁴ Perhaps there is justification for saying that Whitman delighted in the historical plays because of the contrast their grandeur offered to his own rather commonplace existence.

References to Shakespearean tragedies in Whitman's works are fragmentary. Among his notes is a quotation pertaining to the period of Shakespeare's life which Dowden called "In the Depths"—those eight or nine years in which Shakespeare wrote the tragedies for which he is most praised. Whitman has underlined three phrases in the quotation. Thus, he emphasizes the statement that the period from 1601 to 1609 was the one in which there is the greatest evidence of "his tragic power, of *his resistless control over the emotions of terror and pity.*"⁴⁵ Again, he italicizes the phrase "*the stern censor of man,*" referring to Shakespeare in the years he wrote of Hamlet and Lear. It was also the period in which Shakespeare wrote in a new and unmistakable style by "*crowding into his words a weight of thought until the language bent under it.*" In "British Literature" Whitman writes of his distaste for Hamlet, a figure "moping, sick, uncertain, and leaving ever after a secret taste for the blues, the morbid fascination, the luxury of wo. . . ." ⁴⁶ This impression of Hamlet was doubtless fostered by the actors of Whitman's time who pictured a tragic Dane tortured by indecision. One of the strongest scenes in *Hamlet* is introduced by Whitman as a measurement for the impassioned pleading and "human-harassing" approach which probes to the deepest recesses of

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 89.

⁴⁶ "British Literature," in *Collect*, V, p. 277.

the "latent conscience and remorse" lying somewhere in every life.⁴⁷ This is the scene in which Hamlet pleads with his mother in the closet, and in which the mother implores:

O Hamlet! speak no more:
Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul;
And there I see such black and grained spots
As will not leave their tinct.

Whitman speaks of the "greasy and stupid canaille that Coriolanus cannot stomach,"⁴⁸ of "garrulous" and "irascible" as descriptive of old Lear,⁴⁹ and again of Hamlet in terms of "hair-splitting doubts" and "sickly sulking and suffering."⁵⁰

For Whitman, that which was pessimistic was seldom good. He could not approve of the essential tone of the Shakespearean tragedies, therefore, and said as much to his friend Traubel. Whitman complained that Shakespeare was gloomy, that he looked upon mankind with despair, that in the most mature of the plays Shakespeare seems to have said that "after all, the human critter is a devil of a poor fellow—full of frailties, evils, poisons. . . ." ⁵¹ But even though one may feel a weight of gloom in reading of them, Whitman must still admit the excellence of such figures as Othello, Hamlet, and Lear. These fictitious characters, he says, are as real as any English or European lords, and they are indeed more real to us to-day than the man Shakespeare himself.⁵²

At the age of twenty-seven Whitman wrote for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* an editorial on actors and dramatic affairs which tells of the necessity for "modernizing and Americanizing" the drama for the New World.⁵³ In looking back over the noble specimens of literary art which have come from England, Whitman mentioned "the varied beauties of Shakespeare" and the "sturdy old comedies, with their satire upon folly and vice of all kinds."⁵⁴ For these, he said, we are indebted to England, and he suggested that their influence should be spread forever. Writing in a later mood, Whitman still maintained that the comedies of Shakespeare were excellent in their own way; but they "are altogether non-acceptable to America and Democracy."⁵⁵ This surprisingly unreserved statement is based upon the contention that the common characters in plays like *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* are nothing

⁴⁷ "Father Taylor (and Oratory)," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 113.

⁴⁸ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 75.

⁴⁹ *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VII, p. 72.

⁵⁰ "The Bible as Poetry," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 106.

⁵¹ Traubel, III, 443.

⁵² "George Fox (and Shakspeare)," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 279.

⁵³ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, pp. 156-158.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵⁵ "A Thought on Shakspeare," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 126.

more than foils to the aristocracy: they are created for the diversion of the lords of the castle. Whitman himself seems to have found nothing more than diversion in *The Tempest*. He mentions it as one of his "big treats," and he stresses the excellence of the accompanying instrumental band and its leader.⁵⁶ He was pleased, too, by the drunken song of Caliban. This affords an excellent example of the frequent contradiction to be found in Whitman's criticism. Earthly Caliban, pictured as an unpleasant creature by Shakespeare, might personify all the persons of low caste held in feudal bondage, and thus be condemned by Whitman; but nevertheless Whitman might enjoy the spectacle Caliban presented.

Shakespeare's best humor and his subtlest, Whitman believed, was not in his comedies at all, but was in some of his tragedies. "The humor in the Shakespearean comedies is very broad, obvious, often brutal, coarse," Whitman said. "But in some of the tragedies—take *Lear* for instance—you will find another kind of humor, a humor more remote, subtle, illusive. . . ."⁵⁷

When Whitman thought of Shakespeare's plays he thought of "their movement: their intensity of life, action: everything hell-bent to get along: on: on. . . ."⁵⁸ But he thought of the sonnets as being in direct contrast. They are, he told Traubel, "perfect of their kind—exquisite, sweet: lush: eleganted: refined and refined, then again refined—again: refinement multiplied by refinement."⁵⁹ He saw no vigor in the sonnets, and he felt that no vigor was necessary for them. "They are personal: more or less of small affairs: they do their own work in their own way: that's all we could ask and more than most of us do, I suppose."⁶⁰ But even though Whitman regarded the sonnets as being complete in themselves, he did not by any means approve of their "eleganted" style. He called them "often over-done—over-ornate," and he said that their elaboration too often obscured the ideas behind them.⁶¹ The tremendous virility of the plays seemed to Whitman totally absent from the sonnets.

Whitman thought of Shakespeare's reputation for sublimity as resting upon his portrayals of character even more than upon the greatness of his poetry. Shakespeare, Whitman writes in his notes, is a limner and recorder like Walter Scott and Homer. Each in this strange triad mastered the depiction of characters and of events as well.⁶² Employing another triad, and this time for contrast, Whitman differentiates Shakespeare as a depicter

⁵⁶ Good-Bye, My Fancy, VII, p. 52.

⁵⁷ Traubel, II, p. 252.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, III, p. 83.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 248.

⁶² "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 84.

of actual life, Schiller of the ideal life, and Goethe of both actual and ideal.⁶³ We read in a note of Whitman's written about 1856: "Shakespeare, the gentle, the sweet musical, well-beloved Shakespeare, delineated *characters*. They are better represented by him than by any other poet at any time—Kings, traitors, lovers, . . . ambition, perplexed persons, youth, old age he easily reflects. He through them delivers many profound thoughts—many poetical, subtle fancies—many involved, rather elaborate, unnatural comparisons."⁶⁴ This is high praise indeed; and the chief fault Whitman had to find with the characters in Shakespeare's plays was that they were too obviously meant for the pleasure of nobility. He praised the women characters in the plays, at least for their constancy. In the Brooklyn *Daily Times* for February 10, 1858, Whitman wrote a literary note entitled "Shakespeare's Women Characters." "Having by his domestic infelicities," the note reads, "much reason to upbraid womankind, it is to the credit of Shakespeare and the women of his day, that in all his plays we find but three inconstant dames—the false Greek, Cressida and Lear's cruel daughters."⁶⁵ In the art of portraying medieval European lords and barons Shakespeare stands alone; and Whitman says that this art explains why he is capable of witching the whole world with his plays.

As an interpreter, through his characters, of man's passions "at their stormiest outstretch," however, Shakespeare does not stand alone. He spans the arch wide enough, Whitman says in this regard; but he is excelled by the best of the old Greek dramatists—Æschylus, for instance.⁶⁶ In conversation late in life, Whitman maintained that judgment of his earlier days. While some persons, he said, consider Shakespeare primarily a poet of the passions and their unfolding, Æschylus is greater in "cyclonic, thunder-crashing, air-clearing passion."⁶⁷

Whitman writes of the "rich and tangled jungle of the Shakespearean area,"⁶⁸ its dazzling splendor, and its place in "the roses and gold."⁶⁹ Certainly Whitman was not unaware of the rich color in Shakespeare's works, and he made ample statement of his opinion of the style and treatment of materials in those works. In his essay "A Thought on Shakspeare," Whitman writes:

The inward and outward characteristics of Shakspeare are his vast and rich variety of persons and themes, with his wondrous delineation of each and all—not only limitless funds of verbal and pictorial resource, but great excess, super-

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁶⁵ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 66.

⁶⁶ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 209.

⁶⁷ John Johnston and J. W. Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

⁶⁸ "What Lurks Behind Shakspeare's Historical Plays," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 123.

⁶⁹ "George Fox (and Shakspeare)," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 279.

foetation—mannerism, like a fine, aristocratic perfume, holding a touch of musk (Euphues, his mark)—with boundless sumptuousness and adornment, real velvet and gems, not shoddy nor paste—but a good deal of bombast and fustian —(certainly some terrific mouthing in Shakspeare)!⁷⁰

Whitman seems almost to be parodying the terrific mouthing he refers to. Superb and inimitable, Whitman calls Shakespeare's work, and yet he feels that it is in the main "an objective and physiological kind of power and beauty" that is offered by Shakespeare.⁷¹ Here is a style almost supremely grand in Whitman's estimation, but not so grand as that of the Greeks, and not grand enough to satisfy "modern and scientific and democratic" United States.⁷² Whitman complains, too, that Shakespeare does not dwell upon Nature's wonders. He rhetorically asks what Nature meant to Hamlet, King Lear, the English-Norman kings, and the Romans of Shakespeare's plays.⁷³ In the plays there are no vast forests, no Yellowstone geysers, and no deep-cut Colorado ravines. Instead, one finds fabulous marble palaces, with walks and bowers, miniature lakes, groups of statutes, and carefully cultivated flowers.⁷⁴ And Whitman, so often accused of being undisciplined, is critical of Shakespeare's lack of restraint. In his notes he writes of the plays: "Immensely too much is unnaturally colored—the sentiment is piled on, similes, comparisons, defiances, exaltation, immortalities, bestowed upon themes certainly not worthy the same, thus losing proportion."⁷⁵ Whitman always reminds us, nevertheless, that it is unfair to pick and choose from the rich profusion which Shakespeare left. Shakespeare was a master artist who, although he "often fell down in his own wreckage," has an unequalled place in the evolution of poetry.⁷⁶ The deepest soul must feel shame, Whitman writes in *November Boughs*, to criticize the great playwright's wonderfully fertile and varied art.⁷⁷ Shakespeare is, after all, the sun of English literature,⁷⁸ the only "first class" genius in that literature;⁷⁹ and it is hopeless to attempt to measure scientifically "the dazzle of his sunlike beams."⁸⁰

In his *Democratic Vistas* Whitman writes that the great poems of Shakespeare and his kind are "poisonous to the idea of the pride and dignity of the common people, the life-blood of democracy."⁸¹ There was

⁷⁰ In *November Boughs*, VI, pp. 125-126.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, pp. 222-223.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁷⁵ "Notes and Fragments," IX, pp. 76-77.

⁷⁶ Traubel, I, p. 136.

⁷⁷ "A Thought on Shakspeare," VI, pp. 126-127.

⁷⁸ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 208.

⁷⁹ "British Literature," in *Collect*, V, pp. 276-277.

⁸⁰ "A Thought on Shakspeare," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 127.

⁸¹ *Democratic Vistas*, V, p. 90.

much in Shakespeare which Whitman found utterly offensive: not only did he suggest feudalism, but in his works he was "incarcerated, unpromising feudalism" itself.⁸² Fully conscious of Shakespeare's dazzling genius, Whitman still felt a most distasteful hint of snobbishness in his writings. This was a quality Whitman did not find in the ancient Oriental poetry, the Homeric epics, the *Cid*, the stories of the Bible, or in *Don Quixote*.⁸³ Instead of snobbishness, these works contained notions acceptable in a democracy. In Shakespearean productions, Whitman says, democratic notions are made the victims of new insults on almost every page. And he sums up most British literature as material and sensual in content, cold and stately in tone, and anti-democratic; he calls it moody and melancholy in the main.⁸⁴ The "dragon-rancors and stormy feudal splendor of medieval caste" were all right for Shakespeare's time, but Whitman was convinced that dragon-rancors had no meaning in America.⁸⁵

Shakespeare wrote not for the common man, the laborer and his wife, but he wrote for the court, the youths of title, and the gentry; he had no other audience, Whitman says.⁸⁶ Shakespeare may be respected as the most sublime of singers to whom life has given voice, but his affiliations seemed to Whitman to be essentially with a buried past.⁸⁷ The conditions, standards, politics, sociologies, and ranges of belief of the past can—happily—never again be realized. Therefore, even though the elements of human experience they depict are not radically changed, the writings of Shakespeare are not vital for all time, but have significance only as documents of an age past.

Alarmed by his friend's apparent blasphemy, Jonathan Trumbull wrote for *Poet Lore*, in 1890, an article called "Walt Whitman's View of Shakespeare." Trumbull pointed out that Whitman had reverence for Shakespeare; but he found difficulty in explaining Whitman's insistence that the plays be relegated to a mere historical position in literature. The essay "A Thought on Shakespeare" was most disappointing and perplexing, Trumbull admitted.⁸⁸ He found it necessary to infer, from all Whitman wrote, that Shakespeare's work was recognized simply as art which proves inadequate when subjected to the tests of democratic criticism in America. Trumbull's conclusion was that he and his compatriots would have to accept both Shakespeare and Whitman and place the two great poets on equal footing. Both of them "are singing of humanity, which

⁸² "British Literature," in *Collect*, V, p. 276.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

⁸⁵ "A Thought on Shakespeare," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 124.

⁸⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 115.

⁸⁷ "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," III, p. 53.

⁸⁸ II (July, 1890), p. 368.

knows no distinction of persons." ⁸⁹ Trumbull ended on a note of doubt, however: he was not certain he had understood the Good Gray Poet aright after all, in spite of Whitman's "noble simplicity." ⁹⁰ A few months later Whitman wrote a reply to Trumbull in the same publication. In his letter to the editor he suggests that one important consideration had been overlooked, and he quotes at length from his *November Boughs* for support. "The Old World," he maintains,

is the region of the poetry of concrete and real things.—the past, the aesthetic, palaces, etiquette, the literature of war and love, the mythological gods, and the myths anyhow. But the New World (America) is the region of the future, and its poetry must be spiritual and democratic. Evolution is not the rule in Nature, in Politics, and Inventions only, but in verse. . . . Then science, the final critic of all, has the casting vote for "future poetry." ⁹¹

These words of Whitman were no more satisfying to Trumbull than they are to a modern reader; and the next year he wrote again for *Poet Lore* on the same subject. In "The Whitman-Shakespeare Question" he expresses anew his bewilderment at finding one of his two favorite poets at odds with the other. ⁹² Now, however, he hopes he has found a solution: he refers to Whitman's placing of Shakespeare as supreme in his phase of the evolution of poetry. What Whitman really means, Trumbull thinks, is that America requires a poet greater than any Elizabethan poet, greater in proportion to the progress by which American has distinguished herself from Elizabethan England. Shall we love Shakespeare less and Whitman more? he queries. Shall we give up our Shakespeare? No, this is not necessary, Trumbull decides. ⁹³ But one question still torments him: "Is it a foolish stretch of the imagination and sentiment to feel, or imagine we feel, the grand personality of the man Shakespeare through his works? To give up that idea seems much like giving up our Shakespeare, after all; yet it seems impossible to find distinct traces of the idea in Whitman's words concerning Shakespeare." ⁹⁴ Trumbull's bewilderment is obvious. He could perhaps have found some satisfaction in Whitman's "Poetry of the Future," published ten years earlier in the *North American Review*. There one is told that no matter how feudal castles, courts, etiquettes, or their hovering ghosts might scowl at rude life in democratic Kansas or Kentucky, Kansas and Kentucky "may by no means repudiate or leave out the former." ⁹⁵ But this would not stand as solution for the whole

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ "Shakespeare for America," in *Poet Lore*, II (Sept., 1890), p. 493.

⁹² III (Dec., 1891), p. 626.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 628.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

⁹⁵ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 212.

problem. Trumbull would have had to recognize and accept Whitman's double-standard of literary criticism to clear away his doubts.

It was in a strange attempt to make for Shakespeare a bed of Procrustes from this double-standard of criticism that Whitman became interested in William O'Connor's "plan." Whitman rebelled at the treatment of Joan of Arc and Jack Cade in *Henry IV*, and wrote that Shakespeare's subordination of the lower classes fed the aristocratic vanity of the young noblemen and gentlemen and "feed them in England yet."⁹⁶ Whitman found pleasure in the vivid pageantry of the historical plays, and yet he was constantly reminded that in them were apparently vicious attacks upon his beloved democracy. A dilemma moved about annoyingly in his mind: he did not know whether to accept or wholly damn. He found a solution, or a refuge at least, in the revealing "plan" which O'Connor found lurking behind Shakespeare's historical plays. It is impossible, Whitman writes, to grasp the whole cluster of those plays without thinking of them as the result of an essentially controlling plan.⁹⁷ This is true despite the fact that we know the first part of *Henry VI* to have been written as early as 1591 and *Henry VIII* to have been written as late as 1612, under vastly different circumstances. Whitman accepts in its entirety O'Connor's theory that there is an ulterior design in the historical plays: one which time and criticism will wholly reveal. Such plays as *Henry VI* and *King John* have an effect of depressing gloom: surely their purpose is not to make one approve of the times they depict. Episodes such as those in which Jack Cade and Joan of Arc figure are interpolated to throw critics of Elizabethan times off the scent, Whitman blandly suggests.⁹⁸ Shakespeare was dangerously but cautiously exposing the faults of feudal life. Whitman defies anyone to escape the significance of O'Connor's theory, and he likens the new-found information to momentous writing in magic ink, which was invisible until warmed by the fire.⁹⁹

Would it not be strange, Whitman asks, if the author of *Othello* and *Hamlet* were destined to be known chiefly for the *exposé* of feudal political theory and its results, "of the reason-why and necessity for them which America has come on earth to abnegate and replace?"¹⁰⁰ America-loving Whitman thinks that perhaps a future generation of critics, scrutinizing their materials with patient eyes, might discover in Shakespeare's historical plays—those plays which Whitman liked best—the suggestion for modern democracy. In them one might find, upon examining the morbid

⁹⁶ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 75.

⁹⁷ "What Lurks Behind Shakspeare's Historical Plays," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 121.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

feudal characters and institutions they portray, a potent criticism of an entire decadent world which was sore in need of such a catharsis as Whitman's own democratic America afforded. This, Whitman is certain, was the more or less conscious purpose of the genius who fashioned "those marvellous architectonics."¹⁰¹

We have examined Whitman's estimation of Shakespeare as a dramatist, as a depicter of characters and their passions, and as an over-rich stylist. Shakespeare has been nominated by Whitman for a place second only to one or two of the ancient Greeks, and he is singled out from all English writers as the greatest. Even in America, Whitman admits, "Shakespeare has served, and serves, maybe, the best of any."¹⁰² But Whitman had little success in fitting one aspect of Shakespeare's work into the requirements of America: Shakespeare was offensively feudal. Even Whitman's eager grasp at a "plan" for the historical plays did not really solve the problem for him. Shakespeare had to be damned, then, as a writer for aristocrats: his position in the future of democratic America was an uncertain one.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

III

TENNYSON

Yes, Alfred Tennyson's is a superb character, and will help give illustriousness, through the long roll of time, to our Nineteenth Century. In its bunch of orbic names, shining like a constellation of stars, his will be one of the brightest. His very faults, doubts, swervings, doublings upon himself, have been typical of our age.

—From "A Word About Tennyson."

Whitman repeatedly named Lord Tennyson as Shakespeare's successor: and he believed he understood Tennyson and his writings. This was more than Tennyson could say for Whitman, however; he came only to the unsatisfactory conclusion that the American poet was a "great big something."¹ Tennyson was rather amusedly fond of the boisterous American, and he praised the fine quality of spirit which he felt throughout *Leaves of Grass*. His chief criticism of Whitman's poetry was that a lack of form made it often "quite unreadable."²

Among the papers in Whitman's scrapbooks, there was found a long magazine article on "Tennyson's Poems—The Princess," much scored.³ "The Princess" was by no means Whitman's favorite among Tennyson's works, however. This is indicated by a note which praises "Ulysses" as redeeming "a hundred *Princesses* and *Mauds*."⁴ The work of a "great master" is evident in "Ulysses," Whitman wrote;⁵ he was appreciative, as many other critics have been, of the heroic quality of that poem, and he was appreciative of its feeling of aspiration for action, enduring all things. Of "Maud" he had nothing good to say: his comment is that "Maud" will not live long, that it is merely a love-story, and a rather affected and wearisome one at that, despite its "sweet passages."⁶ "De Profundis" pleased Whitman. He said it sounded to him like the music of an organ.⁷ The characters in *Idylls of the King* seemed "lofty, devoted, and starlike" to Whitman;⁸ and he wrote lyrically of the "sumptuous, perfumed, arras-and-gold Nature" in the *Idylls*.⁹ He mentioned the "strange dalliance" of

¹ Emory Hollowy, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

² Quoted by Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A memoir by His Son*, 12 vols., London, 1899, IV, p. 112.

³ "Notes and Fragments," X, p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, p. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

⁷ John Bailey, *Walt Whitman*, London, 1926, p. 46.

⁸ "The Bible as Poetry," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 106.

⁹ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 210.

Vivien and Merlin, the "death-float" of fair Elaine, the long journey of "disgraced" Enid, and the plight of Geraint in the wood.¹⁰

The musical charm in Tennyson's choice of words did not pass unnoticed by Whitman. One reads that such a line as "And hollow, hollow, hollow, all delight," from "The Passing of Arthur," is indeed an excellent one among many.¹¹ In "A Word About Tennyson," Whitman mentions "The Lady of Shalott" and "The Deserted House" as being musically pleasurable.¹² He mentions lingering again and again over "The Lotus Eaters," "The Northern Farmer," and "Lucretius"; and he says he would not wish to give up his pleasure in minor poems like "Break, Break," or "Flower in the Crannied Wall," or "Edward Gray."¹³ But all that Whitman had to say of Tennyson was not flattering. He did not find felicitous versification enough to provide full poetic excellence.

In his essay on Tennyson, Whitman writes in halting phrases of "Locksley Hall" as "morbid, heart-broken, finding fault with everything, especially the fact of money's being made (as it ever must be, and perhaps should be) the paramount matter in worldly affairs; 'Every door is barr'd with gold, and opens but to golden keys.'"¹⁴ Whitman is not pleased that the woman in the poem is proved false; and he says that Tennyson's reflections are also false—"at any rate for America."¹⁵

Tennyson was another of the great poets of the world who were refused recognition by Whitman as proper singers for American ears. But Whitman could not bring himself to call the author of the *Idylls* an enemy of America,¹⁶ even though he did call him "the imitation of Shakespeare, through a refined, educated, traveled, modern English dandy."¹⁷ Whitman designated himself as the proper judge of Tennyson's place in the New World: and he found that, first of all, Tennyson was a rugged and healthy force, for his "moral line" was both vital and sincere.¹⁸ Whitman quotes his friend John Burrough's phrase concerning Tennyson as an apt one: "His glove is a glove of silk, but the hand is a hand of iron."¹⁹ Tennyson seemed elegant, and a little queer; but he had, at the same time, a virile moral power.

But virile moral power and a charm of words cannot alone make Tennyson suited to democracy. In "Poetry To-Day in America," Whitman

¹⁰ *Democratic Vistas*, V, p. 223.

¹¹ "A Word About Tennyson," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 146.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 145.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁷ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 127.

¹⁸ "A Word About Tennyson," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 145.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

writes that Tennyson's poetry is of the highest order of verbal melody, "exquisitely clean and pure," but he says that it is almost always "perfumed like the tuberose, to an extreme of sweetness."²⁰ Whitman objects to the knights and feudal chivalry in Tennyson's poems, and he objects to their atmosphere of idleness, *ennui*, brocade and satin. Tennyson's poems are only attractive and sweetly scented flowers; but Whitman admits that flowers "are at least as profound as anything."²¹

On the one hand, Whitman can say that not even Shakespeare outdoes Tennyson in going deep into "those exquisitely touch'd and half-hidden hints and indirections left like faint perfumes in the crevices of the lines."²² And on the other hand, he can speak with bitterness of Tennyson's complete lack of democratic thought.²³ He can speak admiringly of Tennyson's versification and then point with disgust at his sycophantic dedication of *Idylls of the King* to the crowned rulers of England.²⁴ Whitman's criticism of Tennyson's works is based upon a double standard.

²⁰ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 209.

²¹ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 294.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

²³ *Democratic Vistas*, V, p. 210.

²⁴ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 210.

IV

FOUR FROM ABROAD

I add that—while England is among the greatest of lands in political freedom, or the idea of it, and in stalwart personal character, &c.—the spirit of English literature is not great, at least is not greatest—and its products are no models for us.

—From "British Literature"

Breaking loose is the thing to do: breaking loose, resenting the bonds, opening new ways.

—Walt Whitman to Horace Traubel

SIR WALTER SCOTT

There were three names that Whitman associated with the highest achievement in English literature: beside Shakespeare and Tennyson stood Sir Walter Scott. Whitman acknowledged these three as England's chief claim to literary excellence; and all three, grand as they were to him, were doomed in America because they sang of a doomed feudal life.

Second only to the *Arabian Nights*, the adolescent Whitman chose Scott's novels and poetry as best.¹ And in his sixteenth year he became possessor of a huge volume of Scott's complete poems. He read all the poems thoroughly, and he read the ballads of the Border Minstrelsy over again and again.² Like Homer, and like Shakespeare, Scott impressed Whitman as one of the "limners and recorders" of literature and as a master of the depiction of characters and events.³ Whitman considered Scott's novels in some respects unsurpassed; and he praised especially *The Heart of Midlothian* as the best of them.⁴ "Who," he asks, "will not follow Jeanie Deans with every warm feeling on her adventurous journey to London?" In artistic considerations, *The Heart of Midlothian* seemed flawless to Whitman, and he felt that it had the power to absorb deeply any reader's interest.⁵ But Whitman's praise was not untempered: he was alarmed that Scott should make his wonderfully-delineated nobles appear at such advantage over "patriots and peasants."⁶

"The Anti-Democratic Bearing of Scott's Novels" is a title which indicates Whitman's point of view. He might find artistic perfection and absorbing interest in the novels; but there is no good to be found in the

¹ *Specimen Days*, IV, p. 18.

² "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," III, p. 55 (note).

³ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 84.

⁴ "The Anti-Democratic Bearing of Scott's Novels," in *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 264.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

sympathetic depiction of monarchs hostile to democracy. "In the long line of those warriors for liberty," Whitman writes,

'and those large hearted lovers of *men* before *classes* of men, which English history has recorded upon its annals, and which form for the fast anchored isle a greater glory than her first Richard, or her tyrannical Stuarts, Scott has not thought fit to be illustrated by his pen. In him as in Shakspeare, (though in a totally different method) "there's such divinity does hedge a king," as makes them something more than mortal—and though this way of description may be good for poets or loyalists, it is poisonous for freemen. The historical characters of Scott's books, too, are not the characters of truth. He frequently gets the shadow on the wrong face. Cromwell, for instance, was in the main, and even with severe faults, a heroic champion of his countrymen's rights—and the young Stuart was from top to toe a licentious, selfish, deceitful, and unprincipled man, giving his fastest friends to the axe and his subjects to plunder, when a spark of true manly nerve would have saved both. But the inference to be drawn from Scott's representation of these two men makes a villain a good natured pleasant gentleman, and the honest ruler a blood-seeking hypocrite!"

"Shame on such truckling!"⁷ Whitman says in concluding his analysis of Scott's shortcomings.

This criticism of the anti-democratic influence of British literature is expanded in "Poetry To-Day in America." There Whitman states conclusively that Scott, like Tennyson and Shakespeare, personifies the "principle of caste which we Americans have come on earth to destroy."⁸ He refers to Jefferson's comment that the Waverley novels make the aristocracy glamorous while contemptuously subordinating common men.

But, with the memory of his boyhood pleasure in the ballads and the novels, Whitman could not be entirely harsh with Scott. He felt that, like every American, he owed a debt of thanks to "the noblest, healthiest, cheeriest romancer that ever lived."⁹

CHARLES DICKENS

In 1888 Whitman told Horace Traubel that his general feeling toward Dickens was one of great admiration: "I acknowledge him without question: he will live."¹⁰ When he reviewed the first volume of *Dombey and Son*, Whitman wrote that he thought "little Paul" was one of Dickens's most convincing characters.¹¹ Four months later, probably upon reading the rest of the work, he wrote that, aside from Paul and Edith, all the characters in *Dombey and Son* were make-shift imitations.¹² *A Tale of Two Cities* was given rather detailed criticism by Whitman. He liked the

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-266.

⁸ "Poetry To-Day in America," in *Collect*, V, p. 209.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Traubel, II, p. 553.

¹¹ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 296.

¹² *Ibid.*

vivid scenes of the "stormy winter night's mail coach adventure, and the spilling of the cask of wine in the streets of Paris."¹³

Dickens's later novels were distressing to many who had once been enthusiastic concerning his work. Whitman agreed that *Dombey and Son*, *Bleak House*, and *Little Dorritt* did not approach Dickens's early standard; but even they had enough of excellence to convince him that none but a great novelist could have written them.¹⁴

When Dickens was being fêted in New York, Whitman wrote that he considered him a truly "democratic author"¹⁵—rare praise indeed from Whitman! Such an author he defined as one who tends to destroy the 'old landmarks which pride and fashion have set up, making impossible distinctions between the brethren of the Great Family," one who exposes tyranny, and one who causes men to love their neighbors.¹⁶ Whitman found impressive the contrast Dickens draws by placing wicked characters beside good ones.¹⁷ Specifically, he mentioned *Oliver Twist*, *Squeers*, *Pickwick*, *Weller*, the *Fat Boy*, *Dick Swiveller*, the *Marchioness*, *Kit*, *Miggs*, *Joe Willett*, *Kate Nickleby*, the *Cheeryble Brothers*, *poor Nell*, and *G. Varden*.¹⁸ This list of characters affords evidence of Whitman's acquaintance with *Nicholas Nickleby*, *Pickwick Papers*, *Oliver Twist*, *The Old Curiosity Shop*, and *Barnaby Rudge*, beyond the several novels by Dickens he reviewed in his newspaper column. And in each, democratic thought was the chief virtue.

The concern with low life in Dickens's work seemed a wholesome one to Whitman, for he saw that Dickens never maligned the common man merely to subordinate him to nobility in the fashion of Scott. Dickens "puts the searing iron to wickedness, whether among rich or poor," Whitman wrote.¹⁹ He was the one novelist Whitman singled out for the title of "democratic writer."

In opposition to all his praise of Dickens, Whitman wrote a sentence in his notes which is not a little surprising. "Bring in a sockdologer on the Dickens-fawners,"²⁰ one reads in the midst of uncompleted sentences on literature in general.

THOMAS CARLYLE

It is possible to trace Whitman's interest in Carlyle from his first surprised reading of *Heroes and Hero Worship* to his reverie on the occasion

¹³ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 70.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

¹⁵ "Boz and Democracy," in *Rivulets of Prose*, p. 23.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-28.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

²⁰ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 197.

of Carlyle's death. At first the Scot's style of writing seemed to Whitman only weird, on the verge of the grotesque. He wrote that great writers never achieve anything of worth by mere virtue of a new and startling style. Style seemed to him "much as dress in society," in which conformity is more desirable than oddity.²¹ Hidden beneath the tortuous style of *Heroes and Hero Worship* the youthful Whitman discerned "noble thoughts" of a democrat who "is quick to champion the downtrodden, and earnest in his wrath at tyranny." But Carlyle's democratic thought in this book was praised only in spite of his style. The verdict on *Sartor Resartus* did not differ. It was a volume written in its author's same "strange wild way," and its profundities were deep-hidden.²²

In *The French Revolution* Carlyle wrote of a democratic subject for which Whitman should have evinced enthusiasm. He was to call Hazlitt's *Napoleon* a noble and grand work; but in reviewing Carlyle's history of the Revolution, he talked of copyright laws and concluded with a brief sentence to the effect that "Mr. Carlyle's genius" was too broad to be dealt with in a short newspaper notice.²³ With the reading of *Past, Present, and Chartism*, Whitman began to find Carlyle's style no longer an objection, and he called it "strangely agreeable."²⁴ He wrote that the more one reads Carlyle the more one becomes fascinated by him. He found something pleasant in Carlyle's "weird, wild way—his phrases, welded together as it were, with strange twistings of the terminations of words—his startling suggestions—his taking up, fishhook like, certain matters of abuse. . . ." ²⁵ By the time Whitman came to review the first part of the extensive and ambitious *History of Frederick II of Prussia*, two years after his first review of Carlyle's work, he no longer found any difficulty in the style at all. Instead, he spoke with approval of the "Carlyleish and characteristic . . . outbursts of eloquence couched in language as startling." ²⁶

One is amused to read in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, the record of the poet's last years, that he was pleased to pretend that he had never found any difficulty whatever in reading Carlyle's works.²⁷ "It seems to me," he said, "Carlyle's style is the expression of the man—natural, strong, right, for him. I know what is everywhere being said about his style, but I do not see what the objectors want." ²⁸ But this was not Whitman's only pretense. In 1888 he complained that Carlyle's "Frederick is much too big a big thing . . . to tackle at this late day. . . . I do not believe the book

²¹ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, pp. 290-291.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 291.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 68.

²⁷ Traubel, II, p. 106.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

would interest me a great deal anyhow."²⁹ This is the book he had professed to review many years before. He admitted that he had looked into it once, but he said that it was necessarily unsuccessful because describing a battle "is like trying to photograph a tempest."³⁰

On the occasion of Carlyle's death early in 1881, Whitman wrote of the author whose works he had reviewed thirty-five years before. "And so the fame of the lamp," he began, "after long wasting and flickering, has gone out entirely."

As a representative author, a literary figure, no man else will bequeath to the future more significant hints of our stormy era, its fierce paradoxes, its din, and its struggling parturition period, than Carlyle. He belongs to our own branch of the stock, too; neither Latin nor Greek, but altogether Gothic. Rugged, mountainous, volcanic, he was himself more a French revolution than any of his volumes. In some respects, so far in the nineteenth century, the best equipped mind, even from a college point of view, of all Britain; only he had an ailing body.³¹

It is to be remembered that in his review of *Heroes and Hero Worship* Whitman chose to compliment Carlyle by calling him a democratic writer. Now after Carlyle's death, Whitman found in Carlyle "short-comings, even positive blur spots, from the American point of view."³² But he saw as Carlyle's chief talent, beyond literary ability, his agitated questioning into the self-complacency of the time: "How he shakes our comfortable reading circles with a touch of the old Hebraic anger and prophecy. . . ."³³ Carlyle was to be applauded for his criticism of some feudal tendencies and for his indictment of the wealthy aristocrats and the "stupendous hoggishness" of their system.³⁴ But Whitman suspected that there were some feudal, or at least anti-democratic, tendencies in Carlyle himself.

Later, when Froude's memoirs had been published, Whitman wrote in more detail of Carlyle's place in the democratic scheme of America. In this new essay Whitman conjectures as to what Carlyle's nature might have been, had he lived in America, "recuperated by the cheering realities and activity of our people and country, . . . inhaling and exhaling our limitless air and eligibilities."³⁵ Then there would have been no hypochondriac, no "British Hamlet," to write *Sartor Resartus*. By not living in Kansas or Tennessee, Carlyle moved in a "whirl of fog and fury," mistakenly seeing only the heroes of the world, contemptuous of republicanism and democracy.³⁶ *Democratic Vistas*, with its insistence upon faith

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Specimen Days*, IV, pp. 305-306.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 306.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

over despair, was written by Whitman largely as an answer to Carlyle's "Shooting Niagara," a criticism of the democratic system.³⁷ In "Carlyle From American Points of View" he deals with Carlyle more explicitly. Whitman writes that in many ways "Carlyle was indeed, as Froude terms him, one of those far-off Hebraic utterers, a new Micah or Habbakuk. . . . But while he announces the malady, and scolds and raves about it, he himself, born and bred in the same atmosphere, is a mark'd illustration of it."³⁸

Whitman called Carlyle the most significant of modern men;³⁹ and he called him "that terrible octopus."⁴⁰ "I seem to have all sorts of feelings about Carlyle," Whitman explained to Traubel, "from freezes to thaws and back again."⁴¹ Here, again, was for Whitman an example of an undemocratic writer. Shakespeare reflected the full glory of feudalism; Scott wove it into vivid novels; Tennyson sang its dirge. Carlyle, exalting heroes, was its chief philosopher. His convictions were "earnest and genuine,"⁴² and he was a great and important writer; but he was not for America.

ROBERT BURNS

Although Whitman's criticism of Burns is perhaps his most satisfying, it is limited almost to a single essay. There are several references to Burns in Whitman's lists of the world's great poets, however, and there is a paragraph in the notes which succinctly compasses Burns's whole life. To the extended criticism in "Robert Burns as Poet and Person," this paragraph from the notes may serve as preface:

Burns 1759-1795. By his poems Burns was faithful to lowly things, customs, idioms, Scotland, the lasses, the peasants, and to his own robust nature. He was often hard up, an improvident freehanded man. His poems succeeded—he made £500, an immense sum. He took a farm, was appointed excisemen (£75 a year) lived two or three years in that way, drank, sickened, died.⁴³

Burns is, with Dickens, one of the few writers made acceptable to America by virtue of a democratic attitude. Many things about him and his poems endeared him to America. Whitman calls him a republican, a "good-natured, warm-blooded, proud-spirited" middle-class man.⁴⁴

Like a careful critic, Whitman suggests first the nature of the era in which Burns lived, with its Voltaire, Washington, Goethe, Napoleon, and

³⁷ Emory Holloway, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

³⁸ *Specimen Days*, IV, pp. 322-324.

³⁹ Traubel, II, p. 300.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, I, p. 193.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 400.

⁴² *Specimen Days*, IV, p. 316.

⁴³ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 82.

⁴⁴ "Robert Burns as Poet and Person," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 128.

the Revolutions of America and France.⁴⁵ He sketches in the poet, in his Scotch country by-place, against this background. Making use of Burns's letters, Whitman quotes his reference to the simple words and tunes suggested to him by the "Scotch home-singers." The simple songs in dialect, Whitman writes, are fascinating largely because of Burns's meteoric career behind them—"the general bleakness of his lot, his ingrain'd pensiveness, his brief dash into dazzling, tantalizing evanescent sunshine—finally culminating in those last years of his life, his being taboo'd and in debt, sick and sore, yaw'd as by contending gales."⁴⁶ Whitman sees Burns's songs as essentially those of "illicit loves and carousing intoxication"; but this choice of subject matter is not to be decried. It sprang naturally from the common life Burns led, a life with none of the "ease and velvet and rose-wood and copious royalties" of Tennyson, for instance. Burns, the ploughman, signifies to Whitman proof that laboring classes may produce poets as easily as the nobility.⁴⁷

There is no unifying purpose or philosophy underlying Burns's work, as there is underlying that of Whitman's; but it is not considered less valuable by Whitman because of that. Burns does not lack purpose in a general sense, for Whitman finds that the celebration of "work-a-day agricultural labor and life," with all its color and diversity, is purpose enough.⁴⁸ But there is further significance in Burns's work. Whitman admonished Traubel to read the poems with great care, skipping nothing: "Burns will do things for you no one else can do."⁴⁹ Whitman described Burns as a man who was all heart and Scotch, "which means human," from top to toe.⁵⁰ "He is as dear to me as my old clothes," Whitman said.⁵¹

In Burns, then, there is at last a poet to be placed beside democratic Dickens as suitable for America; but Whitman does not give him this exalted position without some reservation. Burns attempted none of the grand and heroic themes of Homer, Æschylus, or Shakespeare. His are mere simple melodies. He must not, then, be compared to Shakespeare, even though his work has the enlightenment of democratic thought while Shakespeare's is monarchial.⁵² Even Burns, Whitman said, went against his independence to adhere to the "brainless dynasty" of the Stuarts. If there is no sublime grandeur, there is a raw, "home-brew'd flavor" in Burns's poems, appearing even in his titles. Whitman names, among others, "Last May a Braw Wooer," "Merry Hae I Been Teething a Heckle,"

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

⁴⁹ Traubel, II, p. 247.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 436.

⁵² "Robert Burns as Poet and Person," in *November Boughs*, VI, p. 128.

and "Lay Thy Loof in Mine, Lass."⁵³ The raw quality in these titles, and in the poems, is to be praised, for it serves as refreshment after the sleek, polished work of aristocratic poets. Whitman selects as Burns's most characteristic poems, "The Jolly Beggars," his "Rigs o' Barley," "Scotch Drink," "The Epistle to John Rankins," "Holy Willie's Prayer," and "Hallowe'en."⁵⁴ These poems call out in Burns's own voice: "I, Rob, am here."⁵⁵

Whitman notes Burns's cantering rhyme, and he notes its tendency to become doggerel, the "steel-flashes of wit":⁵⁶ and he characterizes Burns, finally as remaining to him "the tenderest, manliest, and (even if contradiction) dearest flesh-and-blood figure in all the streams and clusters of by-gone poets."⁵⁷

Burns's place in the literature of the world is this: he is to be praised almost above all others, above Shakespeare and Tennyson, as a poet of the people; but as an artist he is not even to be compared to Shakespeare and Tennyson. This is the obvious conclusion to which anyone must come. Here Whitman's use of the double standard is unusually well suited; and his final rejection on the one hand, and his whole-hearted acceptance on the other, make his judgment a wise one.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

V

FOUR AMERICANS

Do you call those genteel little creatures American poets?

—From *Democratic Vistas*.

To all which we conclude, and repeat the terrible query: American National Literature—is there distuncely any such thing, or can there ever be?

—From "American National Literature."

RALPH WALDO EMERSON

In 1865 Emerson wrote to Carlyle that he would perhaps send him a volume of poems called *Leaves of Grass*. The book was, he told Carlyle, "a nondescript monster, which yet had terrible eyes and buffalo strength, and was indisputably American. . . ." ¹ The author of the nondescript monster was a man who had been profoundly influenced by Emerson and had delightedly received praise from him in the form of felicitations at the beginning of a great career.

As early as 1847 Whitman had quoted from one of Emerson's speeches in the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, ² and he commented on the poem "Brahma" in the *Times* in 1857. ³ "Brahma" had just appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and it was being ridiculed on a charge of unintelligibility. Whitman endeavored to defend it, suggesting Emerson's pantheistic thought and remarking upon the grace and melody of expression. He found that the little poem had special meaning; and he pointed out that Emerson's work was distinguished, as a whole, by special meaning. In his notes he wrote that the chief excellence of Emerson's writings lay in their great pertinence. Emerson may be obscure, Whitman wrote,

. . . but he is certain. . . He has what none else has; he does what none else does. He pierces the crusts that envelope the secrets of life. He joins on equal terms the few great sages and original seers. He represents the freeman, America, the individual. He represents the gentleman. No teacher or poet of old times made a better report of many and womanly qualities, heroism, chastity, temperance, friendship, fortitude. None has given more beautiful accounts of truth and justice. ⁴

Later, of course, Whitman was to have the pleasure of personal association with Emerson. Their relationship of elder and younger brother was maintained through most of their acquaintance. Whitman subordinated himself, or was subordinated, to the more experienced poet. Whit-

¹ See the *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1834-1872* (ed. C. E. Norton), Boston, 1888.

² *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 270.

³ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 64.

⁴ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 159.

man did not, however, always accept Emerson "with grudging loyalty," as Vernon L. Parrington has suggested.⁵ Piqued, perhaps, by Emerson's criticism of sensuality in his work, Whitman finally went so far as to write to a friend that "if I were to unbosom to you in the matter I should say that I never cared so very much for E's writings, prose or poems. . . ."⁶ But he was untruthful. He had previously written that among the poets of America, Emerson stood at the head.⁷ He praised Emerson for his "sweet, vital tasting melody, rhym'd philosophy, and poems as amber-clear as the honey of the wild bee he loves to sing."⁸

In 1881 Whitman visited the aged Emerson in Concord. On the first evening numerous persons were present ("My friend A. B. Alcott and his daughter Louisa were there early"), but Whitman sat where he could watch Emerson closely. He noticed the "sweetness" of expression which was combined with a "cold-peering aspect."⁹ The next day he had dinner at the Emerson home and spent several hours there. The pride with which Whitman records such details indicates his respect and affection for Emerson the man as well as for Emerson the author. A little over a year later Whitman was standing beside his friend's grave, remembering him as a "just man, poised on himself, all-loving, all-inclosing, and sane and clear as the sun."¹⁰

In his attempt at evaluation of Emerson's literary worth, Whitman begins with the adverse criticism he considers necessary. Emerson's pages are "perhaps too perfect, too concentrated," he writes.¹¹ Emerson seems greatest to him, not as poet or artist, or teacher, but as a critic or "diagnoser." Emerson is a good critic: he does not give way to passion, but is dominated by a cold intellectuality; he does not take any one side, but is aware of all sides of any issue.¹² Whitman writes that Emerson's final influence is to make his disciples believe in nothing outside themselves. And for that reason, although his books will be an important experience, one will not turn to them in "solemnest or dying hours."¹³ Emerson is not vigorous enough for Whitman, or close enough to the people, to stand among the immortals; Whitman finds that his polite poems have something of the quaintness of Waller's or Lovelace's, and not enough true greatness.¹⁴ Contradictory though Whitman's criticism of Emerson may

⁵ *Main Currents in American Thought*, 3 vols, New York, 1927, III, p. 78.

⁶ William Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*, Paisley, Scotland, 1896, p. 76.

⁷ *Specimen Days*, V, p. 8.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

seem, he explains his change of attitude as being that of everyone who, like him, reads Emerson's writings with reverence and then passes through "this stage of exercise."¹⁵

But although Whitman told Traubel that he had finally relegated Emerson to second place in American poetry, beneath Bryant,¹⁶ he also told Traubel that "the wonderful heart and soul" of Emerson, "present in all he writes, thinks, does, hopes," went a long way toward "justifying the whole literary business."¹⁷

HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

In his notes Whitman made the observation that Longfellow's *Hiawatha* is a "pleasing ripply poem."¹⁸ He made no display of enthusiasm, but he said that "the measure, the absence of ideas, the Indian process of thought, the droning metre, the sleepy, misty, woody character, the traditions, pleased me well enough."¹⁹ In conversation Whitman spoke of Longfellow not as a creator but as a scholar and translator and adapter—"adapter and adopter!" He accused Longfellow of having borrowed many of the elements in *Hiawatha*. And he asked: "But did an Indian ever talk so? Was it not the man in the library who was doing the talking?"²⁰

Comment on *Hiawatha* comprises what is surely Whitman's most accurate judgment of Longfellow's work. When, at twenty-seven, he reviewed an edition of Longfellow's poems for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle*, he spoke of the poet as "gifted by God" with talent to express beautiful thoughts in a beautiful manner.²¹ In the review Whitman argued for Longfellow's being placed beside Bryant and Wordsworth in rank: a combination of names which seems strange today. The little poem "Rain" pleased him because of its "startlingly wild and solemn thought," and he reprinted the poem in his column of reviews.²²

A year later Whitman exhibited respect for Longfellow's work in his review of *Evangeline*. His praise is sincere and unreserved, and it is also surprisingly conventional:

And so ends the poem like a solemn psalm, the essence of whole deep religious music still lives on in your soul, and becomes a part of you. You have soon turned over its few pages, scanned every line, you reached the issue of the story, and perhaps idly regret that there is no more of it,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

¹⁶ Traubel, II, p. 533.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 466.

¹⁸ "Notes and Fragments," IX, p. 156.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

²⁰ Traubel, III, p. 549.

²¹ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 297.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 297-298.

"But a thing of beauty is a joy forever"; and we may thank Mr. Longfellow for some hours of pure religious, living tranquility of the soul.²³

One would probably look in vain for the sublimity in *Evangeline* which Whitman suggests he finds there.

In 1881 Whitman repaid a visit of Longfellow's and conversed with the poet in Boston. He was impressed by his host's "lit up face and glowing warmth and courtesy, in the modes of what is called the old school." At that time he felt that Longfellow's poems were distinguished by their "rich color, graceful forms and incidents—all that makes life beautiful and love refined."²⁴ The next year, while Whitman was in "an old forest haunt," news of Longfellow's death reached him. Shortly after, he wrote a final criticism of Longfellow.²⁵

Whitman felt that in his many works Longfellow was not only eminent in poetical style and form, but that he brought "what is always dearest as poetry to the general human heart and taste." Longfellow impressed Whitman as having been a poet of "melody, courtesy, deference," the "universal poet of women and young people." As a judge of poetry and as a translator of classics, Longfellow was given high place. But his poetical gifts were not to be minimized: Whitman thought that the movement of his poems was like that of a "strong and steady wind or tide. . . ." Longfellow had maintained a "splendid average," had not been given to undue pensiveness, had not avoided death as a theme.²⁶

It might seem consistent with his other criticism that Whitman should complain of Longfellow's lack of American feeling. In one place Whitman dismisses any such complaint, agreeing with Longfellow's own words to the effect that "ere the New World can be worthily original and announce herself and her own heroes, she must be well saturated with the originality of others, and respectfully consider the heroes that lived before Agamemnon."²⁷ It is Bliss Perry's belief that Longfellow has never been characterized more felicitously than by Whitman;²⁸ but that characterization is a double one: Whitman praised Longfellow; but he was not American enough. Whitman called him "reminiscent, polish'd, elegant, with the air of the finest conventional library, picture-gallery or parlor, with ladies and gentlemen in them, and plush and rosewood, and ground-glass lamps, and mahogany and ebony furniture, and a silver inkstand and scented

²³ *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, p. 134.

²⁴ *Specimen Days*, V, pp. 8-9.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

²⁹ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 291.

paper to write on."²⁹ Whitman finally went so far to rate Longfellow only fourth among American poets.³⁰

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT

In an editorial written in 1846, Whitman spoke of Bryant as a poet who "stands among the first in the world."³¹ Whitman diluted his enthusiasm by admitting that "American criticism is given to superlatives," but his judgment was still an over-estimate of Bryant's excellence. And forty-two years later Whitman said that of all American poets he ranked Bryant as the best, going so extravagantly far as to say that "Bryant has all that was knotty, gnarled, in Dante, Carlyle. . . ." ³² It is not difficult to understand why he might have made such an error in 1846, Norman Foerster comments, but it is difficult to understand why he maintained the judgment as late as 1888.³³ Whitman may have been impressed by Bryant's "broad surveys and his American panoramas," Louise Pound suggests;³⁴ and this explanation is perhaps the best one. When contrasting the merits of Bryant and Emerson, as he often did, Whitman said that "Bryant is more significant for his patriotism, Americanism, love of external nature, the woods, the sea, the skies, the rivers, and this at times, the objective features of it especially, seems to outweigh Emerson's urgent intelligence and psychic depth."³⁵

Writing in the Brooklyn *Daily Times*, Whitman called Bryant "one of the most lovable characters in the country."³⁶ His affection and his respect for Bryant are always in evidence, even when he is admitting the inferiority of the work of Bryant's last twenty years. He kindly made a generalization which did not exclude himself: "Old men are too apt to insist upon being in the swim after their virility is departed."³⁷ Whitman liked to think that Bryant possessed the dignity of a

. . . bard of the river and the wood, ever conveying a taste of open air, with scents as from hayfields, grapes, birch-borders—always lurkingly fond of threnodies—beginning and ending his long career with chants of death, with here and there through all, poems, or passages of poems, touching the highest universal truths, enthusiasms, duties—morals as grim and eternal, if not as stormy and fateful, as anything in Eschylus.³⁸

³⁰ Traubel, II, p. 533.

³¹ *Gathering of the Forces*, II, p. 260.

³² Traubel, II, p. 532.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xii.

³⁵ Traubel, I, p. 56.

³⁶ *I Sit and Look Out*, p. 66.

³⁷ Traubel, I, p. 69.

³⁸ *Specimen Days*, V, p. 9.

Whitman felt that no one could ask for more magnificent poems than Bryant's "The Battle-Field" and "A Forest Hymn."³⁹

Whitman was fully conscious of the discipline which differentiated Bryant's work from his own. He once amused himself by speculating as to what *Leaves of Grass* would be like if written in "Thanatopsisian verse."⁴⁰ "Bryant was trained in the classics," he said;⁴¹ "Bryant is a bit Greek," he said on another occasion;⁴² and again: "Bryant was built up of the Pope and Dryden school."⁴³ Although he respected Bryant's liking for "the stately measures prescribed by the old formula," and although he gave Bryant the extravagant praise with which we have just been concerned, Whitman nevertheless felt that breaking the old bonds of formality was a courageous and necessary thing. Whitman, himself, did break loose: "I expected hell: I got it: nothing that has occurred to me was a surprise: there probably is still more to come: that will not surprise me either."⁴⁴

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

Whittier, the Quaker poet, was not denied a place among the first four poets of America. To Whitman he seemed a figure grand enough, "but pretty lean and ascetic."⁴⁵ The severe moral tone in Whittier's work was accepted by Whitman because it was "wholly, beautifully genuine."⁴⁶ And Whitman was pleased to note, slyly, that Whittier's "moral eye did not prevent him from slopping over Burns: he did that at the first: he does it still—has done it this year."⁴⁷ In his most confusing, parenthetical manner, Whitman writes of Whittier as one who

. . . stands for morality (not in any all-accepting philosophic or Hegelian sense, but) filter'd through a Puritanical or Quaker filter—is incalculably valuable as a genuine utterance, (and the finest,)—with many local and Yankee and *genre* bits—all hues with anti-slavery coloring—(the *genre* and anti-slavery contributions all previous—all help.)⁴⁸

An attempt at succinct interpretation may more clearly give Whitman's impression of Whittier than his own gasping words. He recognized that the author of *Snow-Bound* was great in all the essentials of old New England, including zeal and moral energy. He recognized a kind of excellence in his verses which proceed with the "measur'd step of Crom-

³⁹ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 292.

⁴⁰ Traubel, II, p. 515.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, I, p. 222.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 551.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 515.

⁴⁵ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 292.

⁴⁶ Traubel, II, p. 552.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ "Old Poets," in *Good-By, My Fancy*, VI, p. 292.

well's old veterans."⁴⁹ But so far as his place in America was concerned, Whittier was not "universal and composite enough" for final acceptance on the basis of a double standard of judgment.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Specimen Days*, V, p. 9.

⁵⁰ "Old Poets," in *Good-Bye, My Fancy*, VI, p. 291.

VI

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study presents Walt Whitman's literary criticism as resting upon a double standard. In every piece of literature Whitman looked for artistic excellence, but he looked also for democratic purpose. If he found a combination of the two, as he almost never did, then the work which possessed them was truly great; if there was one without the other, the work deserved praise with reservation. For great literature Whitman prescribed restraint, originality, purpose, optimism, universality, concern with Nature, concern with contemporary life, and emphasis upon democracy. In the main, these are the essentials for literature of which Whitman spoke in his prefaces and elsewhere, but they have been determined here from his criticism alone.

Whitman found weakness in the excesses of Shakespeare, the bombast of Hugo, and the lurid detail of Byron. He preferred, instead, the measured music of Keats and Tennyson, and the subtleties of Coleridge. He found fault with Racine and Corneille because their work was based upon models. Where Emerson was rich with purpose and meaning, Poe was not; and Carlyle's pessimism made his work less commendable. Longfellow was too parlor-bound to be universal. Bryant imbued his works with Nature, while Shakespeare suffered by not having done so. Arnold seemed removed from contemporary affairs, and Goethe placed artist and poet in a world apart. Denying the common man his due, Homer wrote of god-descended dynastic houses, Wordsworth and Southey embraced kingcraft, Johnson was a fawner, and Shakespeare, Scott, and Tennyson represented three phases of feudalism.

Hegel was free enough to be acceptable in America, and Hazlitt was democratic and wholesome. Burns had sufficient democratic purpose, but he lacked a balancing quality of sublimity. Dickens, at his best, was a democratic writer who was an artist as well, a creator of excellent characters.

One's final inference is that the poet who was to combine all the prescribed virtues was Walt Whitman himself; and in occasional passages he does fulfil his requirements. He endeavored assuredly to be a democratic writer. Inconsistent in many ways, both in his poetry and in his prose, Whitman maintained consistency in his application of the double standard: he asked invariably for democratic implication as well as for artistic excellence.

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Bibliography of Robin Hood

Compiled by

J. HARRIS GABLE



PREFACE

The present bibliography is a comprehensive, exhaustive list of printed works concerning the famous English legendary outlaw Robin Hood, no type of material being excluded. Every effort has been made to make it as complete as possible. The work includes 1550 editions of 650 entries. Since many titles read simply "Robin Hood and His Merry Men," or merely vary these words somewhat, I have added several indexes: first, an index of publishers, illustrators, series, and periodicals, so that information concerning any edition may be obtained quickly, from whatever data the searcher may have at hand; second, an index of dates; and, third, an index of subjects. The names of editors and joint authors are included in the main alphabetical list, with the necessary references. Pseudonyms are entered in their alphabetical places and the real names of the authors supplied.

The entries include: author's name (important names are established as fully as possible; see Bibliographical Sources *infra*), full title, full imprint, complete collation, series note, price at time of publication, Library of Congress card number, location of copies (indicated by lower case key-letter; see Location of Copies *infra*), bibliographical sources (indicated by figures; see Bibliographical Sources *infra*), and contents and notes where necessary. The conventional abbreviations, "c" for copyright, and "n.d." for no date are used where required.

For modern and recent editions, through 1935, this bibliography is a checklist. Many titles are entered, however, of works that have not been inspected by me at first hand. It is possible that "Famous Exploits of Robin Hood . . .," "Life and Exploits . . .," "History and Famous Exploits . . ." may be variant titles for one work.

Since some bibliographers might consider much of the information included unnecessary, let me say that the present list is intended not only to serve as a guide and aid to students of Robin Hood literature but also to assist the collector. It was for the latter purpose that I began the work in 1929. My interest in the subject has broadened subsequently to such an extent that it is my hope and plan ultimately to write a survey and analysis of the Robin Hood literature. Begun ten years ago, by 1932 the list contained 488 editions of 245 entries, and the typewritten manuscript at that date occupied 40 pages. In August, 1934, the bibliography was again typed, and the manuscript of 200 pages listed 1400 editions of 515 entries. Since then there have been added more than a hundred and fifty editions and more than a hundred entries, bringing the bibliography through the year 1935.

My thanks are due to Dr. Baldwin Maxwell, Head of the Department of English at the State University of Iowa, and to Dr. Archer Taylor, folklorist and Chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago, for their coments and suggestions; and to Mr. Duncan Gray and Miss Violet W. Walker of the Nottingham, England, Public Libraries, for their assistance in making possible the addition of the Nottingham collection to this list. I wish also to acknowledge indebtedness to the late Charles Reed Baskerville of the University of Chicago, who read the work critically and made helpful suggestions; to Mr. Franklin H. Potter, of the State University of Iowa, who assisted me in final preparation of the manuscript in 1936; and, last but not least to Professors Lowry C. Wimberly and Louise Pound of the Department of English at the University of Nebraska.

J. H.G.

Lincoln. Nebraska.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

The list of biographical aids consulted follows:

Allibone's Critical Dictionary of English Literature
Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography
Century Cyclopedia of Names
Dictionary of American Biography
Dictionary of National Biography
Halkett and Laing's Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous
English Literature
Hyamson's Dictionary of Universal Biography
Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States
Library of Congress Card Catalog
Lippincott's Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary
National Cyclopedia of American Biography
Who's Who (Volumes 1921 to date)
Who's Who Among North American Authors
Who's Who in America (Entire set)
Who's Who in Literature

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

List of sources for the bibliographical information, with key-figures, which are appended to the entries:

1. U. S. Catalog (Dates as indicated by imprints)
2. Union Catalog (Library of Congress)
3. British Museum Catalog, Supplement, and Card Supplement (Card Supplement at the University of Michigan General Library)
4. English Catalogue of Books, 1801 to date
5. Watt, Robert. *Bibliotheca Britannica*
6. Lowndes, W. T. *Bibliographer's Manual*
7. British Museum Catalogue of Early Printed Books to 1640
8. *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue*
9. Kelly, James. *American Catalog of Books, 1861-1871*
10. Roorbach, O. A. *Bibliotheca Americana, 1820-1861*
11. Pollard, A. W., and Redgrave, G. R. *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland . . . 1475-1640*
12. Graesse, J. G. T. *Trésor de Livres Rares et Précieux*
13. Child, F. J. *English and Scottish Popular Ballads, 1883-1898*
14. Nottingham Public Libraries. *Robin Hood Literature . . . 1933.*

In addition to these, numerous other works have been consulted, among them the Harvard list of chap-books, the Ballad Society's reprint of the Roxburghe ballads, Library catalogs, etc.

LOCATION OF COPIES

By means of key-letters appended to the entries, location of copies is indicated for the following libraries:

- a. Library of Congress (card number also included)
- b. British Museum Library
- c. Bibliothèque Nationale
- d. Harvard College Library
- e. Boston Public Library
- f. University of Chicago Library
- g. New York Public Library
- h. Bodleian Library.

Only rare or important items bear the notes *c* to *h*, unimportant or modern editions marked for *a* or *b* only. Occasional notes also mention location of copies in still other libraries, such as University of Michigan, Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, etc.

The symbol * prefixed to entry indicates copy in the Gable collection, now in the Cleveland Public Library.

The symbol † prefixed to entry indicates copy in the Nottingham Public Libraries' Robin Hood collection, according to the 1933 catalog (Bibliographical source, no. 14).

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ROBIN HOOD

In 1934, the list was numbered, using even numbers only, so that new entries might be inserted without necessitating the recasting of the indexes. In this list, many of the odd numbers have been used, for the new items that have been inserted. Library bibliographical style has been used throughout.

- A. C. See 581.
2. A'BECKETT, GILBERT ARTHUR. 1837-1891.
 + Babes in the wood; or, Harlequin Robin Hood and his merry men. London, J. Miles and co., n.d. 14
 Covent Garden Theatre pantomime, 1867-1868.
3. ACKERLEY, FRED G.
 Robin Hood's stride, near Stanton-in-the-Peak. [Note]
 In: Notes and queries, series 10, vol. 2, p. 246, Sept. 24, 1904.
4. ADAM DE LA HALLE, ca.1235-ca.1288.
 . . . Adam le bossu, trouvère artésien du XIII^e siècle. Le jeu de la feuillé et Le jeu de Robin et Marion, tr. par Ernest Langlois. Paris, E. de Boccard, 1923. xxxi, 159 p. 16½ cm. (Half-title: Poèmes et récits de la vieille France, pub. sous la direction de A. Jeanroy . . . [1]) AC33-3742 a,2
 ——— Title: Adam le Bossu, trouvère artésien du XIII^e siècle: Le Jeu de Robin et Marion suivi du Jeu du Pèlerin, éd. par Ernest Langlois. Paris, H. Champion (E. Champion) 1924.
 x p., 1 l., 93 p., 1 l. 19 cm. (Les Classiques français du moyen âge . . . [36]) 25-4080 a,2
 ——— Title: . . . Die dem Trouvere Adam de la Halle zugeschriebenen Dramen: "Li jus du Pelerin," "Li gieus de Robin et de Marion," "Li jus Adan." Genauer Abdruck der erhaltenen Handschriften. Besorgt von Dr. A. Rambeau . . . Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1886.
 1 p. l., 98 p. 22½ cm. (Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie . . . 58) 22-18501 a,2
 Gives facsimile of the text.
- † ——— Title: Le jeu de Robin et Marion par Adam le Bossu, trouvère artésien du XIII^e siècle, pub. par Ernest Langlois . . . [Paris] A. Fontemoing, 1896.
 2 p. l., iv, 154 p. 1 l. 19½ cm. 21-16367 a,f,2
 "Tirage a 500 exemplaires." Nottingham copy no. 139.
 Text in Old French and modern French on opposite pages. Considered the best edition by Chambers. See his *Mediaeval Stage*, I, p. 172.
- * ——— Title: The play of Robin and Marion. (Le jeu de Robin et Marion)
 † mediaeval folk comedy opera in one act, written and composed for the court of Robert, count of Artois, in the thirteenth century by the trouvère, Adam de la Halle, reconstructed and harmonized in the manner of the period by Jean Beck . . . The text is given here in the original Old French with an English translation by J. Murray Gibbon (the songs being in modern French). Boston, New York [etc.], C. C. Birchard & Company [c1928].
 5 p. l., 36 p. illus. 28 cm. \$1.25. 30-9338 a,1,2,14
 Includes piano-vocal score.

6. ADAM DE LA HALLE. *ca.*1235-*ca.*1288.

Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle (poésies et musiques) pub. sous les auspices de la Société des sciences, des lettres et des arts de Lille, par E. de Coussemaker . . . Paris, A. Durand & Pedone-Lauriel, 1872.

Ixxiv, [1], 44 p. illus. (music) 28¹/₂cm.

f

Gives the music.

ADAM DE LA HALLE. *See also* CHAMBERS, Mediaeval stage, I, p. 171-174; GROBER, GUSTAV; GUY, H.; LANGLOIS, ERNEST; TIERSOT, J.; VORETZSCH, CARL.

8. An adventure in Sherwood forest, a little geste of Robin Hood. In: Hone, William. Year-book of daily recreation, p. 801-804.

7 stanzas of 8 lines. Signed, J. F. R.

—— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 419-421.

10. . . . Adventures of Robert Earl of Huntington vulgarly called Robin Hood. Being a compleat history of all his merry adventures and valiant battles, which he, Little John, William Stutely, and William Scarlet fought on divers occasions. Glasgow, 1777.

12°

b,3

In 24 ballads. Preface subscribed S—— M——.

—— Falkirk, 1908.

b,3

12. . . . Adventures of Robin Hood. London, Howard & Evans [1810].

24 p. 12°

b,3

14. Adventures of . . . Robin Hood. Falkirk, Printed and sold by T. Johnston, 1808.

h,13

Possibly same as no. 10 above?

16. ALEXANDER, A.

Robin Hood; romance of the English forest: il. by T. W. Holgate. London, T. Burleigh, 1900.

320 p. 6/-.

4

18. ALEXANDER, VERA CONSTANCE, 1890-

† Rob-in-the-wood. In: Knowles, J. B., ed. Our girls' annual. London, "Every girl's paper" office, 1930.

14

20. ALFORD, VIOLET.

† Peeps at English folk-dances, by Violet Alford. Containing twelve full-page illustrations, four being in colour. London, A. & C. Black, Ltd., 1923.

vii, [1], 87, [1] p. col. front., illus., plates (part col.) 19¹/₂cm. [The peeps series]

24-8886 a,i,2,14

Contains a section on the characters in the Robin Hood games, with illustration of a window at Betley, depicting Maid Marian and Friar Tuck, p. 47-50.

22. ALLEN, PHILIP SCHUYLER, 1871-

Robin Hood, earl of Huntington, by Philip S. Allen; drawings by Electra Papadopoulos. Chicago, The Torch castle, 1930.

62 p. incl. front., plates. 17¹/₂cm.

30-5147 a,2

ALLEN, PHILIP SCHUYLER, 1871- *See also* under HEAL, EDITH.

24. ALLINGHAM, WILLIAM, 1824-1889, ed.
 The ballad book: a selection of the choicest British ballads, ed. by William Allingham . . . Cambridge, Sever and Francis, 1865.
 xlvii, 397 p. 16½cm. 18-8439 a,2
 Title vignette.
 Seventy-six old ballads, with a bibliographical and historical introduction.
 ——— London, Macmillan and co., 1898.
 xlvii, 393 p. 16cm. (Golden treasury series)
 Contains: Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons, p.110-115 ——— A lytell geste of Robyn Hode, p.159-235 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p.280-283.
- ALLINSON, ALFRED, tr. *See under* DUMAS, ALEXANDRE.
 Altenglische balladen. *See under* BODMER, JOHANN JAKOB.
26. ANDERSON, JOHN.
 Robin Hood and his merry men. (Little giant books) New York [etc.] Oxford press [1933?]. illus. 1/- 1
 ANDREWS, P. *See under* WOODS, LOTTA.
28. ARBER, EDWARD, 1836-1912.
 An English garner; ingatherings from our history and literature. London and Chilworth, 1877.
 8v. b,3
 Includes the Lytel geste, v. 6, p. 423-468.
 ——— Westminster, A. Constable and co., 1880-97.
 8v. 20½cm. 1-17412 a,b,2,3
 Vols. 1, 2, and 6, 1897.
 Reproductions of original title-pages, head-pieces and tail-pieces.
29. ARDAGH, J.
 Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 12, p. 170, Aug. 28, 1915; series 12, vol. 1, p. 427, May 27, 1916.
 See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.
30. ARMES, WILLIAM DALLAM, 1860- ed
 Old English ballads and folk songs, selected and ed. by William Dallam Armes . . . New York, The Macmillan company; London, Macmillan & co., ltd., 1904.
 xlv, 222 p. front., illus. 15cm. [Macmillan's pocket American and English classics] 4-26914 a,2
 * ——— 1920.
 xlv, 222 p. front., illus. 15cm. (Macmillan's pocket American and English classics)
 Contains: Robin Hood and Little John, p. 88-93 ——— Guy of Gisborne, p. 94-102 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 103-105.
 Arthur O'Bradley. *See under* A Merry wedding, etc.
31. ARMITAGE, ALFRED.
 Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 8, p. 203-204, Sept. 13, 1913.
 See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.

32. ARMISTRONG, T. P.

Robin Hood in French. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 9, vol. 11, p. 258, Mar. 28, 1903

See also Robin Hood in French, *infra*

33. ASPIN, JEHOSHAPHAT.

+ Ancient customs, sports, and pastimes of the English, explained from authentic sources, and in a familiar manner, by J. Aspin, esq. London, John Harris, 1832.

viii, 256 p. front., illus., 12 plates. 13¹/₂ x 11 cm. (Little library) b,3,14

Refers to the May-day Robin Hood games, p. 163-169.

34. ALERSPERG, ANTON ALEXANDER, graf von, 1806-1876.

Robin Hood. Ein Balladenkranz nach altenglischen Volkshedern, von Anastasius Grün [pseud.] Stuttgart. 1864. b,3

Contains: Robin Hoods gang nach Nottingham, p. 61 — Robin Hood und John Klein, p. 65 — Robin Hood und Maid Marian, p. 72 — Robin Hood und der Töpfer, p. 76 — Robin Hoods Kirchengang, p. 89 — Robin Hood und Guy von Gisborne, p. 103 — Robin Hood und der Bischof, p. 113 — Robin Hood und der Gerber, p. 117 — Robin Hood und der Klosterbruder, p. 124 — Robin Hoods goldner Lohn, p. 131 — Robin Hood rettet der Wittwe drei Sohne, p. 135 — Robin Hood und der goldene Pfeil, p. 140 — Robin Hood und Allin vom Thal, p. 146 — Robin Hood und der Bischof von Hereford, p. 151 — Klein John und die vier Bettler, p. 155 — König Richard und Robin Hood, p. 159 — Robin Hood verlässt den Hof, p. 166 [stanzas 433, 435-450 of the Lytel geste] — Der König jagt auf Robin Hood, p. 169 [Robin Hood's chase] — Robin Hood und der Königin Katharine, p. 172 — Robin Hood und der Bettler, p. 180 — Robin Hood zur See, p. 195 [Noble fisherman] — Robin Hoods Tod, p. 200.

36. AUERSPERG, ANTON ALEXANDER, graf von, 1806-1876.

Anastasius Grüns gesammelte Werke. Hrsg. von Ludwig August Frankl. Berlin, G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1877.

5v. 17¹/₂ cm.

Contains: v.5: Robin Hood. Einleitung, p. 163-203 — Robin Hoods Geburt, p. 207-210 — Robin Hoods gang nach Nottingham, p. 211-214 — Robin Hood und John Klein, p. 215-220 — Robin Hood und Maid Marian, p. 221-224 — Robin Hood und der Töpfer, p. 225-235 — Robin Hoods Kirchengang, p. 236-247 [Robin Hood and the monk] — Robin Hood und Guy von Gisborne, p. 248-256 — Robin Hood und der Bischof, p. 257-260 — Robin Hood und der Gerber, p. 261-266 — Robin Hood und der Klosterbruder, p. 267-273 — Robin Hoods goldner Lohn, p. 274-277 — Robin Hood rettet der Wittwe drei Söhne, p. 278-282 — Robin Hood und der goldene Pfeil, p. 283-287 — Robin Hood und Allin vom Thal, p. 288-292 — Robin Hood und der Bischof von Hereford, p. 293-296 — Klein John und die vier Bettler, p. 297-300 — König Richard und Robin Hood, p. 301-306 — Robin Hood verlässt den Hof, p. 307-309 [stanzas 433, 435-450 of the Lytel geste] — Der König jagt auf Robin Hood, p. 310-312 [Robin Hood's chase, omitting stanzas 1-7, 24] — Robin Hood und Königin Katharine, p. 313-319 — Robin Hood und der Bettler, p. 320-331 — Robin Hood zur See, p. 332-336 [Noble fisherman] — Robin Hoods Tod, p. 337-340.

— Leipzig, Hesse & Becker [190?].

10v. in 2. front., illus., ports., fold facsim. 17¹/₂ cm. (Deutsche klassiker-bibliothek) f

— Berlin, Bong & co. [1909]

6v. in 3. fronts. 19cm. (Goldene klassiker-bibliothek)

t

BAGFORD, JOHN, 1650-1716. *See under* Bagford ballads.

BAGFORD BALLADS Collection of ballads in the British Museum. Referred to under ballad titles in this list as 'Bagford.'

38. The Bagford ballads: illustrating the last years of the Stuarts. Ed., with introduction and notes, by Joseph Woodfall Ebsworth . . . with copies of all the original woodcuts . . . Hertford, Printed for the Ballad Society, by S. Austin and sons, 1878.

2v. fronts., illus. 23cm. (On cover: Ballad society. [Publications] no. 14-17, 20)
14-17553 a,2

Does not include ballads common to it and the Roxburghe collection, so no Robin Hood ballads are printed, but v. 2, i.e. part 4, in pref. pages lx-lxxvi, includes list of the Bagford ballads, 1685, "Sold by William Thackeray at the Angel in Duck-lane, London," giving present locations (1878), as follows:

1. Robin Hood's golden prize. Roxburghe III, 12
2. Robin Hood and Allan a Dale. Roxburghe II, 394.
3. Robin Hood and the fisherman. Roxburghe II, 370.
4. Robin Hood and the curial friar. Roxburghe III, 16.
5. Robin Hood and Little John. Old ballads, I, 76.
6. Robin Hood and the tanner. Pepys II, 111.
7. Robin Hood's delight. Douce II, 113.
8. Robin Hood and the beggar. Roxburghe III, 20.
9. Robin Hood's chase. Roxburghe III, 14.
10. Robin Hood and the pinder. Roxburghe III, 24.
11. Robin Hood and the shepherd. Roxburghe II, 392.
12. Robin Hood and the foresters. Douce III, 123.
13. Robin Hood and Queen Katherine. Roxburghe I, 356.
14. Robin Hood and Will Stutly. Pepys, II, 106.
15. Robin Hood and the tinker. Roxburghe III, 22.
16. Little John and the four beggars. Roxburghe III, 10.
17. Robin Hood newly revived. Roxburghe III, 18, 408.
18. Robin Hood and the bishop. Roxburghe I, 362.
19. Robin Hood's birth. Roxburghe I, 360.
20. Robin Hood and the butcher. Roxburghe III, 259.
21. Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon. Roxburghe I, 358.

40. BAILEY, MARGARET EMERSON.

Robin Hood's barn; the confessions of a garden adventurer, by Margaret Emerson Bailey; with drawings by Whitman Bailey. New York, George H. Doran company, [c1922].

xiii p, 1 l., 17-301 p. incl. front., illus., plates. 21½ cm. \$2.00.

A Robin Hood *title* only.

22-23274 a,2

BALL, E., [pseud.] *See* FITZBALL, EDWARD, 1792-1873.

42. Ballad of Robin Hood. From the original version in the famous old Percy ballads. London, De la More press (A. Moring) 1911.

36 p. sewn. 1/-; also paper at 6d.

14

44. Ballads and metrical tales; selected from Percy, Ritson, Evans, Jamieson, Scott, etc. London, James Burns. 1845. 14
 Ballads and songs relating to Robin Hood. *See under* RITSON, JOSEPH. Robin Hood [10]
46. BANTA, NATHANIEL MOORE. 1867- ed.
 * The stories of Robin Hood, ed. by N. Moore Banta. [Chicago] A. Flannagan co., c1922.
 32 p 18cm. (On cover: The little classic series) 10 cents, paper.
 Caption title. CA24-246 unrev. a,2
48. [BARRY, EDWARD] 1809-1879.
 † . . . Thèse de littérature sur les vicissitudes et les transformations du cycle populaire de Robin Hood . . . Paris, Rignoux, 1832.
 2 p.l., 102 p. 22cm. 25-24340 a,2,14
 Thèse ——— Faculté des lettres de Paris.
- BARTLETT, HOMER NEWTON, 1845-1920. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD (piano solos).
50. BARTON, BERNARD, 1784-1849.
 Memoir, letters, and poems of Bernard Barton. Ed. by his daughter. Philadelphia, Lindsay and Blakiston, 1850.
 xii, 13-405 p. front. (port.) 20cm. a,2
 "Memoir of Bernard Barton" (p.13-42) signed: E.F.G. [i.e. Edward Fitzgerald]
 This item not seen. Doubtless contains his "Death of Robin Hood."
52. BARTON, BERNARD, 1784-1849.
 A New Year's eve, and other poems . . . London, John Hatchard and son, 1828.
 1 l., x, 244 p. front. 22½cm. b,3
 Contains: The death of Robin Hood, p.114-115.
 This ballad reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 428-430.
54. BARTON, BERNARD, 1784-1849.
 Poems. London, 1820. b,3
 Doubtless contains "Death of Robin Hood."
 ——— 3d ed., with additions. London, 1821. Mount Pleasant, O., Printed by E. Bates, 1823.
 ix, [11]-180, [4] p. 15cm. 18-5554 a,2
 ——— 2d American, from the latest London edition . . . Augusta, Me., W. M. Ladd, 1825.
 xii, [13]-240 p. 18cm. 22-16401 a,2
56. BARTON, BERNARD, 1784-1849.
 Poems and letters, by Bernard Barton. With a memoir. Ed by his daughter. New ed. London, A. H. Virtue, & co., 1853.
 viii, [4], [ix]-xxxix, 363, [1] p. front. (port.) 20cm. b,3

57. BASKERVILLE, CHARLES READ, 1872-1935.
 The Elizabethan jig, and related song drama. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago press, c1920.
 x, 642 p. front. 23½ cm. \$5.00. 27-27940 a,b,2
 Contains discussion of the Robin Hood ballads and plays, p. 18, 26-27, 29, 30, 34, 47, 49, 51, 52, 78, 310, 352, 354-356, 363.
58. BAYLY, WILLIAM J.
 Who was Robin Hood? [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 3, p. 252, Mar. 26, 1887.
 See also Who was Robin Hood? *infra*.
 BAYNE, REV. RONALD. See under JONSON, BEN.
 BECK, JOHANN BAPTIST, 1881- See under ADAM DE LA HALLE.
59. BENET, WILLIAM ROSE, 1886-.
 Death of Robin Hood; poem. In: Saturday review of literature, v. 7, p. 323, Nov. 15, 1930.
 ——— In: Literary digest, v. 107, p. 24, Dec. 6, 1930.
 BENJAMIN, PARK, 1809-1864. See under HALL, SAMUEL CARTER.
60. Big adventure book for boys. London, Nelson [1929].
 † Contains: Meeting of Robin Hood and Little John. 14
62. . . . Big book of famous stories . . . N. Y., Grosset and Dunlap [1933].
 * 2 p. l., each story with sep. pag. col. front plates (part col.) 25½ cm.
 Pictorial boards.
 Contains: Robin Hood, 59 p. Includes 2 plates, 1 col. plate.
64. The Birth of Robin Hood. Ballad, 18 stanzas. In: Jamieson, Robert. Popular ballads and songs, v. 2, p. 44-48. (See under Jamieson).
 Received by Jamieson by word of mouth from a Mrs. Brown.
 ——— Reprinted from Jamieson in Gutch, II, p. 373-376.
 ——— In: Ritson 1862, p. 319-322.
65. Birth-place of Robin Hood [Note]. In: Notes and queries, series 3, vol. 5, p. 293, Apr. 9, 1864.
 The Bishop of Hereford's entertainment by Robin Hood and Little John. See Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.
66. BLANCHARD, E. J.
 † Robin Hood; or, Harlequin Friar Tuck, and the merry men of Sherwood forest. London, Davidson [n. d.].
 Drury Lane pantomimes, 1858-59. 14
68. BLYTON, ENID.
 † Book of little plays. London, Nelson [1928].
 Contains a short play of Robin Hood. 14
70. BLYTON, ENID.
 † Robin Hood and his merry men. London, Newnes [1930]. 14

72. BLYTON, ENID.

- *+ Tales of Robin Hood . . . London, George Newnes [1930]
 128 p. incl. 4 plates. 4 col. plates (incl. front.) 16¹/₂ cm (John O'London's
 children's library) 2/-.

1,4,14

* ——— paper 1/3.

74 [BODMER, JOHANN JAKOB. 1698-1783]

Altenglische Balladen Zurich. Zurich und Winterthur, 1780-81.

2v.

b,3

Contains German translation of. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne. v. 2, p. 128.

75. BOGER, CHARLOTTE G.

Book about Robin Hood [Answer to query by Alfred Jewell]. In: Notes and
 queries, series 8. vol. 7. p. 74, Jan 26. 1895

76 The Bold pedlar and Robin Hood. In: The Bold pedlar and Robin Hood.
 The bold Irishman. [London. 1830²]

Ballad, 15 stanzas.

b,3

——— In: Child, III. p. 154-155 (No. 132).

——— In: Gutch, II, p 356-359.

——— In: Ritson 1862, p 316-318.

For the music, see under JEWITT, LEWELLYNN.

78. Bold Robin Hood. [London, 1830²]

Single sheet fold.

b,3

80. Bold Robin Hood; the story of Robin Hood and his merry men: abridged and
 simplified for the young. Philadelphia, P. N. B. Kneass, Jr., 1870.
 13 leaves. Pag. obliterated.82. Bold Robin Hood and Allan-a-Dale . . . [London, 1820²]

Song.

b,3

84. A Book of old English ballads, with an accompaniment of decorative drawings
 by George Wharton Edwards, and an introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie. New
 York, The Macmillan company, c1896.

185 p. illus. 19cm.

Contains: Robin Hood and Allen-a-Dale, p. 100-105 ——— Robin Hood and
 Guy of Gisborne, p. 106-118 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 119-123.

——— Reprinted Sept. 1902.

——— Reprinted April 1906.

——— Reprinted June 1907.

——— Reprinted March 1910.

11-25423 a.2

——— Reprinted Nov. 1914.

BOWER, WALTER. See FORDUN, JOHN.

85. BOWES, ARTHUR.

Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 12, vol. 10, p. 378, May 13, 1922.

See also Robin Hood wind, *infra*.

86. BRABROOK, EDWARD WILLIAM, 1839-

+ Robin Hood. In: Antiquary magazine, n.s. v. 42, p. 208, 263, 1906.

88. BRADLEY, HENRY. 1845-1923.

Name of Robin Hood. In: Academy, v. 24, p. 181, 384, 1883.

90. BRAND, JOHN, 1744-1806.

Observations on popular antiquities, including the whole of Mr. Bourne's Antiquitates vulgares, with addenda to every chapter of that work: as also an appendix containing such articles on the subject as have been omitted by that author. By John Brand . . . London, Printed for W. Baynes, 1810.

1 p. l., xvi, 424 p. 24cm.

2-9712 a,2

Engraved t.-p.

With facsimile of t.-p. of Bourne's Antiquitates vulgares, 1725.

——— 1813.

——— Title: Observations on the popular antiquities of Great Britain: chiefly illustrating the origin of our vulgar and provincial customs, ceremonies, and superstitions. By John Brand . . . Arranged, rev., and greatly enl., by Sir Henry Ellis . . . A new ed. [3d] with further additions, by J. O. Halliwell . . . London, H. G. Bohn, 1848-49.

3v. fronts. 18½cm. [Bohn's antiquarian library]

"By J. O. Halliwell" does not appear on t.-p. of v. 2-3.

2-9713 a,2

——— London, H. G. Bohn, 1849.

3v. fronts. 18cm. [Bohn's antiquarian library]

A reissue of the 3d edition, v. 1 having a slightly different t.-p.

Additions made by J. O. Halliwell.

2-9714 a,2

——— Title: Popular antiquities of Great Britain, comprising notices of the moveable and immoveable feats, customs, superstitions and amusements past and present. Ed. from the materials collected by John Brand, F. S. A., with very large corrections and additions by W. Carew Hazlitt. With a new and copious index . . . London, J. R. Smith, 1870.

3v. 24cm.

2-9248 a,2

"The impression of this book is limited to 350 copies, of which 50 are on large paper."

——— Title: Observations on popular antiquities, chiefly illustrating the origin of our vulgar customs, ceremonies, and superstition . . . with the additions of Sir Henry Ellis . . . new and rev. ed . . . London, Chatto and Windus, 1888. xiv, 807 p. front., plates.

Contains discussion of Maid Marian, Robin Hood and Friar Tuck in the May-games. Morris dancers, p. 137-146. Includes a passage from Kingston-on-Thames churchwardens' and chamberlains' book on "Robin Hood and May game."

——— Title as in 3d ed.; Arranged, revised, and greatly enlarged by Sir Henry Ellis . . . London, G. Bell and sons, 1900-02.

3v. fronts. (v. 1, 2) 19cm. (Half-title: Bohn's antiquarian library) 4-11295 a,2
Vol. 1, "A new edition, with further additions," v. 2, 1900; v. 3, 1901.

- Title: Brand's Popular antiquities of Great Britain. Faith and folklore; a dictionary of national beliefs, superstitions and popular customs, past and current, with their classical and foreign analogues, described and illustrated. Forming a new ed. of the "Popular antiquities of Great Britain" by Brand and Ellis, largely extended, corrected, brought down to the present time, and now first alphabetically arranged. By W. Carew Hazlitt . . . London, Reeves and Turner, 1905.
2v. fronts., illus. 23cm 5-5937 a,2
Paged continuously.
Contains entries under Friar Tuck, p. 247; Maid Marion, p. 383; Little John, p. 366; May-day, p. 397; Robin Hood, p. 519-520.
91. BREDON, J.
† Outlaws of Sherwood. London [etc.], Harrap, 1935. 14
92. [BREWER, C.]
† Robin Hood and Little John. Mansfield, William and Webster [1900?]. 14
† ——— Revised and retold. London, Printing-craft, Ltd.; Mansfield, F. Willman [1929]. 14
93. BREWER, JOHN SHERREN, 1810-1879.
Letters and papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII. Arranged and cataloged by J. S. Brewer [and afterwards by J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie].
18v. (Calendar of state papers, 1862-1902.) b,3
v. 2 mentions the mayings of Henry VIII, in 1504. *See also* HALL, E.
94. BRISCOE, JOHN POTTER, 1848-
† List of the various editions of the ballads, poems, etc., relating to Robin Hood. 1871. 14
96. BRISCOE, JOHN POTTER, 1848-
† Robin Hood literature in the Nottingham free public reference library. 1898. (Ye Nottm. sette of odde volumes. Opuscula, 11) 14
97. BROOKE, MRS. FRANCES (MOORE), 1724-1789.
Marion; a comic opera in two acts. Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. By Mrs. Brookes. London, Printed by A. Strahan, for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, 1800.
31 p. 22cm. ([Longe, F. Collection of plays. v. 267, no. 8]) 26-24015 a,b,1,2
Without the music (by Shield).
98. BROWN, ALICE, 1857-
Robin Hood's barn, by Alice Brown. New York, The Macmillan company, 1913. v, 225 p. col. front., plates. 19½ cm. \$1 25. 13-20347 a,1,2
A Robin Hood *title* only.
- BROWN, CAROLINE [pseud.]. *See* KROUT, CAROLINE VIRGINIA.
- BROWN, IVOR JOHN CARNEGIE, 1891- *See under* NOYES, ALFRED; SQUIRE, JOHN COLLINGS.
99. BROWN, JOHN CROUMBIE.
Forests of England, and their management in bygone times. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd; London, Simpkins, 1883.
xvi, 263, 8 p. 19cm. 10-18589 a,b,2,3

Chapter II. Section I. A Sherwood forest. p. 17-32; p 17-18 mentions Robin Hood and gives his epitaph.

——— Same.

xvi. 263 p. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

12-17677 a,2

100 BUCHAN, PETER. 1790-1854.

Ancient ballads and songs of the north of Scotland, hitherto unpublished. With explanatory notes by Peter Buchan . . . Edinburgh. Printed for W & D. Laing [etc.] 1828.

2v. front. (port.) 21cm.

f

- * ——— Reprinted from the original edition of 1828 . . . Edinburgh, William Paterson, 1875.

2v. front. (port. v. 1) 19cm.

Contains, v. 1: Rose the red, and white lilly, p. 66-75 ——— Notes, p. 290.

Contains, v. 2: The birth of Robin Hood, p. 1-6 ——— Notes, p. 291-292.

Copy in University of Michigan library.

102. BUCKINGHAM, ELINOR MEAD.

. . . The tale of Robin Hood and his merry men; a new and original setting by Elinor M. Buckingham . . . New York and Chicago, Globe school book company [1902].

250 p. illus. (part col.) 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (The Manhattan library) 30 cents.

2-23404 a,1,2

——— New York, Manhattan press [c1905].

250 p. col. front., illus. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Wonderland series) 30 cents.

5-20446 rev. a,1,2

- * ——— Philadelphia, David McKay [c1905].

3 l., 212 p. illus. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (McKay's young people's classics, n. 17) 50 cents.

Issued in 1911.

104. BURNAND, SIR FRANCIS COWLEY, 1836-1917.

Robin Hood; or, The forester's fate: an extravaganza ——— Carte de visite. An original farce [prose] . . . by M. Williams and Francis C. Burnard. London, [1850].

(Lacey's acting edition of plays, v. 57)

- † ——— Title: Robin Hood; or, The forester's fate: an extravaganza . . . London, T. H. Lacey [1862].

40 p. 18cm. (On cover: French's acting edition, 841)

f,14

BURRAGE, ALFRED S. See Robin Hood library.

106. BUSCHING, JOHANN GUSTAV GOTTLIEB, 1783-1829.

Erzählungen, Dichtungen, Fastnachtsspiele und Schwanke des Mittelalters. Breslau, 1814.

Vol. 1 contains German translation of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p.241.

108. BUSH, BERTHA EVANGELINE, 1866-

- * Stories of Robin Hood . . . Dansville, N. Y., F. A. Owen pub. co. [c1912]

32 p. 18 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Instructor literature series, n. 212) 15 cents.

1

- * ——— Paper, 10 cents.

110. By Lands-Dale hey ho. In: Deuteromelia. (See under this title.)

Ballad, 10 stanzas.

—— In: Gutch. II, p. 395-396.

—— In Ritson (with the music). 1795, II, p. 204-208. Title: A freemans song.
C., A. See 581.

112. The Cambridge history of English literature, ed. by A. W. Ward . . . and A. R. Waller . . . Cambridge, The University press, 1907-16.

14v. 24cm.

7-40856 a,2

Bibliographies at end of each volume.

Contains references to Robin Hood literature throughout the set, available through the indexes at the end of each volume. Vol. 2, The end of the Middle Ages, includes references to Robin Hood on pages 126, 222, 351, 368, 453, 457, 467, 472, 473, 485, 563, with the following ballad references, including occasional quotations: Robin Hood and the monk, p. 457, 463, 472 — Robin Hood and the potter, p. 463 — True tale of Robin Hood, p. 472 — Robin Hood's death, p. 473 — Gest of Robyn Hode, p. 374, 457, 463, 472, 486 — Robyn and Gandelyn, p. 463.

Vol. 5, p. 37-39, discusses the Robin Hood plays.

—— Cambridge, The University press, 1919-30.

15v. 24cm.

30-31831 a,2

Vols. 1-3, 5, reprints; v. 4, 6-14, new impressions; v. 15, first edition.

Vol. 15 is general index.

114. CAMPBELL, WILLIAM W. 1806-1881.

† An historical sketch of Robin Hood and Captain Kidd, by William W. Campbell . . . New York, C. Scribner, 1853.

viii, [9]-263 p. 18½cm.

24-2043 a,b,2,3

Contains: Lytell geste of Robyn Hode, p. 23-93.

116. CANTU, CESARE, 1805-1895.

Documenti alla storia universale. v. 5, n. 14, Delle canzone e della poesia popolare e nazionale. Torino, 8th ed. 1858.

Contains Italian translation of Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 801.

118. [CARTER, JAMES], of Mansfield, England.

† A visit to Sherwood Forest, including the abbeys of Newstead, Rufford, & Welbeck; Annesley, Thoresby, and Hardwick halls; Bolsover castle, and other interesting places in the locality. With a critical essay on the life and times of Robin Hood . . . London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1850.

1 p. l., 95, [1] p. front., illus., plates. 18cm.

3-17762 a,2,14

First edition.

—— Title: A visit to Sherwood Forest: including the abbeys of Newstead, Rufford and Welbeck; Clumber, Annesley, Thoresby, and Hardwick halls; Bolsover castle, Mansfield, and other interesting places in the locality. By J. Carter. With a critical essay on the life and times of Robin Hood. New ed., enl. London, Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts [pref. 1860].

iv, 98, [1] p. front., illus. 18cm.

3-17763 a,2

—— 3d ed. rev. [1866].

b,3

—— 4th ed. rev. [1875].

b,3

——— Title: A visit to Sherwood Forest: including the abbeys of Newstead, Rufford, & Welbeck; Bolsover castle; Clumber and Thoresby; Hardwick and Annesley halls; and other interesting places within ten miles of Mansfield. By James Carter. With a critical essay on the life and times of Robin Hood. 5th ed., rev. London, Hamilton, Adams, & co. [1884?].

100, [2] p. front. (fold. map) illus. 18½ cm.

3-8411 a,2

CARTLEDGE, H. A., ed. *See* 192.

120. CAVANAH, FRANCES.

- * Robin Hood's enchanted spring; a play in one act for children . . . San Francisco, Banner play bureau, c1930.

11 p. paper, 35 cents.

Noted in Dramatic index, 1930.

122. CAVANAH, FRANCES.

- * Robin Hood's enchanted spring, and other one act plays for children, by Frances Cavanah; a collection of seven delightful and unusually interesting plays for children. Simple, yet at once whimsical, fantastic and instructive . . . San Francisco, Banner play bureau, c1930.

32 p. illus. 30½ cm. \$1.50.

30-21430 a,1,2

"Robin Hood's enchanted spring," p. 5-7.

Celebrated songs of the renowned Robin Hood. *See under* Robin Hood's garland [1].

123. CHALMERS, GEORGE, 1742-1825.

Caledonia; or, An account, historical and topographic, of North Britain; from the most ancient to the present times: with a dictionary of places, chorographical and philological. In four volumes . . . By George Chalmers . . . London, Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807-24.

3v. plans, general. tables. 29cm.

3-28897 a,b,2,3

The words "with a dictionary of places, chorographical and philological. In four volumes" are omitted on t.-p. of v. 2 and 3.

Vol. 1 contains general history to 1306; v. 2, local history of the seven south-eastern; v. 3, of the southwestern shires.

No more published.

Contains, v. 2: p. 642-643, discussion of Robin Hood in the May-games.

——— New ed. [by Alexander Gardner] Paisley, 1887-94.

7v. map, plans, tables. 4to.

d

124. CHAMBERS, SIR EDMUND KERCHEVER, 1866-

The mediaeval stage. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1903.

2v. fronts. 22cm.

4-1915 a,2

Contains good discussion of Robin Hood in the May games, v. 1, p. 171-181.

125. CHAMBERS, ROBERT.

The book of days, a miscellany of popular antiquities in connection with the calendar, including anecdote, biography, and history, curiosities of literature and oddities of human life and character . . . Ed. by Robert Chambers. London and Edinburgh, W. and R. Chambers, 1864.

2v. illus.

——— [1869].

2v. illus. (incl. ports., facsim., music) 26cm.

10-18853 a,2

——— 1878

2v illus (incl. ports, facsim. music) 26cm

10-18853 a,2

Contains: Robin Hood and May games, v. 1. p 580, 582, 630-632; Robin Hood, v. 2. p 606-609.

——— [1906²]

2v. illus (incl. ports, facsim. music) 27cm

8-1452 a,2

——— [1914²].

2v illus (incl. ports, facsim. music) 27cm.

30-24283 a,2

126. CHAPPELL, WILLIAM, 1809-1888

A collection of national English airs, consisting of ancient song, ballad, & dance tunes, interspersed with remarks and anecdote, and preceded by an essay on English minstrelsy. The airs harmonized, for the pianoforte, by W Crotch . . G A. Macfarren, and J. Augustine Wade Ed. by W. Chappell . . London, Chappell [etc.] 1840.

2v front (v. 2) 32x24½cm.

6-32325 a,b,2,3

[vol. 2] has added t-p engr. Collection of ancient English melodies

Contains, v. 1 (music), p 38. Robin Hood, Robin Hood, said Little John; Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford ——— p 99 Robin Hood and Little John; Robin Hood and the Bishop, Robin Hood and the beggar; Robin Hood and the four beggars; Robin Hood and the stranger; Robin Hood and the tanner; Robin Hood's chase.

Vol. 2 (Discussion), p 67, 192 Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford ——— p 72: Robin Hood, Robin Hood, said Little John ——— p. 156: Robin Hood and Little John; Robin Hood and the Bishop; Robin Hood and the beggar; Robin Hood and the four beggars, Robin Hood and the stranger, Robin Hood and the tanner; Robin Hood's chase.

——— Title: Popular music of the olden time; a collection of ancient songs, ballads, and dance tunes, illustrative of the national music of England. With short introductions to the different reigns, and notices of the airs from writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Also a short account of the minstrels. By W. Chappell, F. S. A. The whole of the airs harmonized by G A Macfarren . . . London, Cramer, Beale, & Chappell [1859].

2v. illus., 5 facsim. (incl col front.) 27cm.

5-19644 a,b,2,3

Pageed continuously.

An expansion of his "Collection of national English airs," 1840. Part of the present edition was issued under the title "The ballad literature and popular music of the olden time."

Contains music for the ballads as follows. p. 59 Robin Hood and Queen Katherine ——— p. 145: Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons ——— p 193. Robin Hood and Allan a Dale ——— p 203 Jolly pinder of Wakefield ——— p. 233: Robin Hood is to the greenwood gone, Bonny sweet Robin ——— p. 350. Robin Hood and the Duke of Lancaster ——— Robin Hood [Discussion] p 387-390 ——— p. 392: Robin Hood revived; Robin Hood and Arthur à Bland [i.e. the tanner]; Robin Hood and the stranger; Robin Hood and the beggar, Robin Hood and the four beggars, Robin Hood and the Bishop; Robin Hood's chase; Robin Hood and Little John; Robin Hood and the butcher, Robin Hood and the ranger; Robin Hood and Maid Marian ——— p. 393: Robin Hood and the curial friar; Noble fisherman ——— p. 394: Jolly pinder of Wakefield ——— p 395: Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford ——— p. 397: Robin Hood and Guy of

Gisborne ——— p 398. Robin Hood, Robin Hood, said Little John ——— p 542:
Robin Hood and the curtal friar [variant tune]. Robin Hood and the monk.

Compare with music as given by RIMBALT, F.

——— Title: Old English popular music, by William Chappell, F.S.A. A new ed. with a preface and notes, and the earlier examples entirely revised by H. Ellis Woolridge . . . London, Chappell & co; New York, Novello, Ewer & co, 1893.

2v. front. (facsim.) 27cm.

5-19643 a,2

This edition has apparently omitted much of the music for Robin Hood ballads as given by earlier editions. v.1, p.273 has music for Robin Hood, Robin Hood, said Little John (same as 1855 ed., p.398)

CHAPPELL, WILLIAM *See also under* PERCY, THOMAS Bishop Percy's folio ms . . . , ROXBURGHE BALLADS.

CHAPPLE, JOSEPH MITCHELL, 1867- *See under* WOODS, LOTTA.

CHEPMAN, WALTER, 1473?-1538? *See under* GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE; STEVENSON, GEORGE S

128. CHESTERMAN, HUGH, 1884-

* Told in Sherwood; being some tales of Robin Hood fetched from an old
† manuscript and here newly set down . . with pictures by Mrs. Frank Rogers.
London, Thomas Nelson and sons, 1931.

106 p. incl. illus 16cm. (Teaching of English series, General editor Sir Henry Newbolt, n.139) 1/-

CHETTEL, HENRY, d.1607? jr. auth. *See under* MUNDAY, ANTHONY

130. CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES, 1825-1896, ed.

English and Scottish ballads. Selected and ed by Francis James Child . . .
Boston, Little Brown and company; Cincinnati, Moore, Wiltach, Keys and co.,
1857-1859.

8v. 17½cm.

13-33703 a,2

Vols. 5, 7, 8 have imprint: Boston, Little, Brown and company [etc.] 1859;
v. 6, 1858.

† ——— Boston, Little Brown and company, 1864.

8v 17cm. [British poets, ed. by F. J Child].

15-22317 a,2,14

Forerunner of the editor's much more extensive work, "The English and
Scottish popular ballads," 1882-1898. See below.

"List of the principal collections of English and Scottish ballads and songs":
v.1, p. [xiii-xxxi]; "Titles of the principal collections of ballad-poetry in other
languages, referred to in these volumes": v.1, p. xxxii-xxxiii.

——— Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and company [1885-86].

8v. in 4. 20cm. (On back of cover: British poets. Riverside ed.)

7-42561 a,2

——— Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and company [188-].

8v. in 4 20cm. (On back of cover: British poets. Riverside ed.)

24-11798 a,2

132. CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES, 1825-1896, ed.

† The English and Scottish popular ballads, ed. by Francis James Child. In five
volumes . . . Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and company, [1883-98].

5v. front. (port.) 29cm.

8-13590 a,2,14

"One thousand copies printed."

Issued in 10 parts, each with half-title and t-p. The 5 main title-pages (in red and black) were issued with part x.

Part x edited after the author's death by G. L. Kittredge

"Biographical sketch of Professor Child [by G. L. Kittredge]": v. 1, p. [xxiii]-xxx.

"Glossary": v. 5, p. 309-396.

"Sources of the texts of the English and Scottish ballads": v. 5, p. [397]-404.

"Index of published airs of English and Scottish popular ballads, with an appendix of some airs from manuscript": v. 5, p. [405]-424.

"Index of ballad titles": v. 5, p. [425]-453.

"Titles of collections of ballads, or of books containing ballads": v. 5, p. [455]-468.

"Index of matters and literature": v. 5, p. [469]-502.

Bibliography: v. 5, p. [503]-565.

Contains, v. 3: no. 117. A gest of Robyn Hode, p. 38-89 ——— no. 118. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 89-94 ——— no. 119. Robin Hood and the monk, p. 94-101 ——— no. 120. Robin Hood's death, p. 102-107 ——— no. 121. Robin Hood and the potter, p. 108-114 ——— no. 122. Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 115-120 ——— no. 123. Robin Hood and the curtal friar, p. 121-127 ——— no. 124. The jolly pinder of Wakefield, p. 129-132 ——— no. 125. Robin Hood and Little John, p. 133-136 ——— no. 126. Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 137-140 ——— no. 127. Robin Hood and the tinker, p. 140-143 ——— no. 128. Robin Hood newly revived, p. 144-147 ——— no. 129. Robin Hood and the prince of Aragon, p. 147-150 ——— no. 130. Robin Hood and the Scotchman, p. 150-151 ——— no. 131. Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 152-154 ——— no. 132. The bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p. 154-155 ——— no. 133. Robin Hood and the beggar I, p. 155-158 ——— no. 134. Robin Hood and the beggar II, p. 158-165 ——— no. 135. Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 165-167 ——— no. 136. Robin Hood's delight, p. 168-170 ——— no. 137. Robin Hood and the pedlars, p. 170-172 ——— no. 138. Robin Hood and Allen-a-Dale, p. 172-175 ——— no. 139. Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 175-177 ——— no. 140. Robin Hood rescuing three squires, p. 177-185 ——— no. 141. Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly, p. 185-187 ——— no. 142. Little John a begging, p. 188-190 ——— no. 143. Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 191-193 ——— no. 144. Robin Hood and the bishop of Hereford, p. 193-196 ——— no. 145. Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 196-205 ——— no. 146. Robin Hood's chase, p. 205-207 ——— no. 147. Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 208-210 ——— no. 148. The noble fisherman, p. 211-213 ——— no. 149. Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valor and marriage, p. 214-217 ——— no. 150. Robin Hood and Maid Marian, p. 218-219 ——— no. 151. The king's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood, p. 220-222 ——— no. 152. Robin Hood and the golden arrow, p. 223-225 ——— no. 153. Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 225-226 ——— no. 154. A true tale of Robin Hood, by Martin Parker, p. 227-233.

——— Title: English and Scottish popular ballads; ed. from the collection of Francis James Child by Helen Child Sargent and George Lyman Kittredge. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and company, 1904.

1 p. l., xxxi, 729, [1] p. front (port.) 21½ cm. (Half-title: The Cambridge edition of the poets, ed. by Bliss Perry)

4-13303 a.2

Added t-p engraved.

"A selection from the materials collected, and edited by Mr. Child . . . prepared in accordance with a plan which he had approved. Each of the three hundred and five ballads (except no. 33, 279, 281, and 299) is represented . . . without the apparatus criticus, and with very short introductions."—Pref.

—— Title: English and Scottish popular ballads. Student's Cambridge ed. Boston, New York [etc.] Houghton, Mifflin co. [c1904].

xxxii, 729 p. front. (port.) 20cm. (Half-title: The Cambridge poets. Student's edition)

Copy in University of Michigan library.

134. [CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES, 1825-1896.]

Robin Hood. In: *Atlantic*, v 1, p. 156-166, Dec. 1857.

CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES. *See also* under PERCY, THOMAS. Bishop Percy's folio . . .

CHISHOLM, LOUEY, ed. *See under* MARSHALL, HENRIETTA ELIZABETH.

136. CLAWSON, WILLIAM HALL.

* The gest of Robin Hood, by William Hall Clawson . . . [Toronto] University of Toronto library, 1909.

3 p. l., 129 p. 24½ cm. (Half-title: University of Toronto studies. Philological series. [Extra vol.]) \$2.00 9-27376 a,1,2

Part of an unpublished dissertation on the Robin Hood ballads, presented in 1907 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D., Harvard university.—cf. 3d. prelim. leaf.

138. COATES, BENJAMIN HORNOR, 1797-1881.

Robin Hood [Note] In: *Godey's lady's book*, v 24, p. 203, 1841.

140. A Collection of old ballads. Corrected from the best and most ancient copies extant. With introductions historical and critical or humorous . . . London, Printed for J. Roberts . . . 1723-25.

3v. fronts., plates. 23½ cm. 6

Contains: v. 1: Robin Hood's wedding, p. 64-74 — Robin Hood and Little John, p. 75-82 — Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 83-89 — The rescue of Will Stutly by Robin Hood, p. 90-96.

V. 2: Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 39-43 — Robin Hood and Allen a Dale, p. 44-48 — Robin Hood robbing the two priests, p. 121-124.

"This collection ascribed, by Dr. Farmer, to Ambrose Philips." Lowndes.

—— London, Printed for J. Roberts [etc.] 1726-38.

3v. fronts., plates. 16½ cm.

—— London, Printed for J. Roberts; and sold by J. Brotherton, A. Bettsworth [etc.] 1723-25 [reprint, London, 1872?].

3v. fronts., plates. 18½ cm. 20-17145 a,2

Reprint of original edition published 1723-25.

Some tunes indicated by title.

141. COLLIER, JOHN PAYNE, 1789-1883, ed.

Five old plays, forming a supplement to the collections of Dodsley and others. London, W. Pickering, 1833. d

Introduction mentions the Munday plays.

——— Title: Five old plays, illustrating the early progress of the English drama. Ed. from copies, either unique, or of great rarity . . . Printed for the Roxburghe club. London. W Nicol, 1851.

4 p. l., xx, 426 p., 1 l. 26½ cm.

12-16229 a,2

See also HENSLOWE, PHILIP

COLLINS, JOHN CHURTON, 1848-1908. See GREENE, ROBERT

142. CON AMORE CLUB, London

. . . The Con Amore club, or "Every man in his humour . . . carried out under the merry guise of the famous Robin Hood, and the bold outlaws of Sherwood forest, with black-letter ballad sketches of the characters. Comp., ed., and set forth by the Ranger . . . London, Under decree of the club, 1865.

9 p., 1 l., [17]-47 p. 1 illus 23cm.

22-1865 a,2

Arranged for photographs of the members, under the names Robin Hood, Little John, etc.

Convocation book (Wells) See under GREAT BRITAIN. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

COPLAND, WILLIAM, printer. See under Mery geste . . .

COUCH, SIR ARTHUR THOMAS QUILLER. See QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR THOMAS, 1863-.

COUSSEMAKER, E. DE. See under ADAM DE LA HALLE

COX, CAPTAIN, fl.1575 See under LANEHAM, ROBERT.

144. CRAWFORD, JACK RANDALL, 1878-

Robin of Sherwood; a comedy in three acts and four scenes, by J. R Crawford. New Haven, Yale University press, 1912.

5 p. l., 7-150 p 20½ cm. \$1.00

12-15742 a,1,2

Noted in Dramatic index, 1912.

145. CREIZENACH, WILHELM MICHAEL ANTON, 1851-1919.

Geschichte des neueren Dramas . . . Halle, a.S., M. Niemeyer, 1893-1916

5v. 23cm.

20-13722-3 a,2

——— 2. verm. u. verb. auf. Halle, a.S., M Niemeyer, 1909-1923.

5v. 23cm.

22-6587 a,2

——— Translation: The English drama in the age of Shakespeare . . . London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1916.

xv, 454 p. 22cm.

17-1203 a,2

Mentions Robin Hood and the Robin Hood literature, p 87, 101, 184, also the Munday plays, p 101-184, 287, 307, 323, 351.

Also issued with an American imprint.

146. CRESWICK, PAUL, 1866-

† Robin Hood and his adventures. By Paul Creswick . . . Illustrated by T. H. Robinson. London, E. Nister, New York, E. P. Dutton & co., 1903.

312 p. illus., 8 pl., 4 col. pl. (incl. front.) 21½ cm. \$2.50

4-888 a,1,2,4

——— Chatterton. 60 cents.

——— Title: Robin Hood; illustrated by N. C. Wyeth. Philadelphia, D. McKay, 1917.

362 p. col. plates. 24½ cm. \$2.50.

17-29729 a,1,2

Illustrated t.-p. and lining-papers in colors.

Lettered on cover: Paul Creswick.

CRESWICK, PAUL, 1866-

Robin Hood and Maid Marian. *See under* Tales of Robin Hood and King Arthur.

147. CROSCOMBE, ENG. (Somerset)

Accounts.

Contain yearly entries or receipts from "Robin Hod's recones." 1476-1510, 1525.

See also under HOBHOUSE, E.

148. CROSSLAND, JOHN R.

* Plays from history. Book I. Written and presented by John R. Crossland. London, Thomas Nelson and sons [1931?].

iv, 5-63 p. illus. 17cm. (Reading practice, no. 42)

Contains. The outlaw and the king, p. 35-41.

149. CROUCH, CHARLES HALL.

Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 9, p. 498, June 20, 1914.

See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.

CROWLEY TEXTS. *See under* LAGLAND, WILLIAM.

150. CRUSE, AMY.

† The golden road in English literature; from Beowulf to Bernard Shaw, by Amy Cruse . . . illustrated by Honor C. Appleton. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell company [1931].

668, [1] p. col. front., col. plates. 23cm.

31-28322 a,2

Printed in Great Britain.

Includes a chapter on the Robin Hood ballads, p. 104-114.

152. CUNDALL, JOSEPH, 1818-1895.

Robin Hood and his merry foresters. By Stephen Percy [pseud.].

Dated Editions

[1] London, H. Bohn, 1840. 5/- also 6/6

4

* [2] London, Tilt and Bogue, 1841.

† 3 l., 154 p. 8 col. pl. each with guard sheet. 17cm.

4,14

[3] Boston, Munroe and Francis, 1842.

2 p. l., [7]-213 p. incl. plates. 14½ cm.

21-18306 a,2

† [4] Westminster, J. Cundall, 1845.

14

[5] ? , A Hart, 1850. 50 cents.

10

† [6] London, H. Bohn, 1850. new ed. 3/6, 5/6

4,14

[7] New York, J. C. Riker, 1854. 63 cents.

10

† [8] New York, C. S. Francis and co., 1855.

14

[9] New York, Munro & co, 1867. paper 10 cents

9

Perhaps later printing of no. [3]

Undated Editions

[10] New York, E. Walker [before 1852].

8 pl. gilt \$1; cloth 75 cents.

10

- [11] New York, Francis & co. [before 1852]. 38 cents. 10
 [12] [New York?], Millar [before 1872]. \$1. In print, 1876. 1
 † [13] Title: Tales of Robin Hood. London, J. F. Shaw and co. [1919?]. 14
 CUNNINGHAM, ALLAN, 1784-1842. *See* Old English ballads. Robin Hood.
153. CURTIS, J. LEWELYN.
 Robes and fees in the days of Robin Hood. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 1, vol. 6, p. 479, Nov. 20, 1852.
154. CURTIS, JOHN DALTON.
 Robin Hood's name and fame [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 1, vol. 7, p. 162, Feb. 12, 1853.
See also Robin Hood's name and fame, *infra*.
155. DALTON, WILLIAM HERBERT, 1848-
 Guide to Robin Hood's Bay and district. Author, 1909. 4
Id.
156. DANIEL, GEORGE, 1789-1864.
 Merrie England in the olden tme By George Daniel. London, R. Bentley, 1842.
 2v. fronts., illus., plates. 19½cm. 7-3319 a.2
 Contains: Robin Hood [song] 7 stanzas.
 ——— New ed. 1869.
 (Chandos library) b.3
158. DARNLEY, H.
 † "Robbin Hood": [song] sung by the Darnley Brothers, Theatre Royal, Nottingham, 1897-98. London, Francis, Day and Hunter, [n.d.] 14
160. DAVENPORT, DELBERT E.
 Repeating history in the movies. In: Illustrated world, v. 37, p. 679-681, July, 1922.
 Discussion of Robin Hood, motion picture play.
162. DAVENPORT, RICHARD ALFRED, ca 1777-1852.
 * Robin Hood; or, The outlaws of Sherwood forest . . . London, Pub. at the offices of "The Scout," [n.d.]
 23 p. paper. 18cm. 4d.
 Play, in three acts.
164. DAVIS, OWEN, 1874-
 * Robin Hood; or, The merry outlaws of Sherwood Forest; a play in three acts,
 † by Owen Davis . . . New York, S. French; [etc., etc.] c1923.
 75 p. 19½cm. paper. 75 cents. CA23-298 unrev. a,b,1,2,3
 Noted in Dramatic index, 1923.
- DAWTREY, A. Robin Hood and the curtal friar [play]. *See under* RIPON.
- DE VRIES, JAN. *See* VRIES, JAN DE.
 Death of Robert, earl of Huntington. *See under* MUNDAY, ANTHONY.
 Death of Robin Hood. *See under* BARTON, BERNARD; Robin Hood's death and burial.

166. DEKOVEN, REGINALD, 1861-1920.

- † "Maid Marian," comic opera in three acts; libretto by H. B. Smith, music by Reginald DeKoven. London, Hopwood and Crew, c1891. 14

First performed in Chicago in 1890 under the title "Robin Hood," and in England in 1891 under the title "Maid Marian."

——— New York [etc.] E. Schuberth & co. (J. F. H. Mejer) [etc., etc.] c1901.
303 p. 29½ cm. 2-27988 rev. a,2
Vocal score with pianoforte accompaniment.

——— Music issued by Schirmer, New York, as follows:

Gems. By Berthold Sidney. \$1.

Selections (instrumental or vocal) 50 cents.

Separate music, voice and piano, as follows:

Though it was within this hour we met. (Maid Marian and Robin Hood)

Soprano and tenor. 60 cents.

Brown October ale. (Little John and chorus) Bass. 60 cents.

In greenwood fair. (Marian) Soprano. 60 cents.

A troubadour sang to his love. (Robin) Tenor. 30 cents.

Armourer's song (Scarlet) Bass. 50 cents.

A time will come. (Marian and Robin) Soprano and tenor. 60 cents.

When a maiden weds. (Annabel) Soprano. 60 cents.

Oh promise me. (Allan-a-Dale) Soprano. 60 cents.

The country dance. Arr. by Homer N. Bartlett. 75 cents

Lancers. Arr. by George Wiegand. 50 cents.

- * Waltzes. Arr. by George Wiegand. 75 cents.

9 p. 30½ cm. c1893.

Oh promise me. Transcribed by James H. Rogers. (violin and piano)
75 cents.

- * Selections. Arr. by Victor Herbert. \$1.

23, 8 p. 30½ cm. c1891.

Oh promise me. Arr. by P. Th. Miersch. (Flute and piano) 75 cents

Selections. Arr. by Victor Herbert. \$1. (Mandolin and piano or guitar.)

Favorite melodies. 50 cents.

Vocal gems. 50 cents.

Vocal score. \$2.00.

——— Title: Robin Hood: musical play, words by Henry Bache Smith [plot].
In: Green book, v. 8, p. 206-207, 348-350, Aug. 1912.

——— Review. By Channing Pollock. In: Green Book, v. 8, p. 117-119, July, 1912.

——— Revival at New Amsterdam theatre, N. Y., 1912. In: New York Dramatist, v. 67, p. 6, May 8, 1912.

——— [Illustration] In: Theatre, v. 15, p. 170-171, 173, June, 1912.

——— [Scene from] In: New York Dramatist, v. 67, p. 12, May 15, 1912

——— ——— In: New York dramatist, v. 67, p. 12, May 22, 1912.

——— ——— In: New York dramatist, v. 67, p. 1, June 26, 1912.

——— Sketch. In: Blue book, v. 15, p. 690-693, Aug. 1912.

- Sketch, by L. V. DeFoe In: Red book, v. 19, p. 760-761, Aug., 1912.
- Criticism. R. D. Skinner In: *Commonweal*, v. 15, p. 413, Feb. 10, 1932.
- Title: Souvenir album to commemorate the great revival of the opera by the DeKoven opera company at the New Amsterdam Theatre in New York, May 6th, 1912, and containing a history of the opera, its plot, and portraits of the author, composer and principal artists in the cast . . . New York, 1912.
32 p. ports., plates, music 28cm. e
Gives words and music of several songs.
- Vocal gems from "Maid Marian" Comic opera in three acts; libretto by Harry B. Smith. Music by Reginald DeKoven New York [etc.] E. Schuberth & co. (J. F. H. Meyer); [etc., etc., c1901].
36 p. 28½cm. 2-8468 rev. a,2
Vocal score.
168. Deuteromelia; or, The second part of musick's melodie, or melodius musicke, etc. London, Printed for Thomas Adams, 1609
Contains By Lands-Dale hey ho. Ballad, 10 stanzas Robin Hood is a character in this song.
In Rimbault's collection of ancient music.
170. Dictionary of national biography Ed. by Leslie Stephen [and Sidney Lee] v. 1-[63] Abbadie-[Zuylestein, and Supplement, v. 1-3, Abbott-Woodward] London, Smith, Elder, and co, 1885-1901
66 v. front. (port., v. 1 of Suppl.) 24cm. 3-12075 a,2
Published quarterly.
Vols. 1-21, edited by Leslie Stephen; v. 22-26, by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee; v. 27-63 and Supplement 3 vols. by Sidney Lee.
Contains article on Hood, Robin, by Sidney Lee. See under LEE, SIDNEY.
172. DIETRICK, LAURA BELLE, ed.
* The merry ballads of Robin Hood; the chroniclers: Laura-belle Dietrick . . .
† assisted by . . . Joseph Franz-Walsh; illustrated by Edna Reindel. The whole story of that Robin Hood, known as Earl of Huntington, and Locksley Hall in the days of King Henry II and Richard of the Lion's heart: first sung by minstrels, later set down in the ballad books of Percy, Ritson, and Evans. New York, The Macmillan company, 1931.
viii, 87 p. incl. front., illus. 22½cm. \$1.35. 31-16465 a,1,2
Illustrated lining-papers.
"Books referred to in the making of this one": p. 86.
174. DISHER, MAURICE WILLSON, 1893-
† Clowns & pantomimes, by M. Wilson Disher, with illustrations. London, Constable & co, ltd., 1925
xix, [1], 343, [1] p. col. front., illus., plates, ports., facsim. 26 cm.
Contains references to plays of Robin Hood. 26-3747 a,2,14
176. DIXON, JAMES HENRY, 1803-1876, ed.
* Ancient poems, ballads, and songs of the peasantry of England, taken down from oral recitation, and transcribed from private manuscripts, rare broadsides, and scarce publications. Collected and ed. by James Henry Dixon . . . London, Printed for the Percy society by T. Richards, 1846.

xv, 250 p. 19½cm. (Added t-p., Percy society. Early English poetry . . . vol. xvii) A10-905 a,2,8
 Contains: The bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p. 71-74 ——— The Helstone Furry-day song, p. 187-189.

178. DODD, JAMES WILLIAM, 1761²-1818.

† Ballads of archery, sonnets, etc. By the Rev. James William Dodd . . . London, R. H. Evans [etc.] 1818.

xxxI, [1], 175 p. illus. 18½cm.

25-2844 a,2,14

Contains: Marian, p. 25-29 ——— Robin Hood's marriage, p. 30-35 ——— Robin Hood and Little John, p. 36-42 ——— Notes. To Marian, p. 158-160 ——— To Robin Hood's marriage, p. 160-162 ——— To Robin Hood and Little John, p. 163.

* ——— Same, differing only in collation.

xxxI, [1], 175, [1], 33 p. illus. 19cm.

Contents same as above. The additional 33 page section consists of music (with the words) for the ballads, containing: Marian, p.10-11 ——— Robin Hood's marriage, p. 12-13 ——— Little John, p. 14-15.

180. DODSLEY, ROBERT, 1703-1764, comp.

A select collection of old English plays. Originally published by Robert Dodsley in the year 1744. 4th ed., now first chronologically arranged, revised and enlarged, with the notes of all the commentators, and new notes by W. Carew Hazlitt . . . London, Reeves and Turner, 1874-1876.

15v. 21½cm.

3-2363 a,2

Many plays included in former editions are omitted from this, and replaced by others less accessible; or now first reprinted from the originals. "A strictly chronological arrangement has been adopted."—cf. Pref.

"Glossarial index, by Richard Morris, LL.D": v. 15, p. [457]-509.

Contains, v. 8: Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington, by Anthony Munday, p. 93-207 ——— Death of Robert, Earl of Huntington, by Anthony Munday, p. 209-327.

See also under MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

182. DOENNIGES, WILHELM, 1814-1872.

Altschottische und altenglische Volksballaden. Nach den Originalen bearbeitet. Nebst einem Nachwort über den alten Minstrelgesang. Munchen, 1852.

viii, 257 p.

b,d,3

Contains German translations of following ballads: Robin Hood rescuing three squires, p. 135 ——— Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 170 ——— Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 174 ——— The king's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood, p. 185 ——— Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 198 ——— Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 203.

DOREY, JOSEPH MILNOR, 1876- See under NOYES, ALFRED.

DOUCE, FRANCES, 1757-1834. See under DOUCE BALLADS; GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW.

DOUCE BALLADS. Collection of ballads in the Bodleian library, Oxford. Referred to under ballad titles in this list as "Douce."

Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington. See under MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

184. DRAYTON, MICHAEL, 1563-1631.

The Poly-olbion.

Editions as follows:

——— The complete works of Michael Drayton, now first collected. With introductions and notes by the Rev. Richard Hooper . . . London, J. R. Smith, 1876.

3v. front. (port.) 18cm. (Half-title: Library of old authors.) A15-1519 a,2

Contents: I-II. Polyolbion. ——— III. Polyolbion and The harmony of the church.

——— Title: Poly-Olbion // by // Michaell Drayton // Esqr: // London printed for M Lownes. I Browne. I Helme. I. Busbie. Ingraue // by W. Hole [1612].

7 p. l., 303 p. illus., port., maps. 28cm. 24-30899 a,2

Illustrated t.-p. engr.

Signatures: 3 leaves unsigned; A⁴; B-Z⁶; Aa-Cc⁶; Dd².

The first edition of the first part, containing eighteen songs; a second part consisting of twelve songs was published in 1622.

——— Title: A chorographically description of all the tracts, rivers, mountains, forests, and other parts of this renowned isle of Great Britain, with intermixture of the most remarkable stories, antiquities, wonders, rarities, pleasures, and commodities of the same. London, I. Marriott, etc., 1622.

[30], 303, [2], 168 p. port., 30 maps. d

Engr. t.-p.

This is the second part containing songs 19-30.

——— Title: Poly-olbion; or, A chorographically description, etc. London, Printed by H. L. for M. Lownes, I. Brown, I. Helme and I. Busbie, 1613-22.

2v. in 1. port., double maps, diagrs. 26½cm.

The second book has title: "The second part; or, A continuance of Poly-Olbion from the eighteenth song . . . London, I. Marriott, I. Grismand and T. Dewe, 1622."

See preceding entry.

——— Title: The Poly-Olbion: a chorographically description of Great Britain. By Michael Drayton . . . [Manchester] Printed for the Spenser society [by C. E. Simms] 1889-90.

3v. port., 30 fold. maps, diagrs. 36½cm. (On cover: Publications of the Spenser society. New series. Issue no. 1-3) 14-20911 a,2

Paged continuously.

Each of the thirty songs is preceded by a double map of the countries referred to, in which the towns, rivers, etc. are represented by allegorical figures.

Contains: Six and twentieth song, p. 115-127. 54 lines called in margin "Robin Hood's story," p. 122-123.

——— Title: The works of Michael Drayton, edited by J. William Hebel . . . Oxford, Printed at the Shakespeare head press & pub. for the press by B. Blackwell, 1931-.

Fronts. (port.) illus. (facsim.) 24cm. 32-3288 a,2

"Five hundred copies of this tercentenary edition . . . have been printed."

With facsimiles of original title-pages.

"This edition aims at giving an accurate reprint of Drayton's own texts. In printing, modern typographical usage is followed."—Pref.

186. DRINKWATER, JOHN, 1882-

- † The collected plays of John Drinkwater . . . London, Sidgwick and Jackson limited, 1925.

2v. 21½cm.

26-7951 a,2

Contains, v. 1: Robin Hood and the pedlar (1914).

Noted in Dramatic index.

DRINKWATER, JOHN, 1882-, ed. *See under* THOMAS, WILLIAM JOHN. Robin Hood. George a Green.

188. DRYDEN, JOHN, 1631-1700.

Miscellany poems. London, Jacob Tonson, 1684.

1 p. l., [6], 328 p., 1 l., 92 p. 18cm.

Copy at University of Michigan library.

—— 1692.

b,3

—— 1702. Pub. by Mr. Dryden

b,3

- † —— Title. . . Miscellany poems. Containing variety of new translations of the ancient poets: together with several original poems By the most eminent hands. Publish'd by Mr. Dryden . . . the 4th ed London, J. Tonson, 1716.

6v. fronts 15½cm.

12-18649 a,2,14

Contains, v. 6: An old ballad of bold Robin Hood; shewing his parentage, birth, breeding, valour, p 346-352.

Reprinted from broadside in Roxburghe collection, I, 360.

—— 5th ed. 1727

b,3

190. DUMAS, ALEXANDRE, 1802-1870.

Le prince des voleurs. Paris, Lévy frères, 1872.

2v.

—— Translation: The prince of thieves; newly translated by Alfred Allinson London, Methuen & co., 1903.

(The novels of Alexandre Dumas) 6d.

4

Sequel: "Robin Hood, the outlaw."

—— Same; with three coloured illustrations by Frank Adams London, Methuen & co. [1904].

3 p l., 126 p. 3 col. pl. (incl front.) 24cm. (The novels of Alexandre Dumas) 2/-.

4-37050 a,2,4

- * —— Same; [1920].

320 p. 17½cm. (The novels of Alexandre Dumas) 2/-

"This translation was first published in August, 1903. First published in this form in 1920."

192. DUMAS, ALEXANDRE, 1802-1870.

Robin Hood le proscrit. Paris, Lévy frères, 1873.

2v.

—— Translation: Robin Hood, the outlaw; newly translated by Alfred Allinson. London, Methuen & co., 1903.

124 p. (The novels of Alexandre Dumas) 6d.

4

Sequel to "The prince of thieves."

——— Same; with three coloured illustrations by Frank Adams. London, Methuen & co. [1904].

3 p. l., 124 p. 3 col. pl. (incl. front.) 24cm. (The novels of Alexandre Dumas)
2/-. 5-4550 a,2,4

* ——— Same; [1920].

† 285 p. 17¹/₂cm. (The novels of Alexandre Dumas) 2/-.

"This translation first published in August 1903."

"First published in this form in 1920."

——— ed. by H. A. Cartledge. London, Edward Arnold and co., 1935.

127 p. (Arnold's modern French series.) 2/-.

1

DUNCOMBE. See FITZBALL.

EAGLE, SOLOMON, [pseud.]. See SQUIRE, JOHN COLLINGS.

EAGLES, J. See *under* Mery geste . . .

194. EBBUTT, MAUD ISABEL, 1867-

Hero-myths & legends of the British race, by M. I. Ebbutt, M.A., with sixty-four full-page illustrations by J. H. F. Bacon . . . Byam Shaw, W. H. Margetson, R.I., Patten Wilson, and Gertrude Demain Hammond, R.I. London, G. G Harrap & company, 1910.

xxix, 374 p. incl. front. 63 pl. 22cm.

11-1037 a,2

Popular adaptations.

Contains: Robin Hood, p. 314-334 [Chapter XV] Prose summary of the stories of the ballads. Includes 4 plates by Patten Wilson.

——— New York, T. Y. Crowell & company [1910].

3 p. l., ix-xxix, 374, [1] p. 64 pl. (incl. front.) 22cm.

W10-342 a,2

Title in brown and black.

† ——— London, Harrap, 1924

14

——— New York, Farrar & Rinehart [1931].

2 p. l., ix-xxvii, [1] p. col. front, plates. 22cm (Lettered on cover. The myths series)

31-28230 a,2

Printed in Great Britain.

EBSWORTH, JOSEPH WOODFALL, 1824-1908 See *under* BAGFORD BALLADS, ROXBURGHE BALLADS.

196. ECHOLS, ULA WATERHOUSE.

* Robin Hood; from the original ballad by Ula Waterhouse Echols . . . illustrated by James McCracken. Chicago, A. Whitman & co. [c1932].

viii, 9-128 p. col. front., 10 illus. (plates, 7 col) 23¹/₂cm. 32-30027 a,1,2

Illustrated lining-papers in colors

198. EDWARDS, CLAYTON.

† My book of heroes and heroines, by C. Edwards and A. L. Hayward; illus. by F. Choate and E. Curtis London, 1931.

Includes chapter on Robin Hood.

14

200. EGAN, PIERCE, 1814-1880.

† Robin Hood and Little John; or, The merry men of Sherwood forest. London, Foster and Hextall, 1840.

14



Title Page of No. 200, 1850 Edition

- + ——— London, Hextall and Wall, 1843. 14
- + ——— London, G. Pierce, 1846. 14
- + ——— London, G. Pierce, 1847. 14
- * ——— London, W. S. Johnson, 1850. f.14
- + v. iii p. 11, 280 p. 38 illus. 26cm.
 Called "Author's large edition."
 Added t.-p.: The author's own edition . . . by Pierce Egan the younger.
 Issued in three books at 1/-; also in 35 penny numbers
- + ——— Another copy has Johnson's imprint on the engr. t.-p. but that of E. Harrison on the printed t.-p. 14
201. EGAN, PIERCE, 1814-1880.
 Wat Tyler, by Pierce Egan . . . [large ed.] London, W. S. John [etc.] 1851.
 v. iii, 510 p. incl. front., illus. 26cm. 1-27247 a,2
 "The companion work to Robin Hood."
- ELLIS, SIR HENRY, 1777-1869 *See under* BRAND, JOHN.
202. ELMQUIST, KARL ERIK.
 Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In Notes and queries, v. 168, p. 369, May 25, 1935.
 See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.
203. EMERY, H. G.
 Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 8, p. 297, Oct. 11, 1913
 See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.
204. EMMETT, GEORGE.
 * Robin Hood and the archers of merrie Sherwood. London, Hogarth house
 † [ca. 1850] 14
 456 p. illus. 25cm
 38 numbers in 12 p. each with illus.
 Bound up with "For valour," by Emmett.
- * ——— Same; issued in 3v. paper. 1/- each. 27cm.
 Encyclopedia Britannica. *See under* HALES, JOHN WESLEY.
 English archer; or, Robin Hood's garland. *See under* ROBIN HOOD'S GARLAND, [1]-[9].
206. English ballads: Sir Patrick Spens, Robin Hood ballads. London, Blackie
 † [c1908].
 (Blackie's English classics) 14
208. EVANS, THOMAS, 1742-1784, comp.
 . . . Old ballads, historical and narrative, with some of modern date; now first collected, and reprinted from rare copies. With notes . . . [London] T. Evans, 1777.
 2v. 19cm. (v. 2: 18½cm.) 22-6762 a,2
 Title vignettes
 At head of title: Evan's edition

——— 1784.

4v. vign. on t.-p.'s.

d

Contains, v. 1 [both 1777 and 1784 editions. Figures taken from Child, 1883-98] Pedigree, education and parentage of Robin Hood, p. 86 ——— Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 96 ——— Robin Hood and the pinder of Wakefield, p. 99 ——— Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 102 ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 106 ——— Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 112 ——— Robin Hood and the tinker, p. 118 ——— Robin Hood and Allen a Dale, p. 126 ——— Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 136 ——— Robin Hood and the curial friar, p. 136 [*sic*. Is p. 186 meant for one of these titles?] ——— Robin Hood's meeting and fighting with his cousin Scarlet, p. 143 ——— Renowned Robin Hood, p. 149 ——— Robin Hood's chase, p. 156 ——— Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 160 ——— Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly, p. 164 ——— The noble fisherman, p. 171 ——— Robin Hood's delight, p. 176 ——— Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 180 ——— Little John and the four beggars, p. 196 ——— Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 200 ——— Robin Hood and Little John, p. 204 ——— Robin Hood's entertainment of the Bishop of Hereford, p. 211 ——— Robin Hood rescuing three squires, p. 215 ——— The king's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood, p. 218 ——— Robin Hood and the golden arrow, p. 226 ——— Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 232

——— Title: Old ballads, historical and narrative, with some of modern date; collected from rare copies and mss., by Thomas Evans A new ed., rev. and considerably enl. from public and private collections, by his son, R. H. Evans . . . London, Printed for R. H. Evans, by W. Bulmer and co., 1810.

4v. front. 19½ cm.

a,d,2

Title vignettes.

Contains, v 2: The pedigree, education and parentage of Robin Hood, p. 87-96 ——— Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 97-100 ——— Robin Hood and the pinder of Wakefield, p. 100-102 ——— Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 103-107 ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 107-112 ——— Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 113-119 ——— Robin Hood and the tinker, p. 119-126 ——— Robin Hood and Allen a Dale, p. 127-131 ——— Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 132-136 ——— Robin Hood's meeting and fighting with his cousin Scarlet, p. 137-152 ——— Famous battle between Robin Hood and the curial friar, p. 152-159 ——— Renowned Robin Hood, p. 159-166 ——— Robin Hood's chase, p. 167-171 ——— Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 171-175 ——— Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly, p. 176-182 ——— Noble fisherman, p. 183-187 ——— Robin Hood's delight, p. 188-192 ——— Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 193-209 ——— Robin Hood turned beggar, p. 210-215 ——— Little John and the four beggars, p. 216-219 ——— Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 220-224 ——— Robin Hood and Little John, p. 224-230 ——— Robin Hood's entertainment of the Bishop of Hereford, p. 231-234 ——— Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons, p. 235-240 ——— Robin Hood and Maid Marian, p. 240-244 ——— The king's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood, p. 244-251 ——— Robin Hood and the golden arrow, p. 252-257 ——— Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 258-261 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 262-265 ——— Robin Hood's epitaph, p. 266-267.

210. . . . Exploits of . . . Robin Hood . . . interspers'd with . . . songs and adorned with . . . copper plates. London, 1769.

16°

b,3

212. The extraordinary life and adventures of Robin Hood, captain of the robbers
 * of Sherwood forest: interspersed with the history of Little John and his merry
 † men all. London, Dean & Munday [1810].
 36 p. front. 17½cm. paper. b,3,14
 A chap-book.
 ——— New York, S. King, 1821. c
- * ——— New York, W. Borradaille, 1823.
 32 p. front. 19½cm paper.
 ——— Same: to which is added, Edward's cross, or, The wife and the friend.
 Philadelphia, F. Scott, 1827.
 71 p. 14cm. 25-880 a,2
214. The extraordinary life and adventures of the wonderful and celebrated Robin
 Hood, earl of Huntington and captain of the robbers in Sherwood forest. London,
 J. Meldon [17-?].
 14 p. front. d
 This may have been the basis for, or identical with, preceeding item.
 A famous battle between Robin Hood and Maid Marian, declaring their love,
 life and liberty. See Robin Hood and Maid Marian.
 . . . Famous battle between Robin Hood and the curtal fryer A variant title
 for Robin Hood and the curtal friar. See this title.
216. . . . Famous exploits of Robin Hood, Little John and his merry men all. In-
 cluding an account of his birth, education, and death. Penrith [1820?].
 24 p. 12° b,3
 ——— Newcastle, W. & T. Fordyce [1840]. b,3
 ——— Otley, W. Walker [1850?]. b,3
 ——— In: Cunningham, R.H. ed. Amusing prose chap-books, p. 269-285. London,
 1889. e
 A chap-book, reprinted. It is difficult to place this title. It is possible that the
 text is part of Robin Hood's garland, done into prose.
217. FARJEON, ELEANOR, and HERBERT.
 † Heroes and heroines, with illus. by R. Thorneycroft. London, Gollancz, 1933.
 5-79 p. col. illus. (ports) 25x19cm. 6/-. 1,14
 Contains verses on Robin Hood.
 ——— New York, E. P. Dutton and co. [1933].
 5-79 p. col. illus. (ports.) 25x19cm. 33-37002 a,1,2
- FARMER, JOHN STEPHEN, 1835-1901, ed. Tudor facsimile texts. See under MUNDAY,
 ANTHONY.
218. FAWCETT, J. W.
 Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, v. 166, p. 266,
 Apr. 14, 1934.
 See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.

219. FAWCETT, STEPHEN.

- * Edwy and Elgiva: and other poems . . . Bradford, W. Byles, 1842.
vi, 136 p 17cm.
Contains: Robin Hood, Allin Dale, and the sheriff of Nottingham, p.23-29
———Robin Hood and King Henry, p.30-32.
"The two following ballads were found in an old black-letter manuscript, dated 1513, and never before published,"—p. 23.

220. FEASEY, J. E.

- Robin Hood and other tales of Yorkshire; retold. London, Nelson, 1913.
1/—.

4

222. FEDERER, CHARLES A.

- * Robin Hood: myth or history? . . . Bradford, G. F. Sewell, 1907.
16 p. 25cm. (Yorkshire pamphlets, no. 6) paper 4/6.

224. FENN, GEORGE MANVILLE, 1831-1909.

- Young Robin Hood; il. by Victor Venner. London, E. Nister [1899]
72 p. illus. 8 vo.

b,3,4

——— Philadelphia, H. Altamus co. [1900].

- 72 p. incl. front., illus. 8 vo. 1900.

a,2

FENN, SIR JOHN, 1739-1794, ed. *See* PASTON LETTERS.

226. [FENN, MARSHALL EATON].

- * Robin Hood and his adventures, retold from the ancient ballads. Illustrations by G. A. Davis. New York, McLoughlin brothers [c1907].
144 p. col. front., illus. 24cm. 15 cents; 30 cents; 35 cents. 7-20712 a,2

- * ——— n.d.

(Young folk's standard library) 60 cents.

228. FINGER, CHARLES JOSEPH, 1871-

- * . . . Robin Hood and his merry men [by] Charles J. Finger. Girard, Kansas, † Haldeman-Julius company, [c1924].
64 p. 13cm. (Little blue book, no. 538, ed. by E. Haldeman-Julius)
Advertising matter p.61-64. CA24-899 unr. a,1,2

230. FINNEMORE, JOHN, 1863-

- * Robin Hood and his merry men, by John Finnemore . . . containing eight full-page illustrations in colour by Allan Stewart. New York, The Macmillan company; London, A. & C. Black, limited, 1929.
2 p. l., iii-xii, 272 p. col. front., col. plates. 26cm. \$4. 31-2179 a,1,2
Text within ornamental border.
"Printed in Great Britain."
Called "Large special edition."

——— New York, The Macmillan company, 1930.

(Green and blue library) \$1.75.

——— 1930.

xii, 272 p. (Children's classics series) \$1.

——— Title: The story of Robin Hood and his merry men; by John Finnemore . . . containing eight full-page illustrations in colour. London, A and C. Black, 1909

xii, 274 p. 8 col. pl. (incl. front.) 20½ cm. (Color books for boys and girls) 3/6; \$1.50 W10-175 a,1,2,4

——— Title: The story of Robin Hood and his merry men; with 4 il. in color by Allan Stewart. London, A. & C. Black, 1924.

xii, 274 p. 4 col. pl. (incl. front.) 19½ cm. (Black's boys and girls library) 3/6. "First published in October 1909 . . . issued in Black's boys and girls library, autumn, 1924."

† ——— reprint. 1925. 1,4

* ——— reprint. 1927

231. FISHWICK, H.

Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 4, vol. 5, p. 58, Jan. 15, 1870.

See also Robin Hood wind, *infra*.

232. FITHIAN, E. W.

† Life of Robin Hood. London and Wakefield, W. Nicholson and sons [1900]. 14

234. FITZBALL, EDWARD, 1792-1873.

Robin Hood; or, The merry outlaws of Sherwood. A dramatic equestrian spectacle, in three acts. New York, Samuel French, [n.d. before 1876].

15 cents.

In prose.

1

——— Duncombe, John. Duncombe's edition of the British theatre. 1845. v. 48.

236. Five ballads about Robin Hood. [Colophon: The end of five ballads about

* Robin Hood. 210 copies printed by the Vincent press, Birmingham, in the County of Warwick, and finished on the 9th day of December, 1899].

† 39 p. incl. 5 full-page wdcts. illus. 22cm d,g
Bound in limp vellum, with ties.

Contents: Robin Hood and Little John, p. 1-6 ——— Robin Hood and the curtall fryer, p. 9-15 ——— Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 17-25 ——— Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 27-33 ——— Robin Hood and Allin a Dale, p. 35-39.

238. FLY, L.

† Robin Hood and his merrie men: 12 miniatures for pianoforte London and Manchester, Forsyth, 1922. 14

240. FORD, ALEXANDER.

* Robin Hood, Earl of Huntington. Done for Storyteller's house by Alexander Ford; drawings by Electra Papadopoulos Chicago, Thomas S. Rockwell co., 1930. 62 p. incl. illus. 20½ cm.

241. FORDUN, JOHN, d.1384?

Johannis de Fordun Scotichronicum genuinum, una cum ejusdem supplemento ac continuatione . . . Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1722.

5v. illus., fold., plates, facsimis, 21½ cm.

Ed. by Thos. Hearne. Continuation by Walter Bower.

d,f

V 3. p. 774: "Ille famosissimus sicarius Robertus Hode, et Litill-Iohanne cum eorum complicitibus, de quibus stolidum vulgus hianter in comoedus et tragoedus prurienter festum faciunt, et, prae ceteris romanciis, mimos et bardanos cantitare delectantur."

——— Title: Joannis de Fordun Scotchchronicon; cum supplementis et continuatione Walter Boweri . . . E codicibus mss. editum . . . Ed. ex typis R. Fleming, 1775.
2v. 30½ cm. 3-28309 a,2

Introduction by Walter Goodall.

——— Title: Johannis de Fordun Chronica gentis Scotorum. Ed. by William F. Skene. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1871.

liv p., 1 l., 452 p. facsim. 22½ cm. (Added t.-p.: The historians of Scotland, v 1) 3-28308 a,2

——— Title: John of Fordun's Chronicle of the Scottish nation. Tr. . . by Felix H. Skene. Ed. by William F. Skene. Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1872.

lxxviii p., 1 l., 492 p. 22½ cm. (Added t.-p.: The historians of Scotland, v. 4) 3-28811 a,2

242. FOREST RANGER [pseud.]

* Little John and Will Scarlett; or, the outlaws of Sherwood forest. By the
† Forest Ranger . . . London, E. Harrison [1870?].

1 l., 218 p. Book II, 99 p. 40 illus. 26 cm. 14

Issued in 40 numbers, 8 p. each, each with illus.

The 40 numbers bound up, ¾ mor. Binder's title. Outlaws of Sherwood forest.

243. FORSE, EDWARD J. G.

Robin Hood bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, v. 168, p. 428, June 15, 1935.

See also Robin Hood Bibliography, *infra*.

244. Four new songs: viz., The woodpecker, Bold Robin Hood [etc.] Penrith,
† J. Allison [1800?]. 14

FRANK, JOSEPH, fl. 1780-1830, ed. See under RITSON, JOSEPH. Ancient songs . . .

FRANZ-WALSH, JOSEPH, jt. ed. See under DIETRICK, LAURABELLE.

Freeman's song. See under By Lands-Dale hey ho.

245. FRENTZ, EDWARD W.

* The modern Robin Hoods. In: Leisure, v. 1, p 19-21, Mar., 1934

246. FRICKE, RICHARD, 1818-1903.

Die Robin-Hood-Balladen. Ein Beitrag zum Studium der englischen Volksdichtung . . . Braunschweig, Druck von G. Westermann, 1883.

1 p. l., 104 p. 22 cm. 11-21339 a,2

Inaug.-diss.-Strassburg.

247. FROST, W. A.

Robin Hood Bibliography. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 8, p. 203-204, Sept. 13, 1912; series 11, vol. 8, p. 378, Nov. 8, 1913.

See also Robin Hood bibliography, *infra*.

248. FULLER, THOMAS, 1608-1661.

The history of the worthies of England. Endeavored by Thomas Fuller, D.D. London, Printed by J. G. W. L. and W. G., 1622.

3 p. l., 368 (i.e. 344), 354 (i.e. 348), 232 p., 1 l., [2], 60, 12 p. front. (port.)
35¹/₂ cm. 16-23839 a,b,2,3

First edition.

Many errors in paging

Dedication and preface by the author's son, John Fuller, who finished the printing of the work, "according to the copy the author left behind him."

Arranged by counties, with the commodities, manufactures, etc., of each, followed by brief biographies of its "worthies." The index (12 p.) is of later date (1744²).

——— A new ed., with a few explanatory notes, by John Nichols . . . [London]
Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington [etc.] 1811.

2 v. front. (port.) 31cm.

23-5747 a,b,2,3

——— A new ed., containing brief notices of the most celebrated worthies of England who have flourished since the time of Fuller; with explanatory notes and copious indexes. By P. Austen Nuttall . . . London, T. Tegg, 1840.

3 v. port. 22¹/₂ cm.

13-21602 a,b,2,3

Includes reproduction of t.-p. of original ed.

Contains: Robert Hood, p 575-576.

FURNIVALL, FREDERICK JAMES, 1825-1910. *See under* LANEHAM, ROBERT, PERCY, THOMAS. Bishop Percy's folio . . .

249. GABLE, J. HARRIS, 1902-

* A Bibliography of Robin Hood. 1932.

† Typewritten ms. 40 p. Contains 488 editions of 245 entries.

* ——— 2d ed. 1934.

† Typewritten ms. 201 p. Contains 1400 editions of 550 entries

GADSDEN, KATHARINE SARAH. *See* MACQUOID, MRS. KATHARINE SARAH (GADSDEN), 1824-1917.

GAIRDNER, JAMES, 1828-1912. *See under* BREWER, JOHN SHERREN; PASTON LETTERS.

250. GALE, ZONA, 1874-

Robin Hood in Jones street; a masque. In: Outlook, v. 92, p. 439-446, June 26, 1909.

251. GALER, A. M.

Robin Hood society. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 2, p. 376, Nov. 6, 1886.

See also Robin Hood society, *infra*.

GARDNER, ALEXANDER, ed. *See under* CHALMERS, GEORGE.

Gest of Robyn Hode. *See under* GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW; CAMPBELL, WILLIAM W.; GOLAGROS AND GAWAIN; Mery gest . . .

GIBBON, JOHN MURRAY, 1875- *See under* ADAM DE LA HALLE.

252. GILBERT, HENRY FRANKLIN BELKNAPP, 1868-1928.

* Robin Hood. Akron, O., Saalfeld pub. co., n.d.

252 p. incl. illus. 19cm. (Every child's library) 60 cents. In print 1928.

- * ——— Philadelphia, McKay, n.d.
348 p. 8 col. illus. by Frank Godwin. 19½ cm. (Golden books) \$1.50. 1
- Illustrated in color by Frank Godwin. [Garden City, N. Y.] Garden City publishing co., inc., c1932.
3 p. l., v-vii p., 3 l., 331 p. col. plates. 22½ cm. (Garden City children's books)
\$1.00. 32-20305 a,1,2
Illustrated t-p. in color on two leaves.
- * ——— New York, A. L. Burt co. [1933]
348 p. col. front. (Frank Godwin) 21 cm. (Famous books for young Americans)
50 cents. 1
Pref. date 1912.
- * ——— Title: Robin Hood and his merry men; with 8 illustrations in colour by Walter Crane. London, T. C. & E. C. Jack [1914].
viii, 168 p. col. front., 7 col. pl. 20½ cm. (In days of old series) 1/6. 4
"Printed in Great Britain by Thomas Nelson and sons, ltd."—p. 168
- New York, Stokes, 1916.
(In days of old series) 75 cents. 1
- Il. by Walter Crane. New York, Nelson.
176 p. (In days of old series) 2/6. 1
Editions of Gilbert's work under the title: Robin Hood and his merry men, contain only six of the eleven stories which make up the title Robin Hood.
- * ——— Title: Robin Hood & the men of the greenwood, by Henry Gilbert; with
† 16 illustrations by Walter Crane. Edinburgh and London, T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1912.
xi, 360 p. 16 col. pl. (incl. front.) 24 cm. W13-24 a,2,4
Illustrated lining papers.
Contents identical with editions under title: Robin Hood, i.e. the eleven stories.
- New York, Stokes, 1912.
360 p. (New England edition) \$2. 1
- † ——— T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1914.
372 p. 3/6. A re-issue. 4
- † ——— Reprint, 1915. 4
- New York, Nelson [n.d]
(Honor book series) \$1.50. 1
- † ——— Same; il. by H. M. Brock and W. Crane. Nelson, 1932.
372 p. (Nelson's famous books) 2/-. 1
- Same; 24 il. in color and line by W. Crane and H. M. Brock. New York, Nelson, 1933.
372 p. (Nelsonian library) 3/6. 1
254. GILLIAT, REV. EDWARD, 1841-1915.
Forest outlaws. New York, E. P. Dutton.
\$1.50. In print, 1912. 1

256. GILLIAT, REV. EDWARD, 1841-1915.
 + In *Lincoln green: a merrie tale of Robin Hood*, ed. by Ralph Clewer. London, Seeley & co., 1897. b,3,4,14
 viii, 386 p.
 ——— New York, E. P. Dutton & Co., 1898.
 \$1.50. In print, 1912. b,1,3,4
 * ——— Cheap edition London, Seeley & co. [1899?].
 21, 120 p. paper. 21½ cm. (Seeley's sixpence series)
 + ——— 3d ed. 1900. 14
258. GILLIAT, REV. EDWARD, 1841-1915.
Wolf's head: story of the prince of outlaws London, Seeley & co., 1899. b,3
 ——— New York, E. P. Dutton and co., 1907.
 \$1.50. 1
260. GOADBY, EDWIN.
 Who was Robin Hood? In: *Sharpe's London magazine*, v 38, p. 307, 1863.
 See also Who was Robin Hood? *infra*.
262. GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE.
 The knightly tale of Golagrus and Gawaine, with other ancient poems, in the same volume. Edinburgh, Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, 1508. d,6
 Part X. A Gest of Robyn Hode. 12 p.
 Copy in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh.
 ——— Title: The knightly tale of Golagrus and Gawaine, and other ancient poems. Printed at Edinburgh by W Chepman and A. Myllar in the year M.D.VIIJ. Reprinted M.D.CCC.XXVIJ. [Edinburgh, 1827].
 2 p.l., 28, [266], xx p. 1 illus. 29cm. 9-26698 a,2
 Large printers' designs at beginning and end of poems
 Margins damaged by a fire which destroyed most of the edition before publication; only 76 copies finally issued.—cf. *Introd.*
 Edited by David Laing.
 Several of the pieces reprinted (including the Gest) in Stevenson, George Shields. Pieces from the Makculloch and Gray mss See under STEVENSON, GEORGE SHIELDS.
 GOODALL, WALTER, 1706?-1766. See FORDUN, JOHN.
264. GOODYER, F. R.
 + Once upon a time; or. A midsummer night's dream in merrie Sherwood. fairy extravaganza. Nottingham, R. Allen and son, 1868. 14
 Produced at the Theatre-Royal, Nottm. 13th April, 1868.
266. GOW, RONALD.
 * Five Robin Hood plays. . London, Thomas Nelson and sons [c1932].
 + x, 11-104 p. 17cm. (The Nelson playbooks, ed. by John Hampden)
 Contents: The king's warrant, p. 11-25 ——— The sheriff's kitchen, p. 27-43
 ——— All on a summer's day, p. 45-57 ——— Robin goes to sea, p. 59-75 ———
 The affair at Kirklees, p. 77-90 ——— Aurs for the songs, p. 92-95.

268 GRABBE, PAUL.

- * Minute stories of the opera. by Paul Grabbe and Paul Nordoff; drawings by Richard Jones. New York, Grosset and Dunlap [c1932].

160 p. illus. 26cm

Contains: DeKoven, p. 38 ——— Robin Hood, p.39

270. [GRAFTON, RICHARD d.1572.]

A chronicle at large, and meere history of the affayres of Englande, and kinges of the same, deduced from the creation of the worlde, vnto the first habitation of thys islande: and so by contynuaunce vnto the first yere of the reigne of our most deere and souereigne lady Queene Elizabeth. collected out of sundry aucthors, whose names are expressed in the next page of this leafe [London, Imprinted by H. Denham, for R. Totty and H. Toye] 1569, '68

2 v. in 1. illus 27cm.

2-22580 a,2

Engraved title-pages, black-letter

Title of v. 2 reads: "This seconde volume, beginning at William the Conquerour, endeth wyth our moste dread and soueraigne lady Queene Elizabeth. Seene and allowed according to the order apointed . . . 1568."

A few of the woodcuts engraved by Virgil Solis.

GRAFTON, RICHARD, d.1572.

Grafton's chronicle; or, History of England To which is added his table of the bailiffs, sheriffs, and mayors, of the city of London. From the year 1189 to 1558, inclusive . . . London, Printed for J. Johnson [etc.] 1809.

2 v. 30x25cm.

2-13339 a,2

"Reprinted by Sir Henry Ellis."—Dict. Nat. biog.

Vol. 1, p. 221, discusses Robin Hood's title of Earl of Huntington.

271. GREAT BRITAIN. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

[Reports] [v. 1]— 1874-

v. 1, p. 105 (Nottingham Hall-books), mentions Robyn Hood's well (1597), though speaking of it in 1548 as "Robyn Wood's Well."

Vol. 1, p. 107 (Convocation book) Corporation of Wells possessed moneys "provenientes ante hoc tempus de Robynhode."

272. GREENE, ROBERT, 1558-1592.

A pleasant conceyted comedy of George à Green, the pinner of Wakefield, 1599. b,3

Robin Hood is the hero. The substance of the ballad "Jolly Pinder of Wakefield" forms the 10th and 12th scenes of this play The immediate source is probably the History of George a Greene. See under THOMS Early English prose romances, 1858. See also SCHELLING, English chronicle play, p 157-158; and COLLINS. Plays and poems of Robert Greene, v. 2, p. 159-167.

——— In: The dramatic works of Robert Greene . . . London, W. Pickering, 1831.

2v. 19cm.

19-8033 a,b,2,3

In volume 2.

——— In: Life and complete works in prose and verse of Robert Greene . . . [London and Aylesbury] Printed for private circulation only, 1881-1886.

15v. (Huth library)

19-8034 a,b,2,3

In volume 14.

- In: *The plays and poems of Robert Greene* . . . Oxford, Clarendon press, 1905.
 2v. front. (fold. facsim.) 23cm. 6-14042-rev. a,2
 In volume 2, p. 159-167.
- GREG, WALTER WILSON, 1875- See under JONSON, BEN.
273. GROEBER, GUSTAV, 1844-1911.
Grundriss der romanischen Philologie, unter Mitwirkung von G. Baist, Th. Braga . . . Hrsg. von Gustav Grober . . . Strassburg, K. J. Trubner, 1888-1902.
 2v. in 4. 13 maps on 3 fold., pl 4 tab. 25cm. 5-20662 a,2
 Contains references to Adam de la Halle in vols. 1 and 2, especially vol. 2.
- GRUEN, ANASTASIUS [pseud] See AUERSPERG, ANTON ALEXANDER, GRAF VON.
274. GRUNTVIG, SVEND HERSLEB, 1824-1883.
Engelske og skotske folkeviser, med oplysende anmaerkninger fordanskede.
 Kjøbenhavn, Wahle, 1842-1846. b,d,3
 4 hefter, paged continuously.
 Contains translation of Robin Hood and the monk, p. 148, no 24. (Translated from Jamieson)
275. GUDGIN, F.
 † *Robin Hood and his merry men.* London, Henry Frowde, and Hodder and Stoughton [1909].
 (Oxford story readers. 2d series) 14
- * ——— London, H. Milford, Oxford university press [1919].
 79 p. incl. front, illus. 17cm. (The Oxford story readers [for Serbians] 2d ser.) paper 70 cents; 1/6. 20-10789 a,b,1,2,4
 Cover-title imprint: Oxford, The Clarendon press.
 "Reprinted 1919 in Great Britain.
276. GUERBER, HELENE ADELINE, d 1929.
The book of the epic, the world's great epics told in story, by H. A. Guerber . . . with an introduction by J. Berg Esenwein . . . with sixteen illustrations from the masters of painting. Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott company, 1913.
 493 p. front., plates 20½cm. \$2.00. 13-25907 a,2
 Contains: Robin Hood; prose epic, p. 243-255.
278. GUILFORD, EVERARD LEAVER.
 † *Legends of Robin Hood.* In: Nottingham People's dispensary for sick animals of the poor. Nottingham Lucky horse show magazine, 1932, p. 44-45, 56. 14
280. GUILFORD, EVERARD LEAVER.
Robin Hood: the man and the myth. In: *Discovery*, v. 2, p. 140-142, June, 1921.
282. GUMMERE, FRANCIS BARTON, 1855-1919, ed.
 . . . *Old English ballads, selected and ed. by Francis Gummere* . . . Boston, Ginn & company, 1894.
 xcvi, 380 p. 19cm. (Half-title: The Athenaeum press series; G. L. Kittredge and C. T. Winchester, general editors.) 12-32737 a,2
 Series title also at head of t-p.
 Contains: A gest of Robyn Hode, p. 1-67 ——— Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 68-76 ——— Robin Hood and the monk, p. 77-89 ——— Robin Hood's death, p. 90-93.

284. GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW, 1776-1861.

Identity of Robin Hood. In: *Reliquary*, v. 1, p. 129, 1861.

286. GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW, 1776-1861.

- * A lytell geste of Robin Hode, with other ancient & modern ballads and songs
 † relating to this celebrated yeoman to which is prefixed his history and character, ground upon other documents than those made use of by his former biographer, "Mister Ritson." Ed. by John Mathew Gutch, F.S.A., and adorned with cuts by F. W. Fairholt, F.S.A. . . . London, Longman, Brown, Green, & Longman, 1847. 2v. fronts., illus., plates. 21cm. 16-1003 a,b,2,3,6,12,14

Contents, v. 1: Preface, i-xxxviii — Life of Robin Hood, p. 1-70 —

Robin Hood, his station and character, newly disclosed, p. 71-138 — A lytell gest of Robin Hood, p. 139-219 — A new version of the same, by the Rev. John Eagles, p. 221-297 — Appendix. Dissertation upon the Morris dance and Maid Marian [by William Hone] p. 301-328 — Dissertation on the ancient English morris dance, by Francis Douce, p. 329-365 — The lament of Simon de Montfort, with a translation by Sir Walter Scott, p. 366-379 — Life of Robin Hood (from Sloane ms. n. 715, British Museum).

Contents, v. 2: Biographical notice of Joseph Ritson, p. i-xxii — A tale of Robin Hood, p. 1-20 [Robin Hood and the monk] — Robyn Hode and the potter, p. 21-35 — Robyn and Gandelyn, p. 35-39 — A tale of Robin Hood, p. 39-44 — Fragment of a poem relating to Robin Hood, from the Lambeth library, p. 45-50 — The playe of Robyn Hode, p. 50-60 — The song of Robin Hood and his huntes-men, p. 61-67 — Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 68-83 — A true tale of Robin Hood, by Martin Parker, p. 84-106 — Robin Hood's garlands, p. 107-110 — Robin Hood's birth, breeding, etc., p. 111-121 — Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 122-126 — Robin Hood and the stranger, p. 127-142 — The jolly pinder of Wakefield, p. 143-146 — Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 147-151 — Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 152-157 — Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly, p. 158-164 — Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 165-171 — Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 172-180 — Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 181-188 — Robin Hood and the curtall friar, p. 189-196 — The noble fisherman, p. 197-202 — Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 203-208 — Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 209-213 — Robin Hood's chase, p. 214-218 — Little John and the four beggars, p. 219-224 — Robin Hood's delight, p. 225-229 — Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 230-247 — Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons from the sheriff, p. 248-254 — Robin Hood rescuing three squires, p. 255-258 — Robin Hood and the tinker, p. 264-271 — Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 272-276 — Robin Hood and the bishop of Hereford, p. 277-280 — The King's disguise and friendship for Robin Hood, p. 281-288 — Robin Hood and the golden arrow, p. 289-294 — Robin Hood and Little John, p. 295-301 — Robin Hood and Maid Marian, p. 302-306 — Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 307-311 — Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 312-316 — Adam Bell, Clym of the Clough, and Wyllyam of Cloudeslie. In three fits, p. 317-343 — Robin Hood and the tanner's daughter, p. 344-350 — Robin Hood and the pedlers, p. 351-355 — The bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p. 356-359 — Robin Hood's courtship with Jack Cade's daughter, p. 360-368 — Robin Hood and the old man, p. 369-373 — The birth of Robin Hood, p. 373-376 — Rose the red, and white lilly, p. 377-388 — The weddings of Robin Hood and Little John, p. 389-391 — Robin Hood and the Scotchman, p. 392-393 — In

Sherwood livde stout Robin Hood, p. 393-394 ——— By Lands-Dale hey ho, p. 395-396 ——— Robin Hood and the Duke of Lancaster, p. 397-400 ——— Ballads from Mr. Peck's mss., p. 401 ——— Reflections upon the story of Robin Whood and his men, p. 402-403 ——— Robin Whood revived, p. 404-407 ——— Robin Whood and King Richard, p. 408-412 ——— The editor's (Mr. Peck's) conclusion, p. 412-415 ——— The Helstone Furry-dav song, p. 416-418 ——— An adventure in Sherwood forest, p. 419-421 ——— Le morte de Robin Hood, p. 422-423 ——— Modern minor pieces. Robin Hood, from Mr. Daniel's Merrie England, p. 424-425 ——— Two sonnets on Robin Hood, by Mr. Reynolds, p. 426-427 ——— The death of Robin Hood, by Bernard Barton, p. 428-430 ——— Musical illustrations of the Robin Hood ballads, by E. F. Rimbault, p. 431-447. [For complete contents of this section, see under RIMBAULT, EDWARD FRANCIS]

Ritson and Gutch were the two Robin Hood authorities

Reviewed in *Edinburgh review*, v. 86, p. 122-138, July, 1847. Same review in *Living age*, v. 15, p. 87-92, 1847.

———Title: The Robin Hood garlands and ballads, with the tale of The lytell geste; a collection of all the poems, songs, and ballads relating to this celebrated yeoman; to which is prefixed his history and character, deduced from documents hitherto unrevised. Ed. by John Mathew Gutch, F.S.A., and adorned with cuts by F. W. Fairholt . . . London, J. R. Smith [etc.] 1850.

2 v. fronts., illus. (incl. music) plates. 21½ cm.

25-6601 a,2

Contents and pagination same as 1847 edition.

Reviewed in *North American review*, v. 84, p. 1-34, Jan. 1857.

287. GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW, 1776-1861.

Robin Hood's well. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 2, vol. 6, p. 261, Oct. 2, 1858.

GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW. *See also under* RITSON, JOSEPH. Robin Hood. [12] and [13].

288. GUY, HENRY, 1863-

Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres littéraires du trouvère Adan de la Hale. Paris, Hachette et cie, 1898.

lviii, 605 p. 24½ cm

d,f

"Manuscripts et éditions des oeuvres d'Adan de la Hale". p. [576]-588.

Contains references throughout the text, also p. 587-588, lists of manuscripts and editions of "Le jeu de Robin et Marion" *See also under* ADAM DE LA HALLE

Guy of Gisborne. *See* Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne

HALDEMAN-JULIUS, EMMANUEL, 1884- ed. *See under* FINGER, CHARLES JOSEPH.

289. HALES, JOHN WESLEY, 1836-

Robin Hood. In: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed., p. 420-421, 1910.

By J. W. Hales and F. J. Snell.

——— 14th ed., 1929. v. 19, p. 357-358.

HALES, JOHN WESLEY, 1836- *See under* PERCY, THOMAS. Bishop Percy's folio . . .

290. HALL, EDWARD, d.1547.

The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke . . . Londini, In officina R. Graftoni, 1548.

xx-cclx (i.e. ccxlvii), lix, lxi, cxxxviii, numb. 1. 27 cm.

2-20845 a,2

Describes the Mayings of Henry VIII. Mentions that Henry was entertained by Robin Hood with shooting matches.

——— 1550.

xxxii numb. 1, 2 l., 1 numb. 1, 2 l., Cii (i.e. Cii) numb. 1, 3 l., lxi numb. 1, 4 l., xxiii numb. 1, 1 l., lxi. 2-20846 a,2

Black-letter.

——— 1809.

The Mayings of Henry VIII in 1510, 1511, and 1515 described on pages 515, 520, 582.

See also BREWER, J. S.

291. HALL, SAMUEL CARTER, 1800-1889, ed.

The book of British ballads. Ed. by S. C. Hall . . . London, J. How, 1842.

2 p.l., ii, [1], 233, [1], [v]-vi p. illus. 27cm. 16-12056 a,2

* ——— First series . . . London, Jeremiah How, 1847.

iii, 236 p. illus. 27½cm.

Text and illus. within ornamental border.

* ——— Second series. 1844.

viii, 235-441 p. illus. 27½cm.

Text and illus. within ornamental border.

Contains: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 323-332 (Designs by J. Franklin, Engravings by G. P. Nicholls, F. Branston, and G. Dalziel) ——— The death and burial of Robin Hood, p. 333-339 (Designs by H. Warren, Engravings by E. Evans).

† ——— Routledge [1881?].

14

——— Title: The book of British ballads. Ed. by S. C. Hall, esq. With preliminary remarks to each ballad, and an introduction by Park Benjamin. New York. Douglas, printer, 1844.

xi, 153 p. 23½cm.

2-15825 a,2

292. HALL, SPENCER TIMOTHY, 1812-1885.

* The forester's offering, by Spencer T. Hall, a native of Sherwood forest. London, Whitaker and co., 1841.

1 l., 142 p. front. (engr.) 18cm.

Contains: Sherwood forest, p. 13-30 ——— Life of Robin Hood, p. 31-56

——— The outlaw's excursion to Clipston, p. 95-108.

Reviewed in Chambers' journal, v. 11, p. 6.

294. HALL, SPENCER TIMOTHY, 1812-1885.

* The peak and the plain; scenes in woodland, field and mountain, by Spencer
† T. Hall, the Sherwood forester. London, Houlston and Stoneman, 1853.

viii, 395 p. front. (engr.) 17½cm.

b,3

Essays on the forest, including: Robin Hood's hills, p. 19-24 ——— Robin Hood's history, p. 25-29 ——— Little John, p. 30-36.

296. [HALL, SPENCER TIMOTHY, 1812-1885]

* Rambles in the country. By the Sherwood forester [pseud.] London, Thomas Miller, 1842.

viii, 180 p. front. 17cm.

Includes: History of Little John, p. 53-54 ——— Appendix. Sherwood forest festival, p. 145-180 (Includes a song. How Robin Hood first met with the Maid Marianne, p. 153-154)

HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, JAMES ORCHARD, 1820-1889. *See under* BRAND, JOHN.

HAMILTON, CHARLES CLAUDE, tr. *See under* THIERRY, AUGUSTIN. First ed. in English.

298. HAMPDEN, JOHN, 1898- ed

† Ballads and ballad-plays . . . London, Thomas Nelson and sons, 1931.

viii, 9-269 p. 16cm. ("Teaching of English series," General ed. Sir Henry Newbolt, no. 170) 14

Contains: II. Ballads of Robin Hood. Robin Hood and the poor knight, p. 65-85 [114 stanzas taken from the Lytell geste.] ——— Robin Hood and the widow's sons, p. 85-90 ——— Robin Hood and Alan-a-Dale, p. 90-94 ——— The death of Robin Hood, p. 95-98 ——— IV. Ballad mimes and plays. Robin Hood and the potter, p. 182-194 ——— Notes, p. 256-257; 261.

* ——— Reprint Nov. 1931.

300. HAMPDEN, JOHN, 1898- ed.

* Eight modern plays, selected and edited by John Hampden. London, New York
† [etc.] T. Nelson & sons, 1927.

viii, 9-240 p. incl. front. (port.) illus., diags. 16cm. ("Teaching of English series," General editor, Sir Henry Newbolt, no. 102) 33-19654 a,2

Frontispiece on verso of half-title.

Contains: Robin Hood, by Alfred Noyes, p. 31-47 ——— Notes, p. 179-182.

———— Reprinted Dec. 1927; July 1928; Dec. 1928; Aug. 1929; Nov. 1930; Nov. 1931.

302. HAMPDEN, JOHN, 1898- ed.

* Six modern plays and two old plays for little players . . . London, Thomas
† Nelson and sons, 1931.

viii, 9-213 p. front. (port.) 16½ cm. ("Teaching of English series," General editor, Sir Henry Newbolt, n. 164) 1/- 14

Contains: Robin Hood and the pedlar, by John Drinkwater, p. 43-64 [one of the modern plays] ——— Robin Hood and friar Tuck, p. 147-154 [one of the old plays] ——— Commentary. Robin Hood and the pedlar, p. 168-171 ——— Robin Hood and friar Tuck, p. 177-178. ——— Acting notes. Robin Hood and the pedlar, p. 186-188 ——— Robin Hood and friar Tuck, p. 211.

304. HANSARD, GEORGE AGAR.

† The book of archery, being the complete history and practice of the art, ancient and modern . . . By George Agar Hansard . . . London, H. G. Bohn, 1841.

1 p. l., 221 p., 1 l., 456 p front. plates. 22cm. 5-23441 b,i,3,14

305. HARDY, HERBERT.

Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 11, p. 248, Mar. 28, 1891.

See also Robin Hood wind, *infra*.

306. HARE, KENNETH, 1888- ed.

* The archer's chronicle and greenwood companion, by Kenneth Hare . . .

† London, Williams & Norgate Ltd. [1929].

244 p. front. (port.) 5 plates. 22x18cm. 10/-. 30-31025 a,2

Anthology of English prose and poetry concerning archery, "from the long literature of this ancient sport."—Cover.

"The illustrations are reproduced from old mss. and prints in the British Museum."

Contains: Robin Hood's welcome to his country neighbors (from Jonson's *Sad shepherd*) p. 133-145 — Greenwood lovers (from *Sad shepherd*) p. 145-146 — Robin lend me thy bow, p. 155-156 — Robin Hood's song (from Peacock's *Crotchet castle*) p. 187-188 — Robin Hood, by John Keats, p. 199-201 — Robin the outlaw, p. 202 — The trees in Sherwood forest are old and good, p. 203 — Barnesdale, by Kenneth Hare, p. 238.

HARGROVE, ALFRED E., ed. See under HARGROVE, ELY.

308. HARGROVE, ELY, 1741-1818.

Anecdotes of archery from the earliest ages to the year 1791, with some particulars in the life of Robert Fitz-Ooth, Earl of Huntingdon, vulgarly called Robin Hood, York, 1792. b,3,5

- * — Title: Anecdotes of archery from the earliest ages to the year 1791, by the late E. Hargrove. The whole carefully revised, brought down to the present time and interspersed with much new and valuable matter, including an account of the principal existing societies of archers, a life of Robin Hood, and a glossary of terms used in archery . . . by Alfred E. Hargrove. York, Hargrove's library [etc.] 1845.

1 p.l, ix, [6], [9]-316 p. front, plates, fold. gen. table. 23cm.

5-23440 a,b,2,3

Contains accounts of Robin Hood, his birth, pedigree, companions, appearances at court, death, grave and epitaph, etc., p. 22-34.

310. Harlequin Robin Hood, by the author of "Biographia municipalia," etc. † Nottingham, W. B. Draper, 1861. 14

312. HARRIS, F. H.

- † Eight plays for the school. London, Routledge; New Lork, E. P. Dutton [1913].

Includes: Robin Hood and his merry men,

314. HART, WALTER MORRIS, 1872-

- * . . . Ballad and epic; a study in the development of the narrative art, by Walter Morris Hart. Boston, Ginn & company, 1907.

vii, 315 p. 23½cm. ([Harvard] studies and notes in philology and literature. vol. XI) 8-13373 a,2

Contains: Chapter II. The border and outlaw ballads. B The ballads of the Robin Hood cycle, p. 71-76 — Chapter II. The gest of Robin Hood, p. 88-109 — Chapter VII. Conclusion III. The Robin Hood ballads, p. 290-292 — V. The gest of Robin Hood, p. 292-293.

316. HARTSHORNE, CHARLES HENRY, 1802-1865.

Ancient metrical tales; printed chiefly from original sources. Ed. by the Rev. Charles Henry Hartshorne . . . London, W. Pickering, 1829.

xxiv, 344 p. 19½cm.

11-29534 a,2

Contains: A tale of Robin Hood [ballad] p. 179-197.

318. HARVEY, GEORGE COCKBURN, 1858- ed.
 Robin Hood, edited by George Cockburn Harvey, B.A., illustrated by Edwin John Prittue. Philadelphia, Chicago [etc.] The John C. Winston company [c1923].
 viii, 352 p. col. front., illus., col. plates. 22cm. 23-14088 a,2
 20 full page illus., incl. 4 in color and front., included in pagination, except the col. plates.
 Issued in 3 forms:
- * ——— Clear type popular classics. \$1 00.
 - * ——— Clear type popular classics—Trade edition.
 90 cents. (Identical but without jacket.)
 - * ——— Children's bookshelf series. \$1.25.
 All three editions from same plates. Children's bookshelf series on heavier paper, other editions on glazed paper.
320. HARVEY, SIR PAUL, 1869- ed.
 The Oxford companion to English literature, compiled and edited by Sir Paul Harvey. Oxford, The Clarendon press, 1932.
 viii, 865 p. 1 l. 24cm. 33-35 a,2
 Consists of a list of English authors, literary works, and literary societies which have historical or present importance and explanation of allusions, containing a proper name, commonly met with in English literature—Pref.
 Contains: Allen a Dale, p. 19 ——— Friar Tuck, p. 301-302 ——— Little John, p. 461 ——— Maid Marian, p. 485 ——— Much, p. 540 ——— Robin Hood, p. 668 ——— Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 668.
 ——— Reprinted Dec. 1932; Jan. 1933; Mar. 1933; Jan. 1934.
322. HAWORTH, PETER, 1891-
 * English hymns and ballads and other studies in popular literature, by Peter Haworth . . . Oxford, B. Blackwell, 1927.
 xi, 148 p. 22cm. 28-22090 a,2
 Contains: The Robin Hood ballads, p. 30-45.
324. HAYDON, ARTHUR LINCOLN, 1872-
 * The book of Robin Hood; an account of the brave deeds and merry pranks
 † of the famous outlaw; collected from old ballads, chap-books and other sources, by A. L. Haydon, with twelve plates in colour by T. H. Robinson. London and New York, F. Warne & co., ltd. [1931].
 xxiii, 263 p. col. front., 11 col. plates. 21½cm. 6/-. 31-28121 a,1,2
 Illustrated lining-papers.
 Bibliography: 261-263.
- † ——— [1934]. 14
326. HAYENS, HERBERT, ed.
 Robin Hood ——— George a Green . . . London, Collins [1924].
 80 p. 8 vo. (John Drinkwater ser. for schools) b,3
 Arranged from Thoms' Early prose romances.
 ——— 1931.
 152 p. (Favorite library) 1/-; paper 1,4
- HAYWARD, A. L. See under EDWARDS, C.; SMITH, ALEXANDER.

HAZLITT, WILLIAM, 1811-1893, tr. *See under* THIERRY, AUGUSTIN. 2d translation.

327. HAZLITT, WILLIAM CAREW, 1834-1913.

Some prose writings. London, Reeves and Turner, 1906.

14

Contains an essay on Robin Hood, first published in his "National tales and legends," 1892.

328. HAZLITT, WILLIAM CAREW, 1834-1913.

Tales and legends of national origin or widely current in England from early times . . . London, S. Sonnenschein and co.; New York, Macmillan and co., 1892. xv, 486 p. 22cm.

d,f

Robin Hood, p 242-323.

Binder's title: National tales and legends.

——— 1899.

HAZLITT, WILLIAM CAREW, 1834-1913. *See also under* BRAND, JOHN; DODSLEY, ROBERT; RITSON, JOSEPH. Ancient songs, etc.

329. HEAL, EDITH, 1903-

* . . . Robin Hood, by Edith Heal; with an introduction by Philip Allen, + illustrated by Dan Content. New York, Chicago [etc.] Rand, McNally & company [c1928].

xvi, 626 p. col. front., illus., 7 col. plates. 23½cm. (The Windermere series)
\$1.75. 28-25083 a,1,2

Illustrated lining-papers.

——— Collins. 6/-.

HEARNE, THOMAS, 1678-1735. *See* FORDUN, JOHN.

330. HEATON, WILLIAM.

The story of Robin Hood. By William Heaton . . . London and New York, Cassell, Petter, and Galpin [1870].

2 p l., [vii]-xii, [13]-219 p. col. plates. 17cm. \$1.50; 3/6.

14-22086 a,b,1,2,3,4

+ ——— 6th ed. [1888].

14

No record of editions 2-5.

HEBEL, JOHN WILLIAM, ed. *See under* DRAYTON, MICHAEL.

332. Helstone Furry-day song. In: Dixon's Ancient songs and ballads, p.187-189. 4 stanzas. Mentions Robin Hood and Little John.

——— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 416-418.

334. HENDERSON, THOMAS FINLAYSON, 1844-1923.

The ballad in literature, by T. F. Henderson. Cambridge, The University press; New York, G. P. Putnam's sons, 1912.

ix, 128 p. 17cm. (Half-tide: The Cambridge manuals of science and literature)

Title within ornamental border.

12-29036 rev. a,2

Contains discussion of the Robin Hood ballads in general, with particular mention of the Gest of Robin Hood; Robin Hood and the potter; Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne; and Robin Hood and the monk.

HENDERSON, THOMAS FINLAYSON, 1844-1923, ed. *See under* SCOTT, SIR WALTER
Minstrelsy of the Scottish border.

335. HENSLOWE, PHILIP. d.1616

The Diary of Philip Henslowe, from 1591 to 1609. Printed from the original manuscript preserved at Dulwich College. Ed. by J. Payne Collier London, Printed for the Shakespeare society, 1845.

xxxiv, 290 p 22cm. ([Shakespeare society. Publication, no.28])

16-13803 a,b,2,3

P. 118-120, 139 mention Munday's plays: p. 174 mentions Robin Hood's penethes. *See under* HOUGHTON, WILLIAM.

——— Ed. by Walter W. Greg. London, A. H. Bullen, 1904-1908.

2v. facsimis. 26½cm.

8-25834 a,2

336. HERBERT, CHARLES.

† In Robin Hood's days . . . illus. by A. Pearse. London, Shaw [1933] 14

337. HERBERT, CHARLES.

* Robin Hood . . . illustrated in colour and black and white by Alfred Pearse.

† London, John F. Shaw, 1928.

[194] p. 8 col. pl., illus. 25cm. (Shaws splendid series) 3/—.

338. HERBERT, CHARLES.

† Stories of Robin Hood. London, Shaw, 1928. 14

Stories selected from his Robin Hood.

† ——— [1935].

Another selection from the 1928 edition.

14

HERBERT, VICTOR, 1859-1924. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD. (Violin and piano; flute and piano)

340 HERBERTSON, AGNES GROZIER.

Heroic legends: the stories of St George and the dragon, Robin Hood, Richard and Blondel, and other legends; retold by Agnes Grozier Herbertson. Illustrated with sixteen coloured plates by Helen Stratton New York [etc.] H. M. Caldwell company; London, Blackie & son, limited [1908].

vii, 253 p. 16 col. pl. (incl. front.) 22½cm.

W8-170 a,2

† ——— [1928].

14

Here beginneth a mery geste . . . *See* Mery gest; CAMPBELL, WILLIAM W.; GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW.

HEREFORD, CHARLES HAROLD, 1853- *See* JONSON, BEN

342. HERRING, PAUL.

† King Richard's fansom. In: Scout, Aug. 28, 1909. 14

344. HERRING, PAUL.

† Little John's bowmen In: Big budget, Nov. 14, 1908. 14

Hey jolly Robin *See* in Sherwood livde stout Robin Hood.

HEYWOOD, THOMAS, d.1650. *See* first note under MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

HICKLEN, JOHN. *See under* RITSON [12], [13].

346. Historical anecdotes of the life of Robin Hood, with a collection of the ancient
 † poems relative to that celebrated outlaw. London, Booksellers; Otley, W. Walker,
 1846. b,3,14

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION. *See under* GREAT BRITAIN.

348. . . . History and famous exploits of Robin Hood. Leeds, E. Greenwood
 † [*ca.*1800] 14

† ——— The history and famous exploits of Robin Hood, displaying the merry
 speeches and gallant behavior of him and his skilful band of archers. Banbury,
 Printed for and sold by W. Rusher & son [1805²].

84 p. front. b,d,3,14

——— New ed. [18-²].

72 p. front. d

† ——— London, Printed for the booksellers: York, J. Kendrew [1816²]. 14

350. . . . History of Robin Hood. New York, T. Wilson, 1812. b,3

——— With copper plates. New ed. London, 1816.

34 p. 18° (New juvenile library) b,3

——— Title: The history and famous exploits of Robin Hood, and of all the
 notable exploits performed by him and his merry men Manchester [1830²].

12°

† ——— Title History of Robin Hood. Leominster, J. V. Chilcott [1840²]. 14

——— London [1861].

12° b,3

——— [Another ed.²]. b,3

No edition of either 348 or 350 seen. It is possible that all editions of both
 entries refer to one work, also that several works are involved. Compare ROBIN
 HOOD's GARLAND.

352. The history of Robin Hood and the beggar. [Glasgow² 1790²].
 12° b,3,14
 In verse.

——— Glasgow, Lumsden & son [1810²]

11 p. 16° b,3

——— Aberdeen, A Keith [1810-35]. h,13

354. The history of Robin Hood, captain of the robbers of Sherwood forest. Aln-
 wick, W. Davison [1840²].
 8 p. 12° b,3

355. HOBHOUSE, EDMUND, *bp.*, 1817-1904, ed.

Churchwardens' accounts of Croscombe, Pilton, Patton, Tintinhull, Morebath,
 and St. Michael's, Bath, ranging from A.D 1349 to 1560 . . . [London]. Printed
 for subscribers by the Somerset record society, 1890.

3 p. l, [v]-xxvi, 277, [1] p. 23x18½ cm. (Somerset record society, v. 4)

For contents see under CROSCOMBE, ENGLAND. ACCOUNTS. 13-11800 a,2

356. HOBHOUSE, ROSA WAUGH.
 * Robin Hood, and other tales of old England; retold by Rosa Hobhouse. London,
 † J. M. Dent & sons; New York, E. P. Dutton and co [1931]
 256 p. incl. 7 illus. 15cm. (King's treasures of literature, general ed. Sir A.
 T. Quiller Couch) 1/4. 1
 Illus. by W. H. Birch.
 Contains: Part I. The forest outlaws, chapters I-XI, p. 11-175. Includes 5 illus.
358. HOBKIRK, CHARLES CODRINGTON PRESSICK, 1837-1902.
 Robin Hood. In: St James's magazine, v. 47, p. 24, 1880.
359. HOLLAND, ROBERT.
 Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 4, vol. 11, p. 303,
 Apr. 12, 1873.
 See also Robin Hood wind, *infra*.
360. HONE, WILLIAM, 1780-1842.
 The year-book of daily recreation and information concerning remarkable men
 and manners, times and seasons, solemnities and merry-makings, antiquities and
 novelties, on the plan of the Every-day book and Table book . . . London,
 Printed for Thomas Tegg, 1832. b,3
 ——— 1838. b,3
 ——— 1839.
 Contains [all editions]: An adventure in Sherwood forest; a little gest of Robin
 Hood, p. 801-804 ——— King John, Robin Hood, and Matilda, p. 804-805 ———
 Le morte de Robin Hood, p. 805-806.
- HONE, WILLIAM, 1780-1842. See also under GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW.
361. HOOD, ROBIN A.
 Little red Robin Hood. London, Humphrey Milford, [1921]. b,3
 This item not seen.
362. HOPE, EDWIN S.
 Bold Robin Hood. In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 8, p. 204, 1913.
363. HOUGHTON, WILLIAM.
 Roben Hoodes penerthes [pennyworths].
 Lost play. Mentioned in Henslowe's Diary, p. 174, date: Dec. 27, 1600. See
 also under HENSLOWE.
364. HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH, 1784-1859.
 Ballads of Robin Hood, by Leigh Hunt; with some manuscript reproductions.
 Cedar Rapids, Ia., Priv. print., 1922.
 32 p. front. (port.), illus. (facsim.) 20½cm. \$2.50. 22-15920 a,1,2
 "Two hundred copies printed."
 Compiled by Luther A. Brewer.—cf. Foreword.
366. HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH, 1784-1859.
 Poetical works. London, E. Moxon, 1832.
 lx, 361 p. d
 Not seen. Doubtless contains the Robin Hood ballads. Also editions listed be-
 low.

——— Title: The poetical works of Leigh Hunt, now finally collected, rev. by himself, and ed. by his son Thornton Hunt; with illustrations by Corbould. London, G. Routledge and sons, [1860].

[1], xv, 455, [1] p. front., plates. 17cm. (Routledge's British poets) f

——— Title: Poetical works. Ed. with an introduction by S. A. Lee. Boston, Ticknor and Fields, 1863.

2 v. port. d

——— Title: The poetical works of Leigh Hunt, ed. by H. S. Milford, M.A. London, New York [etc.] H. Milford, Oxford university press [1923].

lvi, 776 p. front. (port.) 20½cm. 23-8592 a,2

Contains: Ballads of Robin Hood, p. 103-108.

368. HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH, 1784-1859.

† Stories in verse. By Leigh Hunt. Now first collected . . . London, New York, G. Routledge & co., 1855.

3 p. l., [v]-ix, 356 p. front. 17cm. 15-9866 a,2,14

Added t-p. engr.

Contains: Ballads of Robin Hood. Robin Hood a child, p. 145-151 ———
Robin Hood's fight, p. 152-159 ——— Robin Hood an outlaw, p. 159-160 ———
How Robin and his outlaws lived in the woods, p. 161-164.

These ballads written by Hunt

370. HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH, 1784-1859.

[Works . . . N. Y., Derby & Jackson, 1859].

4 v. front. (port., v. 1) 19cm.

Binder's title.

HUNT, THORNTON, ed. See HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH. Poetical works.

372. HUNTER, JOSEPH, 1783-1861.

* The great hero of the ancient minstrelsy of England, "Robin Hood." His
† period, real character, etc. investigated and perhaps ascertained. By Joseph Hunter. London, J. R. Smith, 1852.

1 p. l., 62 p. 12° [His Critical and historical tracts. no. 4] 19½cm. 2/- Price, 1929, 4/6. 1-17077 a,2,4

Cover: June, 1852. For review, see North American Review, v 84, p. 1-34, Jan., 1857.

* ——— Worksop, Robert White, 1880.

† 72 p. 18½cm. [Critical and historical tracts, no 4] 6/-. b,3

Series title in preface.

"Two hundred and fifty copies printed." Not numbered.

373. HUSTVEDT, SIGURD BERNHARD, 1882-

Ballad books and ballad men; raids and rescues in Britain, America, and the Scandinavian north since 1800, by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt . . . Cambridge, Mass., Harvard university press, 1930.

ix p., 2 l. [3]-376 p. 24cm. 30-29782 a,2

Contains many references to Robin Hood and the Robin Hood ballads.

374. HUSTVEDT, SIGURD BERNHARD, 1882-

Ballad criticism in Scandinavia and Great Britain during the eighteenth century, by Sigurd Bernhard Hustvedt . . . New York, The American-Scandinavian foundation; [etc., etc.] 1916.

4 p. l., [vii]-ix p. 1 l., 335 p. 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm (Halt-title. Scandinavian monographs
vol. II) S3 00 16-7217 a,2

"This book has grown out of a dissertation presented in April, 1915, for the degree of doctor of philosophy at Harvard university, under the title of 'English, Scottish, and Scandinavian ballad criticism in the eighteenth century' The entire study has been revised."—Pref

Contains discussion of and references to Ritson, Percy and Robin Hood

376. In Sherwood livde stout Robin Hood. In Jones, Robert. Muscicall dreame. 1606
See under JONES, ROBERT.
Ballad.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 393-394.

——— In Ritson 1795, II, p. 209-210. Title Hey Jolly Robin.

378. JACKSON, L.

Robin Hood [story] In: Belgravia, v. 81, p. 311, 1892-96.

380. JACKSON, THOMAS.

Lost squire of Inglewood Adventures in caves of Robin Hood. London,
Nelson, 1902.

228 p. 2/-. 4

——— Same: (Royal library) 1905.

220 p. 1/-. 4

——— London, Nelson, 1925.

220 p. b,3

382. JAMES, GEORGE PAYNE RAINSFORD, 1799-1860.

† Forest days; a romance of old times. By G. P. R. James . . . London, Saunders
and Otley, 1843.

3 v. 19cm.

7-8008 a,b,2,3,14

——— In: Parlour library, 1847, v. 78.

† ——— London and N. Y., Routledge [1852?].

Title: Forest days; or, Robin Hood. b,3

† ——— 1885.

14

384. JAMIESON, ROBERT, 1780?-1844, ed.

* Popular ballads and songs, from tradition, manuscripts, and scarce editions;
with translations of similar pieces from the ancient Danish language, and a few
originals by the editor By Robert Jamieson . . . Edinburgh, A Constable and
co.; [etc., etc.] 1806.

2 v. 22cm.

15-18224 a,2

Contains, v. 2: The birth of Robin Hood, p. 44-48 ——— Robin Hood and
the old man, p. 49-53 ——— Robyn Hode and the munke, p. 54-72.

385. JEWELL, ALFRED.

Book about Robin Hood. [Query] In: Notes and queries, series 8, vol. 6, p. 508,
Dec. 29, 1894.

Query answered by Charlotte G. Bøger, series 8, vol 7, p. 74, Jan. 26, 1895.

386. JEWITT, LLEWELLYNN FREDERICK WILLIAM, 1816-1886, ed.
 † The ballads & songs of Derbyshire. With illustrative notes, and examples of the original music, etc. Ed. by Llewellynn Jewitt . . . London, Bemrose and Lothian; [etc., etc.] 1867.
 xvi, 307 p. incl. front. 19½cm. 14-16606 a,2,14
 Contains music for the ballad Bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p 3.
388. JOHNSON, CAPTAIN CHARLES, fl.1724-1736.
 History of the lives and actions of highwaymen, murderers, street robbers, etc. with voyages and plunders of the noted pirates. London, 1734.
 484 p. 26 plates. 6
 Appeared originally in 73 weekly nos. at 2d. each.
 Plate, p. 19: Stutely's complaint to Robin Hood.
 ——— New ed., abridged. London, Bohn, 1842
 2v. 6
400. JOHNSON, CAPTAIN CHARLES, fl.1724-36
 History of the real adventures of Robin Hood and his merry companions; with ballads from Robin Hood's garland. 1800. 6
402. JOHNSON, CLIFTON, 1865-
 Robin Hood . . . illustrated by Willard Bonte. New York, The Baker & Taylor company, 1910.
 xiv, 293 p. col. front., plates. 19½cm. (Half-title Golden books for children, ed. by C. Johnson) \$1.00. 10-24203 a,1,2
 Series title also on t-p.
404. JOHNSON, REGINALD BRIMLEY, 1867-
 A book of British ballads, selected and arranged by R. Brimley Johnson. London, J. M. Dent & sons, ltd.; New York, E. P. Dutton & co. [1912].
 xxiv, 340 p. [1] p. 17½cm. (Half-title: Everyman's library, ed. by Ernest Rhys. Poetry and the drama) A12-1005 a,2
 Title within ornamental border.
 Contains Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p 45-52 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 94-96 ——— Birth of Robin Hood, p. 143-145 ——— Robin Hood and the monk, p. 151-161.
 Binder's title and half-title: Popular British ballads
 ——— Reprint, 1917.
 ——— Title: Popular British ballads, chosen by R. Brimley Johnson, illustrated by W. Cubitt Cooke. London, J. M. Dent & co., Aldine house, 1894.
 4 v. illus. 19cm.
 Contains, v. 1: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 162-172 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 246-251 ——— v. 2: Birth of Robin Hood, p. 98-101 ——— Robin Hood and the monk, p. 112-127.
406. The jolly pinder of Wakefield, with Robin Hood, Scarlet, and John [no colophon].
 Ballad, 13 stanzas Black-letter. Roxburghe III, 24.
 ——— London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson. Wood 401, ol verso.

—— London. For Alex. Milbourne. Pepys, II, 100 n. 87a.

—— Wood, 402, 43.

—— Lindes, 693.

—— Bagford, II, 20.21.

—— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 129-132 (No. 124).

—— In Gutch II, p. 143-146.

—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 16-18.

—— In Evans 1777, I, p. 99; 1810, II, p. 100-102.

For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F. See also Yorkshire notes and queries, 1907, p. 12.

A version B, 5 stanzas, is also given in Child.

JONES, HARRIE STUART VEDDER, ed. See under WILSON, E. L.



From Jolly Pinder of Wakefield, in Ballad Society's Reprint of the Roxburghe Ballads. No. 406.

410. JONES, ROBERT, *fl.* 1616.

A musical dreame, or the fourth booke of ayres . . . composed by Robert Jones. London, Imprinted by the assignees of William Barley, and are to be sold in Pawles church-yard, at the signe of the Crowne, 1606.

Contains: In' Sherwood livde stout Robin Hood.

—— 2d ed. 1609.

In E. F. Rimbault's collection of ancient music.

411. JONES, TOM.

Robin Hood society. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 5, p. 473, June 15, 1912.

See also Robin Hood society, *infra*.

412. JONSON, BEN, 1573?-1637.

The Sad shepherd.

Extract from the Dictionary of National Biography, v. 30, p. 188, by C. H. Hereford: "19th play. Fragment . . . The singular freshness of this piece . . . suggests that it was composed earlier and Mr. Symonds would identify it with the lost pastoral 'The May lord', which he ascribed to Drummond in 1618. Yet the effect is partly due to the lyrical style, which as the abundant rhymes show, was here deliberately adopted . . . It was continued by Mr. F. G. Waldron, 1783." cf. SCHELLING, English chronicle play. p. 162-3.

Editions as follows (chronological arrangement, full title given in each case):

—— The workes of Benjamin Jonson The second volume. Containing these plays, viz. 1. Bartholomew Fayre. 2. The Staple of Newes. 3. The Diuell is an Asse. [printer's mark] London, Printed for Richard Meighen, 1640.

2 p l., [831] p. 28½ cm.

1-1338 rev. a,2

The first edition of the second volume of the collected works, the first volume having appeared in 1616.

Each work, except the Masques, has separate t-p., the first three with imprint: London, Printed by I. B. for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at the signe of the Beare, in Pauls church-yard, 1631. The remaining titles, dated 1640-41, give neither printer nor publisher.

Paging and signatures are in five groups (broken by having The Staple of Newes, and Masques bound out of place): Bartholomew Fayre, and The Diuell is an Asse, 6 p. l., 170 p. (89-90 omitted between plays) signatures: A⁶, B-M⁴, N-Y⁴; The Staple of Newes, 75, [1] p., signatures: Aa-Bb⁴, Cc¹⁻², Cg⁴, D-H⁴, I⁶; The Magnetick lady, Tale of a tub, Sad shepherd, 155 p. (numb. 70-79 repeated, and 123-132 omitted) signatures: A-P⁴, Q², R-V⁴; Masques, Under-woods, and Mortimer, 292 p., signatures: B-Q⁴, R², S-X⁴, Y², Z⁴, Aa-Oo⁴, Pp², Qq⁴; Horace, English grammer, and Timber, 132 p., signatures: A-K⁴, L², M-R⁴.

Errors in paging: Bartholomew Fayre, p. 12-13, 31, printed 6, 3, 13; Staple of Newes, p. 19, 22, 63, printed 9, 16, 36; Diuell is an Asse, p. 99, 132, 137, printed 97, 124, 129; Sad shepherd, p. 151, 154, printed 143, 146; Under-woods, p. 285 printed 283.

—— Works . . . ed. by Peter Whalley. London, 1756

—— The Sad shepherd; or, A tale of Robin Hood, a fragment, written by Ben Jonson . . . With a continuation, notes, and an appendix . . . London, Printed for J. Nichols, and sold by C. Dilly, 1783.

xii, 225 p. 21½ cm.

27-13006 a,b,2,3

[Longe, F. Collection of plays. v. 304, n. 5]

Continued and completed by F. G. Waldron, with the notes from Whalley's edition of Jonson's works (1756) and supplementary notes by the present editor.

—— Works. 1811. (Colman edition)

Cf. Cambridge history of English literature, v. 4.

—— The works of Ben Jonson . . with notes critical and explanatory and a biographical memoir, by W. Gifford . . London, G and W. Nicol [etc.] 1816.
9 v. front. (port.) facsim. 20½ cm. 1-1339 a,b,2,3
Sad shepherd, v. 6, p. 243-307

—— Works . . . 1838. (Barry Cornwall ed.)

—— The works of Ben Jonson; with notes critical and explanatory and a biographical memoir by W. Gifford, esq.; with introduction and appendices by Lieut.-Col F. Cunningham . . London, Bickers and son [etc.] 1875.

9 v. front. (port.) 24 cm.

1-1340 a,b,2,3

Sad shepherd, v. 6, p. 227-288.

Pref. note: "This exquisite fragment first appeared in the folio, 1641. It is evidently the author's last work for the stage; and it is commonly said that he left it unfinished . . . An attempt was made to 'continue and complete this piece' by Mr. Waldron "

Called "best edition" by Cambridge history of English literature, v. 4

—— Plays and poems, by Ben Jonson, with an introduction by Henry Morley . . . 2d ed. London, New York G. Routledge and son, 1886.

320 p. 18½ cm. (Half-title: Morley's universal library. [20]) 29-25564 a,b,2,3

Contains the Sad shepherd.

—— Ben Jonson's Sad shepherd, with Waldron's continuation; ed. by W. W. Greg. Louvain, A. Uystpruyst; [etc., etc.] 1905.

2 p.l., xxv p., 21, 117-122, 133-155 p., 11, [35]-99 p. 27 cm. (Added t.-p.: Materialien zur Kunde des alteren englischen Dramas . . . hrsg. von W. Bang 11. bd) 5-42525 a,2

Reprinted from the second volume of the collected edition of Jonson's works issued under date 1640; the paging of the original is reproduced, together with a facsimile of the t.-p.: The Sad shepherd: or, A Tale of Robin-Hood. Written by Ben Iohnson . . . London, Printed MDC XLI.

—— The complete plays of Ben Jonson. London, J. M. Dent; New York, E. P. Dutton & co. [n.d.]

2 v. 17½ cm. (Everyman's library)

Sad shepherd, v. 2, p. 635-664.

| ——— Sad shepherd; or, A tale of Robin Hood Cambridge, University press, 1929. 14

Discussion and Criticism of the 'Sad shepherd':

BAYNE, REV. RONALD. Masque and pastoral. (Cambridge history of English literature, v. 6, p. 370-420.)

HERFORD, CHARLES HAROLD, 1853-. Ben Jonson . . by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson. Oxford, Clarendon press, 1925.

The Sad shepherd, p. 211-234.

THORNDIKE, ASHLEY H Ben Jonson. Cambridge history of English literature, v. 6, p. 1-32.

413. KAYE, MICHAEL W.

A Robin Hood of France. London, Stanley Paul & co., 1912.

334 p. 6/-.

414. KEATS, JOHN, 1795-1821.
Robin Hood [poem].
See under HARE, KENNETH; WOODS, GEORGE BENJAMIN.
415. KERRY, CHARLES.
History of St. Lawrence, Reading Reading, The author, 1883.
viii, 256 p. front., plates. 23cm. b,d,f,3
P. 226, mentions "Made Maryon." See also under St. Lawrence.
416. KETELBEY, DORIS MABEL.
† History stories to tell. 1st series. London, Harrap, 1931. 14
(Story-teller's series)
Includes: Robin Hood, p. 99-107, 227-228.
418. KEW. "Q" Theatre. In: Gazette, Jan, 1932. 14
↓
419. KIESSMANN, RUDOLF, 1874-
Untersuchungen über die Motive der Robin Hood Balladen . . . Halle, a. S.,
E. Karras, 1895.
vi p., 1 l., 42, [2] p. 19cm.
Dissertation, Halle.
420. KINARD, JAMES PINCKNEY, 1864- ed.
* . . . Old English ballads; ed with introduction and notes, by James P.
Kinard . . . New York, Boston [etc.] Silver, Burdett and company [1902].
126 p. front. (port.) 18½cm (The Silver series of classics.) 2-8344 a,2
Contains: Robin Hood and the monk, p. 23-36 ——— Robin Hood and Guy
of Gisborne, p. 36-44 ——— Notes, p. 103-120 ——— Glossary, p. 121-126.
422. KING, DOROTHY.
* Greenwood tales; stories of Robin Hood and his merry men, retold . . .
London, Blackie and son [1920].
5 p.l., 9-128 p. col. front., 3 col. pl. 18½cm. (Stories old and new) 2/-.
b,3,4
* ——— (Stories old and new—School ed.) 1/8.
5 p.l., 9-132 p. col. front., 3 col. pl. 18½cm.
Does not have col. il. on cover. No dust jacket.
"Questions," p 129-132
423. KING, RICHARD JOHN.
Robin Hood's name and fame. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 1, vol. 2,
p. 321, Oct 9, 1850.
See also Robin Hood's name and fame, *infra*.
424. The King's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood.
Ballad, 44 stanzas. Douce, III, 113b.
——— In Child. 1883-98, III, p. 220-222, (No. 151)
——— In Gutch, II, 281-288.
——— In Ritson, 1795, II p. 162-170.
——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 218; 1810, II, p 244-251.

Translations:

(French) In: Loève-Weimars, p. 212.

(German) In: Auersperg. Robin Hood, p 159; Werke 1877, V., p. 301-306.

(German) In: Doenniges. p 185

425. KINGSLEY, MAUD ELMA.

Robin Hood; story of his life. In: Education, v. 22, p. 39-44, Sept., 1901.

KINGSTON, ROSEMARY [pseud.] See MCGOVERN, MARY HARRIET.

426. KINGSTON, ENGLAND (Kent)

Accounts, 1505-1536.

Include references to May games. See also under LYSONS, DANIEL.

427. [KINLOCH, GEORGE RITCHIE] 1796?-1877, ed.

Ancient Scottish ballads, recovered from tradition and never before published: with notes, historical and explanatory: and an appendix containing the airs of several of the ballads . . . London, Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, & Green; [etc., etc.] 1827.

xiv, 270 p., 8 l. 21cm.

9-16550 a,b,2,3

Contains: The wedding of Robin Hood and Little John [Ballad, 17 stanzas]
See under ballad title.

—— Ms. dated 1827, at Edinburgh.

d

428. Kirkstee Priory. In: Yorkshire archaeological journal, 1901.

KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, 1859- ed. See under CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES

The Knightly tale of Golagrus and Gawaine. See under GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE.

429. KNORTZ, KARL, 1841-1918.

Alt-Englands. Cöthen, 1872.

Contains German translation for: Robin Hood rescuing three squires, no. 19

—— Robin Hood's death, no 20

430. KNOWLES, MAY WYNNE.

† Comrade to Robin Hood, by May Wynne [pseud.] London, R[eligious] T[ract] S[ociety], [1934].

14

431. KNOWLES, MAY WYNNE.

* Robin Hood to the rescue, by May Wynne [pseud.] Exeter, A. Wheaton & co
† [1927]

56 p. 18cm. 7d.

4,14

Cover-title.

KOVEN, REGINALD DE. See DEKOVEN, REGINALD.

432. [KROUT, CAROLINE VIRGINIA].

† Bold Robin and his forest rangers, by Caroline Brown [pseud.] drawings by
F. I. Bennett. New York, E. P. Dutton and company [1905].

vii, 200 p. 6 col. pl. (incl. front.) 19½cm

5-26925 a,1,2

Two of the stories originally appeared in St. Nicholas.

433. LACEY, T. A.

Robin Hood and Nottingham gallows. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 5,
vol 11, p. 464, June 14, 1879.

LAING, DAVID, 1793-1878. *See under* GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE.

434. LANEHAM, ROBERT, fl.1575.

Captain Cox, his ballads and books; or, Robert Laneham's Letter; wherein part of the entertainment unto the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth castl, in Warwick sheer in this soomerz progress, 1575, is signified: from a freend officer attendant in the court, unto híz freend, a citizen and marchaunt of London. Re-edited, with forewords describing all the accessible books, tales, and ballads, in Captain Cox's list and the Complaynt of Scotland, 1548-9 A.D., by Frederick J. Furnivall . . . London, Printed for the Ballad society by Taylor and co., 1871

clxxxii, 87 p. fold. plan. 23cm. (On cover. Ballad Society. [Publications] no. 7)
3-28446 a,2

Contains mentions and lists of Captain Cox's books in the British Museum, p. li-liii; editions of the Mery gest.

Captain Cox's collection of ballads is now known as the Roxbourghe collection

435. LANG, ANDREW, 1844-1912.

At the sign of the ship.

Column in Longman's magazine, July, 1900, p 285-286, discusses origin of Robin Hood.

436. LANG, ANDREW, 1844-1912, ed.

The book of romance; ed. by Andrew Lang, with numerous illustrations by H. J. Ford. New York [etc.] Longmans, Green, and co., 1902.

xiv, 384 p. incl. illus., plates. col front., col. plates 19cm. (43 pl., 8 col., 8 text il.) 6/-; Amer. \$1.60. 4-4635 a,1,2

Illustrated lining papers.

Nineteen romances, mostly from the Arthurian legends.

Contains: The story of Robin Hood, p. 323-358 (includes 2 plates).

——— Reprinted Oct., 1903; Jan. 1909, June 1913; Jan. 1915; Mar. 1926; Nov 1927; Aug. 1929.

List price 1928, \$1.75.

438. LANG, ANDREW, 1844-1912, ed

* A collection of ballads . . . London, Chapman & Hall, 1897.

xxiii, 250 p. front. 16cm. (Diamond library)

Contains: Robin Hood and the monk, p. 196-208 ——— Robin Hood and the potter, p. 209-220 ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 221-225.

440. LANG, ANDREW, 1844-1912, ed.

Tales of romance; based on tales in the Book of romance, ed. by Andrew Lang, with 4 coloured plates and 15 other illustrations by H. J. Ford and Lancelot Speed. New impression. London, New York [etc.] Longmans, Green, and co., 1907.

2 p.l., 148 p. 4 col pl. (incl. front.) illus. 19cm. \$1 00 W7-202 a,1,2

* ——— Reprint, dated 1930. [c1907]

Contains: The story of Robin Hood, p. 1-48. (Incl. 6 illus.)

441. LANGLAND, WILLIAM, ca.1332-ca.1400.

The vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman

Written about 1377. Usual Latin title: Visio Willelmi de Petro Plowman; sometimes briefly described as: Liber de Petro Plowman. Popularly known as. Piers Plowman or Piers the Plowman.

41 mss. of 3 texts exist. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ed. 14, v 13, p 692-693.

Contains earliest recorded mention of Robin Hood The reference is contained in *Passus V*, lines 401-402, wherein the character Sloth says:

"I can nougte perfiltly my paternoster as
the prest it syngeth,
But I can rymes of Robyn Hood and
Randolf erle of Chestre."

See the Crowley text, or text B, as ed. by Rev. Walter W. Skeat, *Early English Text Society*, publication v. 38, 1869, in which this text is collated with several others.

442. LANGLOIS, ERNEST, 1857-1924.

Interpolations du Jeu de Robin et Marion. In: *Romania*, v. 24, p. 437-446, 1895.
See under ADAM DE LA HALLE.

443. LANSING, MARION FLORENCE, 1883-

. . . *Life in the greenwood*, by Marion Florence Lansing, M.A.; illustrated by Charles Copeland. Boston, New York [etc.] Ginn and company [c1909].

viii, 180 p., 1 l. illus. 17½ cm. (Half-title: The open road library of juvenile literature) 35 cents. Price 1928, 64 cents. 9-24323 a,1,2

Series title also at head of t.-p.

444. LANSING, MARION FLORENCE, 1883- comp.

. . . *Tales of old England in prose and verse*, comp and ed. by Marion Florence Lansing, M.A., Boston, New York [etc.] Ginn and company [c1908].

vii, [1], 180 p., 1 l., illus. 17½ cm. (Half-title: The open road library [of juvenile literature]) 35 cents; Price 1912, 45 cents; School ed. 35 cents; price 1928, 64 cents. 8-37073 a,1,2

Series title also at head of t.-p.

LEAKE, W., printer. See under MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

445. LEE, FRANK HAROLD, 1882-

Children's Robin Hood. London, Harrap [1934].
80 p. il. 9d. 1

——— Prize ed 9d. 1

LEE, MRS. R. W. See MACDONELL, AMICE.

446. LEE, SIR SIDNEY, 1859-1926.

+ Hood, Robin. In: *Dictionary of national biography*, v. 27, p 258-261, 1891.

* ——— Photographed copy of these pages.

447. LEGA-WEEKES, ETHEL.

Robin Hood's men in May games. [Note] In: *Notes and queries*, series 11, vol. 1, p. 346, Apr. 30, 1910.

See also *Robin Hood's men in May games*, *infra*.

LEIGH, JAMES HENRY. See HUNT, JAMES HENRY LEIGH.

448. LERRIGO, CHARLES HENRY, 1872-

* *The merry men of Robin Hood patrol* . . . il. by Fridolin Haass. New York, Barse & Hopkins [c1927].

4 p. l., 9-312 p. front, 3 pl. 20cm.

A Robin Hood *title* only. Story of a Boy Scout troop.

LEWIS, RICHARD (PETER PORRENCE, pseud.) *See under* ROBIN HOOD SOCIETY.
4th title.

450. The life and adventures of Robin Hood. [n.p., n.d.]
46 p. wdcts. d
Imperfect copy, lacking t.-p.
452. The life and adventures of Robin Hood. Philadelphia, J. B. Perry, 1865.
70 p. illus. 14½cm. 12-36172 a,2
Illus. t.-p.
- London, Dunn & W., 1878.
(Boys own tales) 1/-; also 6d. 4
- Philadelphia, McKay, 1912.
\$1.00. In print, 1912. 1
The four preceding titles not seen. Entered here as two works, though 3 to 4
may be involved.
454. Life and adventures of that valiant outlaw, Robin Hood. London, J. Fair-
† burn [1830?]. 14
——— Same; together with the history of Little John, and his merry men all.
To which is added, several songs from Robin Hood's garland. London, W. Cole
[1829].
28 p. fold. col. front. 18½cm. [With Fraser, John. The humorous chap-books
of Scotland. New York, 1873-[74]]. 6-39399 a,2
456. Life and ballads of Robin Hood Otley, W. Walker and sons [1870?].
† (Wharfedale library for the million) 14
458. Life and death of Robin Hood. Glasgow [1840?].
12 p. 12° b,3
A ballad.
460. The life and death of Robin Hood, complete in twenty-four songs. New York:
printed in the year 1800.
80 p. illus. g
462. Life and exploits of Robin Hood: and Robin Hood's garland . . . Halifax,
* Milner and Sowerby, 1858
3 p.l., 9-192; i-cclvi p. front 12½cm.
Added t.-p. engr.: Life & ballads of Robin Hood.
This work based on Ritson.
† ——— 1862. 14
——— London, Milner and company [187-?].
3 p.l., v-viii, 9-192, cclvi p. front. 13cm.
Added t.-p. engr.: Life & ballads of Robin Hood. 16-1007 a,2
464. Life, death and adventures of Robin Hood and Little John. Stirling [1810?].
12° b,3
Also a variant title for: A true tale of Robin Hood. *See under* this title.
466. Life of Robin Hood. Manchester [1840?].
12° b,3

—— Same: to which is annexed Robin Hood's garland. Dublin, 1852

12°

b 3

See also under ROBIN HOOD'S GARLAND.

- 465 Life of Robin Hood of Sherwood forest. London, Hamblin and Seyfang
† [1810?]. 14

Little gest of Robin Hood. See under Mery gest . .

Little John a begging. Variant title for Little John and the four beggars.
See under this title.

470. Little John and the four beggars; or, a new merry song of Robin Hood and
Little John, shewing how Little John went a begging, and how he fought with
four beggars, and what a prize he got of the four beggars London, Printed for
W. Thackeray, T. Passenger, and W. Whitworth [1670?]

White-letter ballad, 22 stanzas. Roxburghe, III, 10

—— London, Printed for W. Gilbertson. Wood 401, 33 verso.

—— London, Wright, Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger. Pepys, II, 119, n 105.

—— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 188-190, (No. 142).

—— In Gutch, II, p. 219-224.

—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 128-132.

—— Translation (German) In: Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 155; Werke, V,
p. 297-300.

For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.

Child prints also another version, of 11 stanzas

See also under PECK, F.

472. LOEVE-VEIMARS, FRANCOIS ADOLPHE, *baron*, 1801-1854

Ballades, légendes et chants populaires de l'Angleterre et de l'Écosse, par Wal-
ter-Scott, Thomas Moore, Campbell et les anciens poètes; publiés et préécédés d'une
introduction par A. Loève-Veimars. Paris, 1825.

Contains French translations of the following ballads: Robin Hood's delight,
p. 199 — Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, p. 204 — Robin Hood
and Maid Marian, p. 208 — The king's disguise and friendship for Robin
Hood, p. 212 — Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 219 — Robin
Hood's death, p. 223.

—— Translation. Paris, 1825 title: Popular ballads and songs.

474. LONG, JOHN ANDREW, 1863- comp.

* Old English ballads, selected and arranged for use in elementary schools, by
John A. Long. Boston, New York [etc.] D. C. Heath & co. [c1912].

vii, 146 p. incl. illus., plates, map. 19cm. 50 cents.

12-22915 a,2

Contains: The Robin Hood ballads, p. 8-12 — Robin Hood's journey to
Nottingham, p. 13-16 — Robin Hood and Little John, p. 17-25 — Robin
Hood and Allin a Dale, p. 26-33 — Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three
sons, p. 34-38 — Robin Hood and the curtal friar, p. 39-47 — Robin
Hood and Maid Marian, p. 48-51 — Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 52-
63 — Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 64-67.

Each ballad with introductory explanatory paragraph.

476. LONGE, F., ed.

Collection of plays.

Contains Robin Hood [opera] 1730, v. 49, no. 6 ——— Robin Hood; or, Sherwood forest [opera] by Leonard MacNally, v. 93, no 1 ——— Marion; a comic opera, by Mrs. Frances (Moore) Brooke, v. 267, no. 8 ——— Sad shepherd, by Ben Jonson, v. 304, no. 5.

See under BROOKE, MRS. FRANCES (MOORE); JONSON, BEN; MACNALLY, LEONARD; Robin Hood [opera].

LONSDALE, MARK, supposed author. See under O'KEEFE, JOHN.

477. LOOK ABOUT YOU.

A pleasant comodie, called Looke about you . . . London, Printed for William Ferbrand . . . 1600.

British Museum press mark C. 34, b. 32

b,3

Robin Hood a character, as Earl of Huntington.

——— Title: Look about you. 1600. [London?] Issued for subscribers by the editor of the Tudor facsimile texts, 1912.

3 p.l., facsim. [88] p. 26½cm. (Half-title: The Tudor facsimile texts)

12-15784 a,2

——— [London, Printed for the Malone society by H Hart at the Oxford University press] 1913.

viii p., 11, [86] p. 2 facsim. 22½x18cm (. . . The Malone society reprints)

14-9564 a,2

——— [Amersham, Eng., Issued for subscribers by John S Farmer, 1913].

1 p., 11, [86] p. 23cm. (On cover: Old English drama. Students' facsimile edition)

A16-180 a,2

478. LYNN, ESCOTT.

* Robin Hood and his merry men . . . il. by Percy Tarrant . . . London, W. & R. Chambers [1924].

viii p., 11, 9-380 p. front., 5 pl. 19cm. 5/-.

4

——— Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1925.

\$1.75.

1

479. LYSONS, DANIEL, 1762-1834.

The environs of London, being an historical account of the towns, villages and hamlets, within twelve miles of that capital. Interspersed with biographical anecdotes . . . 2d ed. London, Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1811.

4 pts. in 2 v. illus., 48 pl. (incl. port., maps, plans, 2 added engr. t-p.) 29cm. 3-11938 a,b,2,3

Vol. 1, p. 225, mentions Robin Hood, Maid Marion, Little John, "The Frere," etc. The first edition was probably in 4 volumes, 1792-1796.

Lytell geste of Robyn Hode. Title used in this list is "Mery geste . . ." See under this title.

M———, S———. See under Adventures of Robert, Earl of Huntington.

MABIE, HAMILTON WRIGHT, 1846-1916. See under A Book of Old English ballads.

480. MACDONELL, AMICE.

Robin Hood, in three acts. Toronto, Musson book co., 1910

64 p. illus. paper, 25 cents.

1

——— Same; with il. by the author. 2d ed. London, George Allen & Unwin, ltd. [1921].

64 p. 18½ cm. (Historical plays for young people. no. 2) paper.

4

+ ——— Reprint, 1925.

* ——— Reprint, 1928. 1/6; 1/-.

——— In her: Historical plays for children, by Amice Macdonell. With illustrations by the author. First series: Alfred the Great; Robin Hood; The Armada; The enterprise of the "Mayflower." London, G. Allen & sons, 1909.

[249] p. illus. 19 cm.

A11-1021 a,2

Various paging.

——— London, G. Allen & company, ltd., 1914.

[245] p. incl. illus., plates. 18½ cm.

W15-97 a,2

Various paging.

Pub under the auspices of the League of the empire

MACFARREN, SIR GEORGE ALEXANDER, 1813-1887. *See under* CHAPPELL, WILLIAM; OXFORD, JOHN.

481. MCGOVERN, J. B.

[Six notes in Notes and Queries, as follows:]

Earldom of Huntington: Robin Hood. v. 151, p. 7, July 3, 1926. (See also MACKERETH, F. G.)

Robin Hood bibliography. series 11, vol. 8, p. 313-314, Oct. 18, 1913. (See also Robin Hood bibliography.)

Robin Hood in French. series 9, vol. 11, p. 410, May 23, 1903; series 10, vol. 5, p. 468, June 16, 1906. (See also Robin Hood in French.)

Robin Hood literature. series 9, vol. 8, p. 263, Sept. 28, 1901.

Robin Hood plays. [Query] series 10, vol. 8, p. 70, July 27, 1907. (For answer, see MACMICHAEL, J. HOLDEN.)

Robin Hood society. [Query] series 11, vol. 5, p. 367, May 11, 1912. (See also ROBIN HOOD SOCIETY.)

482. MCGOVERN, MARY HARRIET, 1881-

* Robin Hood and his merry men, by Rosemary Kingston [pseud.] il. by Alice Carsey. Racine, Wis., Whitman pub. co. [c1916].

125 p. incl. illus. col. front., 7 col. pl. 23 cm.

484. MACINTYRE, ROBERT.

* Ballads ancient and modern; with a few of the traditional airs, selected and edited by Robert Macintyre . . . London, Thomas Nelson and sons, 1929.

xii, 13-258 p. front. (port) 16 cm. ("Teaching of English" series, general editor, Sir Henry Newbolt. No. 147)

Contains: Part I. Ancient ballads. 2. Of outlaws and border reivers. Robin Hood and the widow's three sons, p. 39-43 ——— Part II. Modern ballads. 2a. More outlaws. Bold Robin (T. L. Peacock) p. 152-153.

——— Reprinted Sept. 1930.

485. MACKENZIE, DONALD ALEXANDER, 1873-

+ Old-time tales. London, Gresham pub. co. [19-?]]

(Children's library)

Contains: Robin Hood and the king.

14

486. MACKERETH, F. G.
 Earldom of Huntingdon: Robin Hood. [Note] In: Notes and queries, v. 151,
 p. 64, July 24, 1926.
 See also MCGOVERN, J. B.
487. MACLEOD, MARY.
 † A book of ballad stories; with introduction by Edward Dowden; illus. by A. G. Walker. London, Wells, Gardner, Darton and co.; New York, F. A. Stokes co. [1906].
 xxiv, 402, [3] p. incl. front., illus., plates. 21cm. 7-35074 a,2
 Contains: Robin Hood and his merry men.
488. MACLEOD, MARY.
 * Robin Hood and his merry men, stories from old ballads; by Mary Macleod . . . Illustrated by A. G. Walker. London, Wells Gardner, Darton & co., limited [1909].
 vii, 120 p. incl. 3 pl. 3 col. pl. (incl. front.) 16cm. 2/9. W10-236 a,2,4
 * ——— Same.
 vi, 120 p. incl. 3 pl. col. front. 17½cm. (Tales of valour series) 1/-.
 A cheaper edition, without 3 of the col. plates.
 ——— New York, Dodge, 1910. (Children's bookshelf) 1
 † ——— London, Gardner Darton & co., 1928. 4,14
 A re-issue.
489. MACMICHAEL, J. HOLDEN.
 Robin Hood plays [Answer to query by J. B. McGovern] In: Notes and queries, series 10, vol. 8, p. 295, Oct. 12, 1907.
490. MACNALLY, LEONARD, 1752-1820.
 Robin Hood; or, Sherwood Forest: a comic opera. As it is performed at the Theatre-Royal, in Covent-Garden. By Leonard MacNally, esq. London, Printed by J. Almon, 1784.
 74 p. 21½cm. 1/6. Offered by Fletcher, 1934, at 10/6. 25-16637 a,b,d,2,3,5
 [Longe, F. Collection of plays. v. 93, n. 1].
 Without the music, composed by Shield.
 * ——— Dublin, Printed by J. Exshaw, for the company of booksellers, 1784.
 † [6], 62 p. 18½cm. 14
 † ——— 2d ed. London, J. Almon, 1786. 14
 * ——— Title: Robin Hood, or, Sherwood Forest: a comic opera of three acts. Written by Leonard MacNally, esq. Marked with the variations in the manager's book at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. London, Printed for W. Lowndes, 1789.
 64 p. 21½cm.
 ——— Title: Robin Hood; or, Sherwood forest: a comic opera, in two acts. By Leonard MacNally, esq. With all the additional songs. As performed at the Theatre-New-York. (From Hodgkinson's prompt book.) First published in 1786. New-York: Published by D. Longworth, at the Dramatic Repository, Shakspeare-Gallery, 1808.

- 68 p. 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. [With Hodgkinson, John. The man of tortitude. New York, 1807.] 25-17808 a,2
492. MACQUOID, MRS. KATHARINE SARAH (GADSDEN), 1824-1917.
Robin Hood's bay. Sand's End, Runswick. In: *Belgravia*, v. 46, p. 463, 1881.
—— In: *Spectator*, v. 59, p. 1144, 1886.
494. McSPADDEN, JOSEPH WALKER. 1874-
† Robin Hood and his merry outlaws, by J. Walker McSpadden and C. Wilson; il. by N. C. Wyeth. London, Harrap [1921]. 14
—— New York, Thomas Y. Crowell company [c1923].
xvi, 320 p. col. front., col. plates. 21cm. 23-11063 a,1,2
* —— New York, Grosset & Dunlap [c1904].
xvii, 313 p. col. front. 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 1
Probably issued about 1922.
† —— London, Harrap, 1925. 14
This work first issued under the title: *Stories of Robin Hood and his merry outlaws*; retold by J. Walker McSpadden. Editions as follows:
—— New York, T. Y. Crowell & co. [1904].
xvii, 313 p. front., plates. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. \$2.50; also issued at 35 cents; 50 cents; 60 cents; 75 cents. 4-27119 a,2
—— London, Harrap, 1905.
xvi, 240 p. 16 pl. incl. 3 old prints, 4 photographs. Other illus. by Victor Prout, Frank T. Merrill, H. M. Eaton. 19cm. (Told through the ages) 1/6; 2/6. 4
† —— 1906. 14
* —— 1907.
½ leather. 6/-.
* —— 1909.
Limp leather. 5/6.
—— 1921. 4/6. 4
—— New Ed. 1931. 2/6. 1,4
495. Maid Marion and bold Robin Hood; a romance of the olden time.
† Unfinished story in 6 numbers. Represents Robin Hood as living at the time of the Wars of the Roses.
496. Maid Marian, and other stories; with illustrations in color by Rowland Wheelwright, and in black and white by Edward Shenton. Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & company [c1923].
4 p. l., [7]-120 p. col. front., plates (part col.) 20cm. [The Franklin classics] 75 cents. 23-15169 a,1,2
498. MAJOR, CLARE TREE.
Robin Hood; children's play
Noted in *Dramatic index*, 1930.

MALCOLM, ARTHUR, [pseud.] *See* WILLIAMS, HENRY MEADE.

MALONE SOCIETY, London. Collections *See under* Mery geste of Robyn Hode;
Robin Hood [play].

500. MANLY, JOHN MATTHEWS, 1865-

English poetry (1170-1892) . . . Boston, Ginn and co. [c1907].

xxviii, 580 p. 22cm.

Contains: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 66-69.

502. MANLY, JOHN MATTHEWS, 1865-

. . . Specimens of the pre-Shakespearean drama, with an introduction, notes,
and a glossary, by John Matthews Manly . . . v. 1. Boston, Ginn and company,
1897.

19cm. (The Athenaeum press series)

12-36516 a,2

Vol. 1 contains: Robin Hood plays.

——— 1903.

504. MARSH, FLORENCE ANNE.

* . . . Robin Hood . . . Detroit, Mich., Auditorium press, [c1924].

24 p. 14½cm. (The Auditorium series. Short plays for intermediate schools,
no. 4) 10 cents. paper. 1

In 17 scenes.

506. MARSH, JOHN B. 1835-

* The life and adventures of Robin Hood. By John B. Marsh . . . London, New
† York, G. Routledge and sons [1865?].

ix, 508 p. 6 col. pl. incl. front. 17½cm

12-36513 a,b,2,3,4

Binder's title: Adventures of Robin Hood.

* ——— London, Whittaker & co., 1865.

ix, 508 p. front. 19cm. 5/-, (1931).

Binder's title: Robin Hood and his merry companions.

——— London, Routledge, 1875. 3/6; 2/6.

4

† ——— New ed. 1895.

14

——— 1900.

——— London, R. E. King, 1906. 6d.

——— 1908. 1/-.

520 p.

——— London, Routledge [1909].

(Boys' and girls' bookshelf of gift and reward books) Listed by Dutton, 1912,
\$2.00. Price, 1928, \$3.00.

508. MARSHALL, HENRIETTA ELIZABETH, 1876-

Stories of Robin Hood, told to the children; by H. E. Marshall, with pictures
by A. S. Forrest. New York, E. P. Dutton & co. [1905].

3 p. l., 122 p. 8 col. pl. (incl. front.) 15cm. (Half-title: Told to the children
series) W6-222 4

* ——— London, T. C. & E. C. Jack [1905]

† (Identical with Dutton ed. except for imprint.) 1/-; gilt 1/6.

4

- * ——— London. Thomas Nelson and sons [n.d.]
 + iii, 5-94 p., 1 l. illus., col. front. 18½ cm. (Nelson bumper books) 1/-.
 * ——— Same.
 + iv, 5-96 p. illus., 6 col. pl. (incl. front.) 24 cm. (Nelson's standard bumper books) 3/6.
 Issued in 1929.
510. MARTIN, C. M.
 + Robin Hood and his merry men. London and Edinburgh, McDougall's educational co [1928]. 14
512. MATHESON, ELIZABETH FOX (BRUCE) MRS. PERCY EWING MATHESON.
 + Robin Hood and his merry men; a play in two acts; founded on A little geste of Robin Hood and his meiny. London, Oxford press, 1914.
 32 p. paper, 6d. (American, 20 cents) 1
 Produced under the auspices of the village children's historical play society.
 * ——— [1929].
 30 p. 18½ cm. paper. 4d. 1,4
514. MAURICE, ARTHUR BARTLETT, 1873-
 Five immortals of literature. Who they were and how they grew into books as immortal as themselves. In: World review, vol. 4, p. 186-187, May 2, 1929.
 The immortals are: Robin Hood, King Arthur, Lemuel Gulliver, Robinson Crusoe and Greatheart. Robin Hood, p. 186. Two illus., one on each page.
518. MAURICE, ARTHUR BARTLETT, 1873-
 Six immortals and how they grew into books. In: Mentor, v. 11, p. 1-16, Dec. 1923.
 Robin Hood: p. 5-9.
 May Lord. *See note under* JONSON, BEN.
 MEIKLE, HENRY WILLIAM, ed. *See under* STEVENSON, GEORGE SHIELDS.
519. MELDRUM, ROY.
 + Red and silver. Pictures by the author. Oxford, Blackwell [1933].
 28 p. (Jolly books) 1/3 1,14
520. MELDRUM, ROY.
 + Robin the monk. Pictures by the author. Oxford, Blackwell [1934].
 (Jolly books) 1/3, school ed. 1/-. 1,14
521. MENDEZ, MOSES, d. 1758.
 Robin Hood; a new musical entertainment as it is perform'd at the Theatre-Royale in Drury Lane . . . music composed by the Society of the temple of Apollo. London, 1751.
 8° b,d,3
 The words only. The music was probably composed by Dr. Burney.
522. MERIWETHER, SUSAN.
 * The playbook of Robin Hood . . . il. by Esther Peck . . . New York,
 + Harper & brothers, 1927.
 2 l., 10 p. 9 pl. incl. front. 33 cm. paper, \$2.00; 5/-.
 At head of title: The playbook series.

The plates contain figures of Robin Hood, his men, trees, villagers. etc., to be cut out. The stiff, full jacket is to be used as scenic background; standing as cyclorama it furnishes Sherwood forest: standing in a different position, the Nottingham market place.

524. The merry exploits of Robin Hood. London, Thackeray, 1685.
4to. wdct engr. 6,12
526. A merry wedding, or, O brave Arthur of Bradley. In: Ritson, 1795, II, p. 210-212.
Ballad. Included by Ritson simply because the song is referred to in line 4, stanza 47 of Robin Hood's birth, breeding, etc. It was printed before 1661.
528. A Mery geste of Robyn Hode (Lyttell geste)

Editions of the Geste Alone:

——— Title: Here beginneth a lyttel geste of Robyn Hode and his meyne, and of the proud sheryfe of Notyngnam. London, Wynken de Worde [1475].

32 leaves. 4to.

5,6,11,12

A copy, considered unique, is among Bishop More's books, Public library, Cambridge, England.

——— Reprinted in Gutch, I, p. 145-219, together with a new version, i.e. modernized, by J. Eagles, p. 223-297

——— In: Arber. An English garner, v. 6, p. 423-468. London, 1883

——— In: Ritson, 1795, I, p. 1-80.

——— In: Child, 1883-98, III, p. 39-89, (No. 117).

- + ——— Reproduced [1909] by Malone society collections, part 2. Title: Robyn Hode and the sheriff of Nottingham: a dramatic fragment. 14

——— Title: Lyttell geste of Robyn Hode; designed and il. by Valenti Angelo. Grabhorn press, 1932.

108 p ½ mor. \$7.50

1

Printed in black and red from Koch Bibel Gotsch type. 250 copies printed, bound in ½ Nige morocco.

See also CAMPBELL, WILLIAM W.; GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE; GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW; also below.

Editions of the Geste with the Playe:

——— Title: A mery geste of Robyn Hode and of hys lyfe, wyth a newe playe for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and full of pastyme. [woodcut] Colophon: Imprinted at London vpon the thre Crane wharfe by Wyllyam Copland. [ca.1561-69].

Text in verse Gothic type. 34 l.

b,3,5,6,7,12

The play occupies the last 9 pages.

The apparently unique original in the British Museum (B.M. c.21, c.63) which contains the earliest known edition of the playe.

A copy in the Garrick collection.

The "Newe playe" was probably published separately about 1560 by Copland. For this and other editions of the play alone, see under Robin Hood [play].

——— Title: Mery Ieste . . . London, Printed for Edward White [1577-1612]. h

A mery geste of

Robyn Hode and of hys lyfe, wyth
a newe playe for to be played
in Maye games very ple-
saunte and full of pastyme.



*Title Page of Second Edition of the Geste, First to
Include the Newe Playe, 1561-1569. No. 528.*

——— [1634].

——— In Gutch, II, p. 50-60.

——— [Amersham, Eng., Issued for the subscribers by John S. Farmer, 1914].
[68] p. facsim. 22½ cm. (Old English drama. Students' facsimile edition.)

14-9431 a.e.2

Label pasted on front end paper reads: . . . The play of Robin Hood. Date of play (which is preceded by A Mery geste of Robyn Hood) ca.1550. [B. M. Press-mark C 21, c.63] Reproduced in facsimile 1914.

——— (The Tudor facsimile texts, under the . . . editorship of John S. Farmer)

3 p.l., facsim : [68] p. 26½cm.
Interleaved.

14-9431

530. MIAL, AGNES MACKENZIE, 1892-

- † Butterfly; romantic play for outdoor presentation. [1932]
Robin Hood play, extracted from the Woman's magazine, June, 1932. i,14

MIERSCH, PAUL FRÉDÉRIC THEODORE. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD

532. MILL, ANNA JEAN.

- * Mediaeval plays in Scotland . . . by Anna Jean Mill, M A Edinburgh and London, W Blackwood & sons Ltd., 1927.

2 p.l., vii, [9]-356 p. front. (facsim) told. tab 21½cm. (St. Andrews university publications. no. xxiv) 28-2024 a,2

"Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D. of the university of St. Andrews. July, 1924."

Of Chapter I, Folk plays, pages 21-26 treat of Robin Hood as character in the May games

533. MILLER, THOMAS, 1807-1874.

- † Royston Gower, or, The days of King John. An historical romance. London, Colburn, 1838.

3 v.

b,3,14

—— 1874.

(Library of popular authors)

b,3

MOORE, FRANCES. *See* BROOKE, MRS. FRANCES (MOORE)

534. MOORE, JOSEPH SCOTT, ed.

- * The pictorial book of ballads, traditional & romantic With introductory notices, glossary, and notes . . . First series . . . London, Henry Washbourne, 1847.

vi, 424 p. illus 23cm.

Added t.-p.: The pictorial book of ballads . . . (enclosed in red, gold and blue figured border.)

Contains: Robin Hood. His birth, breeding, valour, and marriage, p 26-32

—— Robin Hood and Little John, p. 156-160 —— Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 194-204 —— Robin Hood and the monk, p. 250-259 —— Robin Hood and the stranger, p. 378-387.

- * —— v. 2 [i.e 2d series] 1848.

vi, 427 p. illus. 23cm.

Added t.-p. like v. 1.

Contains: Robin Hood and the potter, p. 66-74 —— A lytell geste of Robyn Hode, p. 154-201 —— A true tale of Robin Hood, by Martin Parker, p. 292-306 —— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 403-405

536. MOORE, M. M.

- † Robin Hood; told by M M. Moore; figures by E. B. Davies. London, Bent [1930].

(Story-folk. ser. 1, no 3)

14

Scenes and characters for a model theatre accompanied by book giving the story of the play.

MORLEY, HENRY, 1822-1894, ed. *See under* THOMS, WILLIAM JOHN. Early English prose romances.

538. *Le Morte de Robin Hode*. In: Hone, William. Year-book of daily recreation, p. 805-806.
Poem of 35 lines. See under HONE, WILLIAM.
——— Reprinted in Gutch II, p. 422-423.
540. [MOUNTFORD, WILLIAM, 1816-1885.]
Robin Hood. In: North Amer. rev. v 84, p 1-34, Jan., 1856.
Reviews: Gutch, 1850; Hunter, 1852; and Ritson, 1840.
542. MUDDOCK, JOYCE EMMERSON PRESTON, 1843-
Maid Marian and Robin Hood. A romance of old Sherwood Forest. By J. E. Muddock . . . With 12 illustrations by Stanley L. Wood. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott company, 1892.
iv p., 1 l., 326 p. front., 11 pl. 19½ cm. 7-4445 a,2
† ——— London, Chatto & Windus, 1892.
vi p., 1 l., 326 p. front., plates. 19½ cm. CA17-582 rev. a,b,2,3
544. [MUNDAY, ANTHONY] 1553-1635.
The death of Robert, Earle of Huntington. Otherwise called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde: with the lamentable tragedie of chaste Matilda, his faire maid Marian, poysoned at Dunmowe by King Iohn. Acted by the right honourable, the Earle of Nottingham, his seruants. Imprinted at London, for William Leake, 1601.
Quarto. Black-letter. b,d,3,6,7,11
British Museum only known original ed. Fully described in Ritson and in Gutch. Ascribed by some to Thomas Heywood.
Acted 1598-99.
Written in collaboration with Henry Chettle. cf Dictionary of national biography, v. 39, p. 292.
Sequel to "Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington . . ." See below.
† ——— Reprinted by J Payne Collier, 1828.
99 p. b,3,6,14
† ——— [Amersham, Eng, Issued for subscribers by John S Farmer, 1913].
1 p. l., [89] p. 23cm. (On cover: Old English drama. Students' facsimile edition) A16-132 a,2,14
Label pasted on front end-paper reads: . . . The death of Robert E. of Huntington, by Anthony Munday. Date of only known original edition, 1601 B. M. press-mark C34, d18 Staged, 1598-9. Reproduced in facsimile [Tudor facsimile texts] 1913. See next edition.
——— Title: . . . The death of Robert, earl of Huntington by Anthony Munday 1601. [Amersham] Issued for subscribers by the editor of the Tudor facsimile texts, 1913.
3 p. l., facsim.: 1 p. l., [89] p 26½ cm. (The Tudor facsimile texts . . . under the . . . editorship of John S. Farmer) 14-1524 a,2
Interleaved.
- In: Dodsley, Robert, ed A select collection of old English plays. v. 8, p. [209]-327. See under Dodsley, Robert. 14-14011 a,b,2,3

546. [MUNDAY, ANTHONY] 1553-1633.

The Downfall of Robert, Earle of Huntington, afterward called Robin Hood of merrie Sherwodde: with his loue to chaste Matilda, the Lord Fitzwaters daughter, afterwards his faire Maide Marian. Acted by the Right Honourable, the Earle of Nottingham, Lord High Admirall of England, his seruants. Imprinted at London, for William Leake, 1601.

Unpaged. quarto. Black-letter.

b,3,6,7

Acted 1598-99.

British Museum only known original edition. Fully described in Ritson and in Gutch. Ascribed by some to Thomas Heywood.

——— Reprinted by J. Payne Collier, 1828.

b,3,6

† ——— [Amersham, Eng., Issued for subscribers by John S. Farmer, 1913].

1 p.l., [82] p. 23cm. (On cover: Old English drama. Students' facsimile edition)

A16-136 a,2,14

Label pasted on front end-paper reads: . . . The downfall of Robert E. of Huntington, by Anthony Munday. Date of only known original edition, 1601 B. M. press-mark 161, k.70 Staged, 1598-9. Reproduced in facsimile [Tudor facsimile texts] 1913. See next edition.

——— Title: . . . The downfall of Robert, earl of Huntington by Anthony Munday 1601. [Amersham] Issued for subscribers by the editor of the Tudor facsimile texts, 1913.

3 p.l., facsim.: 1 p.l., [82] p. 26½cm. (The Tudor facsimile texts, under the . . . editorship of John S. Farmer)

14-1411 a,2

Interleaved.

——— In: Dodsley, Robert, ed. A select collection of old English plays. v. 8, p. [93]-207. See under DODSLEY, ROBERT.

14-21867 a,b,2,3

548. MUNDAY, ANTHONY, 1553-1633.

Metropolis coronata, the triumphs of ancient drapery, or rich cloathing of England, in a second year's performance. In honour of the advancement of Sir John Jolles, Knight, and taking his oath for the same authoritie, on Monday, being the 30th day of October, 1615, performed in heartie affection to him, and at the bountifull charges of his worthy brethren, the truly honorable society of drapers, the first that received such dignitie in this cite. Devised and written by A M., citizen and draper of London, 1615.

4to.

b,3

Contains: The song of Robin Hood and his huntesmen.

MYLLAR, ANDROW, printer, fl.1508. See under GOLAGROS AND GAWAINE.

NEILSON, WILLIAM ALLAN, 1869- See under WITHAM, ROSE ADELAIDE.

550. NEVILLE, WILDWOOD.

* The life and exploits of Robin Hood! Being an entirely new compilation of the surprising adventures of the celebrated outlaw and his men; together with a critical dissertation on the causes of his popularity and the credibility of his recorded actions. Leeds, David Green [1855].

1 l., iv, 188 p. front. 1/-.

d

——— London, Ward & Lock, 1856.

4

A new ballad of bold Robin Hood, shewing his birth, breeding, valour and marriage . . . See Robin Hood's birth, breeding, etc

551. New international encyclopedia. 2d. ed., New York, Dodd, Mead and co., 1914-1917.

24 v. illus. 26cm.

14-9561 rev. 2 a,2

Vol 11, p. 436-437. Hood, Robin

552. A new song to drive away cold winter, between Robin Hood and the jovial tinker.

How Robin, by a wile, the tinker he
did cheat,

But at length, as you shall hear,
the tinker did him beat.

Where by the same, they did then agree,
And after liv'd in love and unity.

London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger [1680?].

Ballad, 42 stanzas. Black-letter. Roxburghe, III, 22.

——— London, Printed for F. Groce, dwelling on Snow-hill. Wood, 401, 17 verso

——— London, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger Pepys, II, 107, no. 94.

——— Printed for J. Hodges, at the Looking-Glass on London-Bridge Douce, III, 18 verso.

The following editions under title: Robin Hood and the tinker:

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 38-45.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p 118; 1810, II, 119-126.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 264-271

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 140-143 (No. 127).

554. NEWBOLT, SIR HENRY JOHN, 1862-

* The book of the happy warrior, by Henry Newbolt . . with 8 coloured
+ plates, and 25 other illustrations by Henry J. Ford. London, New York [etc],
Longmans, Green and co., 1917.

xiv, 284 p. front., illus., 8 col pl. 20cm

18-300 a,1,2,14

Contains Part IV. Robin Hood, p. 76-109 (7 stories. Includes 1 col. pl., 3
illus)

——— New York, London [etc.], Longmans, Green and co, 1917.

The British edition.

18-1138 a,2

——— New ed. London, New York [etc.], Longmans, Green and co., ltd., 1928.

xiv, 284 p front., illus., col pl 20cm.

29-16559 a,2

"Made in Great Britain."

556. NEWBOLT, SIR HENRY JOHN, 1862-

The greenwood, a collection of literary readings relating to Robin Hood . . .
London, Thomas Nelson and sons, 1925.

256 p. front (port) 16cm. (Nelson's "Teaching of English" series, no. 40)
b,1,3

Issued:

- * Limp leather, \$1 50
 Cloth, 75 cents. 2/—.
 School edition, 60 cents. 1/9. 4
 English series. 3/6. 4

Contents: I. Maid Marian (Thomas Love Peacock) p. 7-121 — II. "Maid Marian" and "Ivanhoe" (Henry Newbolt) p. 122-134 — III. The greenwood in Ivanhoe (Sir Walter Scott) p. 135-210 — IV. The old English greenwood (Henry Newbolt) p. 211-217 — V. The old Robin Hood of England, p. 218-246 — The nut-brown maid, p. 246-256.

558 NEWBOLT, SIR HENRY JOHN, 1862-

Peacock, Scott and the legend of Robin Hood. In: Dalhousie review, v. 4, p. 411-432, Jan., 1925.

560. NEWBOLT, SIR HENRY JOHN, 1862-

- † Peacock, Scott and Robin Hood. In: Royal society of literature. Transactions. n s., v. 4, 1924 14

This essay reprinted in his *Studies green and gray* See below

562. NEWBOLT, SIR HENRY JOHN, 1862-

- † Studies green and gray, by Henry Newbolt. London, New York [etc], T. Nelson and sons, ltd. [1926] 27-16499 a,2,14
 viii, 9-295 p. 19cm
 Contains reprint of his: Peacock, Scott, and Robin Hood.

NEWELL, ROBERT C., composer. See under NORRIS, CHARLES GILMAN.

564. NEWTON, E.

- † Robin Hood's suite of 5 easy dances for piano. London, Collard Moutrie, 1921. 14

565 NICHOLS, JOHN GOUGH.

Legend of Robin Hood at Ludlow. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 4, vol. 2, p. 341, Oct. 10, 1868.

See also SMITH, W. J. BERNHARD.

566. The noble birth and gallant achievements of that remarkable outlaw Robin Hood; together with a true account of the many merry & extravagant exploits he play'd, in twelve several stories, newly collected into one volume by an ingenious antiquary [William Onley?] London, for Thomas Vere and William Gilbertson, 1662. 6.12

——— 1678.

——— Title: The noble birth and gallant achievements of that remarkable outlaw Robin Hood . . . in twelve several stories. to which is added, the Life of Robin Hood, from a manuscript in the British Museum. London, W. Pickering, 1827.

1 p.l., xix, 53 p. 18½cm. [Early prose romances . . . ed by W. J. Thoms no. 6?] 19-6315 a,b,e,2,3,6

Prose versions of ballads from the common garland, "newly collected . . ." with reproduction of original t.-p., 1678.

——— v. 2 of Thoms' Early English prose romances, 1828.

——— First title. 1858

- * ——— First title: [Edinburgh, O. Schulze & company, 1906]
 † 3 p.l., 63-95, [1], p. incl illus. 3 pl. 29½cm. (Half-title: Early English prose romances, pt. II) 6-30465 a,e,2
 Engr. title in red and black within ornamental border; initials.
 Text as given in Thoms' Early prose romances, 1827, 1828, 1858, without the introduction, etc. It was reprinted from an edition of 1678, and consists of prose versions of a number of ballads.
 "This edition is limited to 500 copies only."
 The series title is the later title of "Early prose romances."
- * ——— First title, In The gallant achievements of Robin Hood [ornament] The famous history of Fryer Bacon [ornament] The romance of Robert the Devil. Edinburgh, Otto Schultze & co. [1906-1910?] 156 p. illus. 30cm.
 Noble birth, etc. with separate t.-p., p. [5]-40.
 See also under THOMS, WILLIAM.
568. The noble fisherman; or, Robin Hood's preferment: shewing how he won a prize on the sea, and how he gave one half to his dame and the other to the building of almshouses London, Printed for W. Thackeray and T. Passenger [1631].
 Ballad, 28 stanzas. Roxburghe, II, 370.
- London, L. How, in Petticoat lane. Roxburghe, III, 524.
- London, Printed for F. Coles in the Old Bailey [ca.1631] Wood, 402, 18.
- London, F. Coles, T. Vere and W. Gilbertson [ca.1648-63]. Wood, 401, 25.
- London, F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright and J. Clarke. Rawlinson, 159.
- Bagford, II, 22.
- London, Alex. Milbourne, Will Ownley [*sic*] and Thom. Thackeray, at the Angel. Pepys, II, 108, no. 95.
- London, Wright, Clarke, W. Thackeray and T. Passenger Pepys, II, 123, n. 108.
- Euing, 301, 302.
- Huth library, II, 68.
- Douce, II, 370.
- Jersey II, 271.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 110-115.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 171; 1810, II, p. 183-187.
- In Gutch, II, p. 197-202.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 211-213 (No. 148).
- Translation (German) in Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 295; Werke, V, p. 332-336. Title: Robin Hood zur See.
- NORDOFF, PAUL, jt. auth. See GRABBE, PAUL.

569. NORRIS, CHARLES GILMAN, 1881-

- * A gest of Robin Hood, by Charles G. Norris, music by Robert C. Newell; the twenty-fourth grove play of the Bohemian club of San Francisco, as performed by its members in the Bohemian grove, Sonoma county, California, on the third night of August, nineteen hundred and twenty-nine. San Francisco, Bohemian club, 1929

5 p.l., 3-92 p. illus. (music) 22cm. paper.

30-31244 a,2

Privately printed. Not offered for sale.

570. NORRIS, H. C.

Who was Robin Hood? [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 3, p. 412-413, May 21, 1887.

See also Who was Robin Hood? *infra*.

571. NORTHUMBERLAND, ENGLAND.

Northumberland household book.

P. 60, provides for "liveries for Robin Hood in the Earl's household."

572. NOTTINGHAM, ENGLAND. FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES AND MUSEUM.

- * Robin Hood literature in the Nottingham public libraries . . . Nottingham,

† Public libraries, 1933.

12 p. illus. 25cm.

33-25343 a,2,14

Title vignette.

"List compiled by Violet W. Walker."

Nottingham Hall-books. See under GREAT BRITAIN HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

574. NOYES, ALFRED, 1880-

- * Robin Hood; a play in five acts . . . Edinburgh, Wm. Blackwood & sons, 1926.

4l., 124 p. 20cm. 5/-.

—— Criticism. In: Bookman (London) v. 71, p. 296, Feb., 1927.

—— Criticism, by Ivor John Carnegie Brown. In: Saturday review, v. 143, p. 12, Jan. 1, 1927.

—— Review, by St. J. Adcock. In: Bookman (London) v. 71, p. 228, Jan., 1927.

See also under HAMPDEN, JOHN Eight modern plays.

576. NOYES, ALFRED, 1880-

Sherwood; or, Robin Hood and the three kings; a play in five acts, by Alfred Noyes; illustrated in colors by Spencer Baird Nichols . . . New York, Frederic A. Stokes company [1911].

5 p.l., 3-224 p., [1] p. col. front., col. pl 21cm.

11-25699 a,2

The play must be Robin Hood as above, n. 574, but not checked.

—— School and acting ed, with directions for production by Milnor Dorey. New York, Frederick A. Stokes company [1921].

4 p.l., 3-205 p. 19½cm. \$1.75.

21-6242 a,2

578. OAKDEN, E. C.

Pattern plays, a book of plays and play-making, by E. C. Oakden and Mary Sturt. London and Edinburgh, T. Nelson & sons, ltd. 1925.

xiv, 15-176 p incl. front. 16cm. (Half-title: "Teaching of English" series,
General editor, Sir Henry Newbolt, n.20) 28-28264 a,2
Contains Robin Hood and Alan-a-Dale, p.72-78 (Founded on the ballad).

† ——— 2d ed. 1926.

———— Reprinted, May, 1928.

———— Reprinted July, 1929.

* ——— Reprinted Nov., 1930.

580. [O'KEEFFE, JOHN] 1747-1833.

Airs, duetts, and choruses, in the operatical pantomime of Merry Sherwood, or,
Harlequin forester. Now performing at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. 3d ed.
London, T. N. Longman, 1795.

20 p. 22cm.

27-14395 a,b,2,3

[Longe, F. Collection of plays. v 234, no. 6]

By John O'Keeffe. Ascribed to O'Keeffe and Mark Lonsdale in Sonneck's
Catalogue of opera librettos. cf. Brit. Musum. Catalogue; O'Keeffe's Recollections,
v. 2, p. 348; O'Donoghue's Poets of Ireland

Without the music (by Reeve).

581. Old English ballads Robin Hood.

Serial article. in Penny magazine, v 7, May-Sept., 1838 Part I, p 169-170;
II, p.238-240; III, p 241-244; IV, p 273-275; V, p.301-304; VI, p 313-316; VII,
p.321-322, 342-343; VIII, p 369-372.

Signed: A. C. (Allan Cunningham).

582. OLIVER, JOCELYN.

* . . . Bold Robin Hood . . . London, Oxford university press [1929]

64 p. illus. 18½cm. (Happy readers, ed. by Herbert Strang) 7d.

1

"Exercises," p. 61-64.

* ——— Also issued in paper, 5d.

584. OLIVER, JOCELYN.

* . . . A little book of Robin Hood . . . London, Oxford university press,

† 1928.

60 p. illus 14cm. (The little big books) boards 7d. paper, 5d.

1

Text identical with no 582.

ONLEY, WILLIAM, supposed author. *See under* Noble birth, etc.

ORR, CLEM IRWIN, jt auth. *See under* SIMONS, SARAH E.

Overthrowe of the abbyes. *See* Robin Hood and the monk.

586. OXFORD, JOHN, 1812-1877.

† Robin Hood: opera; composed by G. A Macfarren: first represented at Her
Majesty's Theatre, 11 Oct. 1860 London, Cramer, Beale and Chappell [1860].

b,3,14

† ——— London, Brewer and co. [1860]

14

588. PAGE, A.

† 101 original rounds. London and Manchester, Forsyth [1890].

2 v. in 1.

14

Contains: Robin Hood, v. 1, p. 5.

590. PAGE, MRS. KATHERINE (STEARNS) 1873-
 * Robin Hood; a play with music for children . . . Boston, E. C Schirmer music co. [c1921]
 xi, 12 p. music. 27½cm. (The Concord series of music and books of the teaching of music, ed. by Thomas Whitney Surette and Dr. Archibald T. Davidson) paper, 60 cents.
592. PAIN, BARRY ERIC ODELL, 1864-1928.
 † The romantic history of Robin Hood. London, Harper, 1898.
 viii, 330 p. 6/-. b,3,4
 Illus. by A. Forestier.
- † ——— Serial in: English illustrated magazine, v. 18-19, Oct. 1897- March, 1898.
 Title: Robin Hood and his merry men.
594. Pammelia. Musicks miscellanie. Or, mixed varietie of pleasant roundelays, and delightful catches, of 3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10. parts in one. None so ordinarie as musicall, none so musicall as not to all very pleasing and acceptable. London, Printed by William Barley, for R. B. and H. W. and are to be sold at the Spread Eagle at the great north dore of Paules, 1609.
 4to.
 Contains a round, beginning "Robin Hood, Robin Hood, said Little John."
596. PANGBORN, MRS. GEORGIA WOOD, 1872-
 Robin Hood. In: Collier's, v. 52, p. 17-18, Nov. 8, 1913.
597. PARKER, J
 † Illustrated rambles from Hipperholme to Tong. Bradford, Percy Lund, Humphries and co., 1904. 14
 Contains a brief account of Kirklees and Robin Hood.
598. PARKER, MARTIN, 1600?-1656?
 A true tale of Robbin Hood, or A briefe touch of the life and death of Robert Earle of Huntington, vulgarly called Robbin Hood, etc London, Printed for T. Cotes, sold by F. Grove [1631].
 12 leaves not paged. wdct. front. b,3,7
 Ballad, 120 stanzas.
- The manuscript. British Museum C.39, a.52. b,3,13
- Clark, Thackeray, and Passenger, 1686. h,13
- † ——— Haddington, G. Miller [1790?]. b,3,14
- † ——— Stirling, M. Randall [1790?]. b,3,14
- † ——— Newcastle, M. Angus & sons [1800?]. b,3,14
- Coventry [1820?]. b,3
- † ——— Manchester, W. Willis [1843?]. b,3,14
- In Ritson, 1795, I, p. 126-148.
- In Gutch, II, p. 84-106.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 227-233 (No. 154).
 See also under PECK, F.

600. PARKINSON, REV THOMAS

- * Yorkshire legends and traditions as told by her ancient chroniclers, her poets, and journalists. By the Rev. Thomas Parkinson . . . 2d ser London, E. Stock, 1889.

x, 246 p. 23 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

2-30+12 a,2

Title vignette.

Contains Part II. Legends and traditions relating to Robin Hood and his men in Yorkshire, p. 49-78.

Parlour library. See under JAMES, GEORGE PAYNE RAINSFORD

601. PARRY, SIR EDWARD ABBOTT, 1863-

Vagabonds all . . . London and New York, C Scribner's sons, 1926

xxiv, 264 p. 8 pl. (front, ports) 25cm.

27-8682 a,2,14

Chapter V. Robin Hood, the brigand, p 83-107 (no illus)

† ——— London, Cassell, 1926.

14

602. PARRY, REV. JOHN D. d.1833²

The legendary cabinet: A collection of British ballads, ancient and modern; from the best authorities. With notes and illustrations . . . London, W. Joy, 1829. viii, 436 p. front. 20cm.

Contains: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p 87-97 ——— Robin Hood and the curtal friar, p. 98-103 ——— The noble fisherman, p 104-107 ——— Robin Hood's chase, p. 108-111.

603. PASTON LETTERS.

Original letters, written during the reigns of Henry VI and Richard III . . . ed. by John Fenn . . . London, Printed for G. G. J and J. Robinson [etc.], 1787-1823

5 v 17 pl. (part col.) 12 port. (part col., incl. fronts) 18 facsim, geneal., tab. 27 $\frac{1}{2}$ x22cm.

3-29486 a,b,2,3

——— London, C. Knight & co., 1840-1841.

2 v. in 1. illus., 4 port., facsim. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Half-title: Knight's miscellanies)-

3-29474 a,b,2,3

——— London, Bohn, 1849.

——— London, [E. Arber] 1872-1875.

3 v facsim. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Annotated reprints)

3-27942 a,b,2,3

——— Title: The Paston letters, 1422-1509 A.D. A reprint of the edition of 1872-1875 . . . ed. by J. Gardner London, A Constable and co., ltd , 1900-1901.

4 v front., port. 29cm.

1-25116 a,2

Vol. 3, p. 89, from letter written 1473: "W. Woode whyche promysed . . . he wold never goo fro me, and ther ypon I have keptd hym thys iij yer to playe Seynt Jorge and Robyn Hod and the Shryff of Nottyngham, and now, when I woulde have good horse, he is goon into Bernysdale, and I withowt a keeper."

See also Child, v. 5, p. 90.

——— London, Chatto & Windus, 1904.

6 v. 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ x17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

4-32289 a,2

——— London and Toronto, J. M. Dent and son, ltd.; New York, E. P. Dutton and co. [1924]

2 v. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Half-title: Everyman's library, ed. by Ernest Rhys.) A25-611 a,2

604. Pastoral pleasant comedy of Robin Hood and Little John
 Lost pastoral. Entered on Stationers' register May 18. 1594. See Arber, Stationers' registers, v. 2, p. 649; v. 5, p. 176; also SCHELLING, Elizabethan drama, v. 2, p. 154.
 PAUL, SIR JAMES BALFOUR, 1846- *See under* SCOTLAND. LORD HIGH TREASURER.
605. PEACOCK, MABEL.
 Name of Robin Hood. In: Academy, v. 24, p. 231-250, 1883.
606. PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE, 1785-1866.
 Bold Robin [ballad] In: Sidgwick, Frank. Ballads and poems. 1907. p. 20-21.
 See under SIDGWICK, FRANK.
608. [PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE, 1785-1866].
 Maid Marian, by the author of Hadley Hall, 1822. b,3
 ——— In: Standard novels. No. 57. London, 1831. b,3
 † ——— Title: Maid Marian, and Crotchet castle. By the author of "Headlong hall" . . . New ed. London, Ward and Lock, 1856.
 228 p 17cm. 6-35069 a,2,14
 ——— London, J. M. Dent, 1891.
 172 p. front.
 "100 copies printed."
 ——— Title: Maid Marian and Crotchet castle, by Thomas Love Peacock; illustrated by F. H. Townsend; with an introduction by George Saintsbury. New York and London, Macmillan and co., 1895.
 xxxvi, 321 p. incl. front., plates 19½cm. 7-33749 a,2
610. PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE, 1785-1866.
 Robin Hood [ballad] In: Macintyre, Robert. Ballads ancient and modern, 1929, p. 152-153. See under MACINTYRE, ROBERT.
612. PECK, FRANCIS, 1692-1743.
 Robin Hood. A collection of songs relating to the exploits of this famous outlaw and his merry companions, with notes, shewing the variations and illustrations of the local terms used.
 Ms thus described as No. 1122 of a catalogue of Mr. Thomas Thorpe, and purchased by Gutch Probable date, 1735. Described by Gutch, I, p. xxvii-xxxiii
 Contains, among others: Little John and the beggars ——— Reflections upon the story of Robin Whood and his men, (9 stanzas, taken from Parker's True tale of Robin Hood, stanzas 107, 108, 109, 110, 116, 117, 118, 119 and 120) ——— Robin Whood revived (8 stanzas, taken from Robin Hood and the Scotchman) ——— Robin Whood and King Richard (18 stanzas, taken from prose story "Whole life and merry exploits of bold Robin Hood")
 Reprinted in Gutch II, p. 401-412.
 ——— The editor's conclusion (refers to songs 47, 48 and 49 as Robin Whood songs, though these pages are missing from the ms.).
 Gutch was of the opinion (cf. II, 401) that these songs were written by Peck himself.
 Pedigree, education and parentage of Robin Hood. *See* Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valor, etc.

613. PEELE, GEORGE, 1558?-1597?

The famous chronicle of King Edward the First, sirnamed Edward Longshanks, with his return from the Holy Land . . . London, Printed by Abell Ieffes . . . 1593.

Unpaged.

b,3

The first edition of the play, in which Robin Hood is a character.

——— 1599.

Second edition.

b,3

——— Title: King Edward I . . . 1593 [London, Printed for the Malone society by H. Hart, at the Oxford University press] 1911.

xi, [86] p. 4 facsim. 22½x18cm. (The Malone society reprints) 12-10446 a,2

——— In: Works. London, W. Pickering, 1829.

2 v. 19½cm.

24-14958 a,2

In volume 1.

PEPYS, SAMUEL, 1633-1703. *See under* PEPYS BALLADS.

PEPYS BALLADS. Collection of ballads in Magdalen College Library, Cambridge.

Referred to under ballad titles in this list, as "Pepys." The Pepys ballads were edited by Hyder Edward Rollins (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard university press, 1929-1932, 8 volumes); but as it was the editor's intention not to reproduce any ballads already published from the Roxburghe collection, no Robin Hood ballads are included (Roxburghe Robin Hood ballads published by Ballad Society, 1871-1899). Likewise no Robin Hood ballads from the Pepys collection are printed in the Pepysian garland, pub. Cambridge, University press, 1922.

618. PERCIVAL, MILTON, ed.

Political ballads illustrating the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, ed by Milton Percival, Ph.D Oxford, Clarendon press, 1916.

3 p.l., [v]-lviii, 211, [1] p. 23½cm. (Added t.p.: Oxford historical and literary studies . . . v. 8) 17-80 a,2

Contains Robin Hood and the Duke of Lancaster, p. 4-7.

"The ballad was advertised (for the first time) in the *Whitehall Evening Post* for January 19-21, 1727. It is here reprinted from a folio pamphlet (dated 1727) in the Bodleian (G. Pamph. 1665.8)" cf. p. 4.

620. PERCY, SIDNEY.

* Stories of Robin Hood . . . London, John F. Shaw & co., 1928

254 p. col. front., 16 pl. incl. in pag. 19½cm. (Series uniform) 2/-.

4

Illustrated by Alfred Pearse.

+ ——— [1930].

14

622. PERCY, SIDNEY.

Tales of Robin Hood. London, Shaw, 1923.

190 p. 2/- (New empire series)

4

PERCY, STEPHEN, [pseud.] *See* CUNDALL, JOSEPH.

624 PERCY, THOMAS, bp. of Dromore, 1729-1811, ed.

Bishop Percy's folio manuscript Ballads and romances. Ed. by John W. Hales . . . Frederick J. Furnivall . . . Assisted by Prof. Child . . . W. Chappell . . . &c., &c. London, N. Trübner & co, 1867-68

3 v. front. (fold. facsim.) 22cm.

2-4020 a,2

Vol. 2 is in 2 parts, each part having special t.-p.

First edition of the ms.

Reprinted from an old folio ms. formerly owned by Percy, containing copies of poems of various dates, in an early 17th century handwriting. Percy's Reliques based on this ms.

- † ——— Title: Bishop Percy's folio of old English ballads and romances; from the text of F. J. Furnivall and John W. Hales. London, De La More press, 1905. ltd. ed. 350 copies. (King's library. De La More press folios, n. 4) 14 Nottingham copy no. 87.

626. [PERCY, THOMAS] bp. of Dromore, 1729-1811, ed.

Reliques of ancient English poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets, (chiefly of the lyric kind.) Together with some few of later date . . . London, J. Dodsley, 1765.

3 v. illus. (head- and tail-pieces) 17cm.

2-4015 a,2

First edition.

Title vignettes.

——— 2d ed. London, Printed for J. Dodsley, 1767.

3 v. engr. front. and other engr.

d

——— 3d ed. 1775.

3 v. engr. front. and other engr.

d

——— London, Printed for J. G. Fleischer, 1790-91.

3 v. engrav.

d

——— 4th ed. London, Printed by J. Nichols, for F. and C. Rivington, 1794.

3 v. engr. front. and other engr.

d

——— Title: Reliques of ancient English poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets; together with some few of later date. The 1st American from the 5th London ed. . . . Philadelphia, J. E. Moore: Boston, Cummings, Hilliard and co., 1823.

3 v. 21cm.

32-2820 a,2

With an essay on the ancient minstrels in England (v. 1, p. [xxi]-cxxxiv) and on the ancient metrical romances (v. 2., p. 2-38).

——— Philadelphia, J. E. Moore; New York, J. V. Seaman, 1823.

3 v. 22cm.

2-4016 a,2

Identical with above, except for imprint.

——— First title. 6th ed. London, S. Richards and co., 1823

4 v.

d

——— Title: Reliques of ancient English poetry: consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets; together with some few of later date. By Thomas Percy, lord Bishop of Dromore. A new ed. . . . London, L. A. Lewis, 1839.

3 v. 20cm.

23-4217 a,2

Head- and tail-pieces.

——— London, E. Moxon, 1844.

3 v. 14cm.

15-6600 a,2

- New ed. . . London, H. Washbourne, 1844-47.
 3 v. 17cm. 2-4017 a,2
 Vol. 2: 1844
 Each volume has added t.-p. illuminated.
- Title: Reliques of ancient English poetry· consisting of old heroic ballads, and other pieces, of the earlier poets, with some of later date, not included in any other edition, collected by Thomas Percy . . . To which is now added a supplement of . . . ballads, reprinted from rare copies . . . With a copious glossary and notes. Philadelphia, C. Desilver; Boston, Sampson & co, 1855
 2 p.l., 51-558 p. front 24cm. 2-4018 a,2
 Added t.-p., engraved, with vignette, has imprint: Philadelphia, F Bell.
- First title, and a copious glossary. By Thomas Percy . . . London, H. G. Bohn, 1856.
 xli, 307 p pl. 23½cm. SD 19-291 a,2
 Added t.-p. engr
- Second title. New ed London, H. Washbourne and co, 1857.
 3 v. 18½cm. 15-7851 a,2
 Each volume has added t.-p illuminated.
 The second title, without the line "1st American," etc.
- First title (without phrase· Chiefly of the lyric kind); by Thomas Percy, Lord bishop of Dromore; ed by Robert Avis Willmott . . . Illustrated by Edward Corbould London, New York, G Routledge and sons [1857].
 lxxvi, 610 p. front. (port.) plates. 18cm. (Half-title: Routledge's British poets.) 17-14659 a,2
 A popular edition; omits the essays on the stage and romance, and condenses the introductory notices, etc.
- By Thomas Percy, lord bishop of Dromore. Reprinted entire from the author's last edition. With a memoir and critical dissertation, by the Rev. George Gilfillan . . . Edinburgh, J Nichol; 1858.
 3 v. 23cm. 8-10054 a,2
- The text ed. by Charles Cowden Clarke. Edinburgh, W. P. Nimmo [1869].
 3 v. 22½cm.
 Lettered: Gilfillan British poets. 1-3.
 Vols. 1-2 not dated.
- * ————— Title: Reliques of ancient English poetry, consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets, together with some few of later date, by Thomas Percy, D.D., Bishop of Dromore, edited with a general introduction, additional prefaces, notes, etc., by Henry B. Wheatley, F.S.A. In three volumes . . . London, Bickers and son, 1876-77.
 3 v. illus 23½cm.
 Contains, v. 1, Book I, n. 8 Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 102-116.
- Same; London, S. Sonnenschein, Lebas, & Lowrey, 1886.
 3 v. 23½cm. 2-4022 a,2
- Same; 1889.
 3 v. 22½cm. 15-233 a,2

——— Title Reliques of ancient English poetry, consisting of old heroic ballads, songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets, together with some of later date, by Thomas Percy . . . ed. by J. V. Prichard . . . London, G. Bell and sons, 1900.
2 v. 19cm. (Half-title: Bohn's standard library) 4-16399 a,2

——— Title . . . Reliques of ancient English poetry . . . London, J. M. Dent & co, New York, E. P. Dutton & co. [1906]
2 v. 17½cm. (Half-title: Everyman's library, ed. by Ernest Rhys) W6-362 a,2
Title within ornamental border.

——— Title: Reliques of ancient English poetry. Ed. by J. V. Prichard. New York, T. Y. Crowell & co. [19-?] 2 v.-port. d

——— Translation: Reliques of ancient English poetry. Nach der ersten Ausgabe von 1765 mit den Varianten der späteren Originalausgaben herausgegeben, und mit Einleitung und Registern versehen von M. M. Arnold Schroer. Berlin, E. Felber, 1893.

2 pt. paged contin. pp. xxviii, 1136. 1 page of music. (Englische Sprach-und Literaturdenkmale des 16., 17., und 18. Jahrhunderts, 6)

Binder's title: Englische Sprachdenkmale, 6.

628. PERCY SOCIETY, London.

Civic garland Contains The song of Robin Hood and his huntmen. See also under this title.

630. PERCY SOCIETY, London.

Early English poetry, ballads, and popular literature of the Middle Ages Edited from original manuscripts and scarce publications. v. 17. London, Printed for the Percy society by T. Richards, 1846.

xvi, 250 p. 20cm.

Contains: The bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p. 71-74.

632. PERKINS, MRS LUCY (FITCH) 1865- comp.

Robin Hood; his deeds and adventures as recounted in the old English ballads; selected and illustrated by Lucy Fitch Perkins. New York, Frederick A. Stokes company [1906].

115, [1] p. col. front., illus., 11 col. pl. 25x20cm. (Half-title: The dandelion classics for children . . .) \$1.50. 6-32850 a,1,2

Illustrated t-p in colors.

† ——— London, T. C & A. C. Jack [1906]. 4/-. 4

——— Boston [etc.], Houghton, Mifflin company, 1923

6 p l, 17-115, [1] p. col. front., illus. col. pl. 23½cm \$2.00 A23-2230 a,2
Piers Plowman. See under LANGLAND, WILLIAM.

634 PITTSBURGH. CARNEGIE LIBRARY.

* . . . Stories from the ballads of Robin Hood, with lists of other ballads to tell and to read aloud. Outlines for story-telling to children over nine years of age. Pittsburgh, Carnegie library, 1914.

37 p. 23cm. paper, 5 cents. 15-25841 a,1,2

* ——— 2d ed. 1924.

39 p. paper, 5 cents. 23cm.

Brief bibliography of Robin Hood stories suitable for children.

635. PLATT, C., ed.

- † Robin Hood of Sherwood forest: stories selected from old sources, arr and ed.
London, Wells, Gardner, Darton [1933]. 14

Play of Robin Hood. *See under* Robin Hood [play].

636. POBJOY, H. N.

- † Programme of the merrie pageant of Robyn Hode . . . performed at Harts-
head. Mirfield, Chadwick, 1929. 14

638. POBJOY, H. N.

- † Programme of the pageant of Hartshead and Kirklees; Rev. Mirfield, Chad-
wick, 1928. 14
Pageant first produced 1927.

POLLOCK, CHANNING. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD.

PORENCE, PETER [pseud.] *See under* ROBIN HOOD SOCIETY. Fourth title.

640. A Pretty dialogue between Robin Hood and a beggar. [Edinburgh, 1720?]

12°

b,3

In verse.

See also Robin Hood and the beggar.

642. PRICHARD, E. A.

Pageant of Robin Hood, by E. A. Prichard and Lillian M. DeTurk. In: Play-
ground, v. 21, p. 92-93, May, 1927.

643. PRIDEAUX, W. F.

Who was Robin Hood? [Notes] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 2, p. 421,
Nov. 27, 1886; series 7, vol. 3, p. 525-526, June 25, 1887; series 7, vol. 4, p. 329,
Oct. 22, 1887.

644. Prospect of Kirklees Abbey. [Engr.] From: Johnston's Yorkshire antiquities, p. 54 of the drawings.

17½x27cm.

By E. Kirkall.

†645. Puck's Robin Hood. London and Glasgow, Collins [1929]. 14

- † ——— illus. by L. M. Dufty. [1931] 14

646. PYLE, HOWARD, 1853-1911

- † The merry adventures of Robin Hood of great renown in Nottinghamshire.
Written and illustrated by Howard Pyle New York, C. Scribner's sons, 1883.

xx, 296 p incl. front, illus., plates. 25cm \$4.50 12-37973 a,2,4

——— Issued in England by Sampson, Lowe. 15/-. b,3,4

——— New ed. New York, Scribner, 1884. \$3.00. 1

——— London, Sampson, Lowe, 1893. 10/6. 4

——— London, Newnes, 1904. 10/6. 4

——— New York, Scribner. Reprint, 1924. 1

- * ——— Reprint, 1927 (c.1883, 1911)
 xxii, 296 p. incl. front., 22 pl. 24cm. \$3.50.
 In prologue, seven parts, incl. 20 chapters, epilogue.
 Ornamented title; head- and tail-piece to Pref., List of illus., Prologue, each part, and Epilogue.
- New York, Scribner, 1933.
 4 p. l., [vii]-xx, 296 p. incl. 49 illus., pl. front., 2 plates (1 col.) 24cm.
 Illustrated t-p. 33-31761 a,1,2
 "The Howard Pyle Brandwine edition, 1853-1933."
 Colored plate and note in this volume by N. C. Wyeth; the plate is accompanied by a guard sheet with descriptive letterpress.

648. PYLE, HOWARD, 1853-1911

Some merry adventures of Robin Hood, of great renown in Nottinghamshire, written and illustrated by Howard Pyle. New York, C. Scribner's sons, 1902.

x p., 1 l., 176 p. incl. front., plates. 19cm (Scribner's series of school reading)
 60 cents. 2-15197 a,1,2

650. QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR THOMAS, 1863-

The Oxford book of ballads . . . Oxford, Clarendon press, 1924

xxiii, [1], 871 p. 19½cm.

Contains: Part II: Book V: no. 113, The birth of Robin Hood, p. 465-468 ———
 n. 115, A little geste of Robin Hood and his meiny, p. 497-574 ——— n. 116,
 Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 575-584 ——— n. 117, Robin Hood and
 the monk, p. 585-600 ——— n. 118, Robin Hood and the curtal friar, p. 600-607
 ——— n. 119, Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 607-612 ——— n. 120, Robin
 Hood and the bishop of Hereford, p. 612-616 ——— n. 121, Robin Hood and
 Alan a Dale, p. 616-620 ——— n. 122, Robin Hood and the widow's three sons,
 p. 621-625 ——— n. 123, Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 626-629 ——— n. 124,
 The noble fisherman, p. 630-634 ——— n. 125, The death of Robin Hood, p. 635-
 639.

652. QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR THOMAS, 1863-

* Robin Hood; old ballads chosen by A. T. Quiller-Couch. Oxford, Clarendon
 † press [1908].

47 p. 17cm. (Select English classics) paper. d

Price, 1912: paper, 8 cents; cloth, 10 cents. 1

Price, 1928: paper, 20 cents; cloth, 25 cents. 1

† ——— [1921]

With Early English lyrics. 14

QUILLER-COUCH, SIR ARTHUR THOMAS. *See also under* HOBHOUSE, ROSA WAUGH.

RADFORD, MAUDE LAVINIA. *See* WARREN, MRS. MAUDE LAVINIA.

653. RAGLAN, F. R. S., 4th baron.

† What is tradition? [1933] 14

Address to the British association meeting at Leicester, Section H, Anthropology,
 by the President of the section. Contains an attack on the Authenticity of Robin
 Hood

RAMBAUGH, A. *See under* ADAM DE LA HALLE.

654. RATCLIFFE, THOMAS.

Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 11, p. 310, Apr. 18, 1891.

See also Robin Hood wind, *infra*.

RAWLINSON BALLADS. Collection of ballads in the Bodleian library, Oxford Referred to under ballad titles in this list as "Rawlinson"

655. REECE, ROBERT, 1838-1891.

† Little Robin Hood: new burlesque drama London, R. Wilson and co., 1882.
Produced at the Prince's Theatre, Manchester. 14

REEVE, WILLIAM, 1757-1815, composer See under O'KEEFFE, JOHN.

656. Reflections upon the story of Robin Whood and his men. In ms by F. Peck and apparently taken from Parker's True tale of Robin Hood. See under PECK, F. Ballad, 9 stanzas.

658. Renowned Robin Hood; or, his famous archery truly related, with the worthy exploits hee acted before Queen Katherine, hee being an outlaw-man; and how shee for the same obtained of the king his own and his fellows pardon. London, Printed for F Grove [ca.1640]

Ballad Broadside fol.

b,3,7

In Roxburghe, II, p. 419, Ballad society's reprint

† ——— London, L. How, [1750?].

Single sheet folded.

b,3,14

Variant title for Robin Hood and Queen Katherine See under this title.

660. REYNOLD, JOHN HAMILTON, 1796-1852.

Sonnets on Robin Hood. In: Gutch, II, p. 426-427.

"Furnished by a correspondent, but from what printed works they are taken, the Editor is not aware."—Gutch, p. 426.

662. RHEAD, LOUIS, 1857-1926.

* Bold Robin Hood and his outlaw band; their famous exploits in Sherwood forest, penned and pictured by Louis Rhead. New York and London, Harper & brothers [c1912].

xi, [1] p., 1 l., 285, [1] p. incl. front., illus., plates, map. 23cm. \$1.50.

Title within ornamental border.

12-23204 a,1,2

† ——— Issued in England [1922?]. 7/6.

b,3

663. RHODES, A.

Robin Hood's men in May games. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 1, p. 493, June 18, 1910.

See also Robin Hood's men in May games.

664. RHYS, BRIAN.

* A book of ballads . . . il. by Doris Burton. London, Jonathan Cape, 1929.

† 160 p. col. front., illus. 18½ cm. (The Children's library. 4th series)

Contains, Part I: Robin Hood. Robin Hood and the curial friar, p. 11-18

——— Robin Hood and Alan-a-Dale, p. 18-22 ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 22-26 ——— Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, p. 26-29 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 30-32.

666. RICHMOND, MRS. GRACE LOUISE (SMITH) (MRS. NELSON GUERNSEY RICHMOND) 1866-
Robin Hood and his barn In: *Woman's home companion*, v. 42, p. 9-10,
Nov., 1915.

A Ride with Robin Hood. *See under* STRANG, HERBERT.

RIMBAULT, EDWARD FRANCIS, 1816-1876. Collection of ancient songs, etc. *See under* Deuteromelia; JONES, ROBERT.

668. RIMBAULT, EDWARD FRANCIS, 1816-1876.

Musical illustrations of the Robin Hood ballads. In: Gutch, II, p. 431-447.

Contains music for: Little John and the four beggars, p. 433 — Robin Hood and Little John, p. 433 — Robin Hood and Maid Marian, p. 433 — Robin Hood and the beggar I, p. 433 — Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 433 — Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 433 — Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 433 — Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 433 — Robin Hood newly revived, p. 433 — Robin Hood's chase, p. 433 — Jolly pinder of Wakefield, p. 434 — Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 435 — Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 435 — Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly, p. 435 — Robin Hood's death (B), p. 435 — Robin Hood's delight, p. 435 — The noble fisherman, p. 436 — Robin Hood and the curtal friar, p. 436 — Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons, p. 438 — Robin Hood and Allen a Dale, p. 439 — Robin Hood rescuing the three squires, p. 439 — Robin Hood and theunker, p. 440 — Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 440 — Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, p. 441 — Wedding of Robin Hood and Little John, p. 441 — Robin Hood and the Duke of Lancaster, p. 442 — Helstone Furry-day song, p. 443 — Robin Hood's dance before the Queen, p. 445 — Bonny sweet Robin, p. 445-447.

670. RIPON, ENGLAND.

† Millenary festival [programme, etc.] Ripon, Thirlway and son, 1886. 14
Refers to the production of the play "Robin Hood and the curtal friar," by A. Dawtreay.

672. RITSON, JOSEPH, 1752-1803, comp.

Ancient songs, from the time of King Henry the Third, to the revolution. 1790.
First edition.

—— Title: Ancient songs and ballads, from the reign of Henry the Second to the revolution. Collected by Joseph Ritson . . . London, Printed for Payne and Foss, by T. Davison, 1829.

2 v. 19½ cm.

16-1012 a,b,2,3

Ed. by the compiler's nephew, Joseph Frank, who has included ballads from Ritson's Select collection of English songs, 1783.

Contains: Robin and Gandelyn; or, Robyn Lyth in greenwode bowndyn. *See under* this ballad title.

Possibly in first edition, 1790, also, but not examined

—— 3d. ed., carefully rev. by W. Carew Hazlitt . . . London, Reeves and Turner, 1877.

8 p. l., xc, 436 p. 18 cm.

16-1013 a,b,2,3

674. RITSON, JOSEPH, 1752-1803, comp.

Robin Hood, etc.

Titles and Editions

- *† [1] [RITSON, JOSEPH] Robin Hood: A collection of all the ancient poems, songs, and ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English outlaw: to which are prefixed historical anecdotes of his life . . London, T Egerton and J. Johnson, 1795.

2 v 19cm.

b,3,5,14

First edition. Contemporary calt.

Contents: Vol. 1: Life of Robin Hood, p iii-xii ——— Notes and illustrations, p. xiv-cxviii ——— Part the first. 1. A lytell geste of Robyn Hode, p. 1-80 ——— 2. Robin Hood and the potter, p 81-96 ——— 3. Robin Hood and the beggar, II, p. 97-113 ——— 4. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 114-125 ——— 5. A true tale of Robin Hood, by Martin Parker, p 126-148 ——— Glossary, p. 149-167



*Illustration Accompanying Ballad Guy of Gisborne, in First Edition of
Ritson's Work, 1795, Vol. 1, page 114. No. 674, Edition [1].*

Contents, v 2: 1. Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valour, and marriage, p. 1-11 ——— 2. Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 12-15 ——— 3. Jolly pinder of Wakefield, with Robin Hood, Scarlet and John, p 16-18 ——— 4. Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 19-23 ——— 5 Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 24-29 ——— 6. Robin Hood and the tanner, p 30-37 ——— 7. Robin Hood and the tinker, p. 38-45 ——— 8. Robin Hood and Allin a Dale, p. 46-51 ——— 9 Robin Hood and the shepherd, p 52-57 ——— 10. Robin Hood and the cuitall fryer, p. 58-65 ——— 11. Robin Hood and the stranger, p. 66-82 ——— 12. Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 83-91 ——— 13 Robin Hood's chase, p 92-96 ——— 14. Robin Hood's golden prize, p 97-101 ——— 15. Robin Hood's rescuing Will Stutly, p. 102-109 ——— 16. The noble fisherman, p 110-115 ——— 17. Robin Hood's delight, p. 116-121 ——— 18. Robin Hood and the beggar [I], p. 122-127 ——— 19. Little John and the four beggars, p. 128-132 ——— 20 Robin Hood and the ranger, p. 133-137 ——— 21. Robin Hood and Little John, p. 138-145 ——— 22 Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, p. 146-150 ——— 23. Robin

Hood rescuing the widow's three sons from the sheriff when going to be executed, p. 151-156 ——— 24 Robin Hood and Maid Marian, p. 157-161 ——— 25. The king's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood, p. 162-169 ——— 26. Robin Hood and the golden arrow, p. 170-177 ——— 27 Robin Hood and the valiant knight, p. 178-182 ——— 28. Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 183-187 ——— Glossary, p. 188-191 ——— Appendix. I. The playe of Robyn Hode, p. 192-203 ——— II. A freemans song, p. 204-208 ——— III A round, p. 208 ——— IV. Hey Jolly Robin, p. 209-210 ——— V. A merry wedding; or, O brave Arthur of Bradley, p. 210-216 ——— VI. Robin Hood rescuing the three squires from Nottingham gallows, p. 216-219 ——— VII. Robin Hood's delight, p. 219-220.

* [2]

† [RITSON, JOSEPH] Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient poems, songs, and ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English outlaw: to which are prefixed historical anecdotes of his life. London, Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown [etc.] 1820

xii, [iii]-[l]xxiv, 240 p. 16cm. ½ leather. 16-4676 a,b,f,i,2,3,4,6,12,14
Title vignette.

Retains only a portion of Ritson's notes. "The rest have been omitted as either irrelevant or inadmissible in a work designed for young persons,"—cf Pref.

Contents: [ballads are numbered as in 1795 edition, so titles not repeated here] Life of Robin Hood, p. iii-xiv ——— Notes and illustrations, p. xv-[l]xxiv ——— Part the first. 1. p. 1-59 ——— 2. p. 60-70 ——— 3. p. 71-83 ——— 4. p. 83-90 ——— 5. p. 91-106 ——— Part the second. 1. p. 107-114 ——— 2 p. 115-117 ——— 3. p. 117-119 ——— 4. p. 119-122 ——— 5. p. 122-126 ——— 6. p. 127-131 ——— 7. p. 132-137 ——— 8. p. 138-141 ——— 9. p. 142-145 ——— 10. p. 146-151 ——— 11. p. 152-163 ——— 12. p. 163-169 ——— 13. p. 170-173 ——— 14. p. 174-177 ——— 15. p. 178-183 ——— 16. p. 183-187 ——— 17. p. 187-190 ——— 18. p. 191-195 ——— 19. p. 195-198 ——— 20 p. 198-201 ——— 21. p. 202-207 ——— 22 p. 207-210 ——— 23. p. 210-214 ——— 24. p. 214-217 ——— 25. p. 217-223 ——— 26. p. 223-227 ——— 27. p. 228-230 ——— 28. p. 231-233 ——— Glossary, p. 234-240.

† [3]

———London, C. Stocking, 1823.

14

† [4]

———Edinburgh, Printed by J. Clarke & co. for W. Hunter [and others] 1826.
vi, 106 p. illus. d,14

A selection from the edition of 1820.

[5]

[RITSON, JOSEPH] Robin Hood, a collection of all the ancient poems, songs, and ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English outlaw; to which are prefix'd historical anecdotes of his life; to which is added his life from a ms. in the British Museum, ed. by W. J. Thoms. London, Pickering, 1827.

The edition on vellum, one copy on writing paper.

† [6]

RITSON, JOSEPH [title as in n 2] 2d ed. London, W. Pickering; [etc., etc.] 1832.
2 v illus. 19½cm. 16-4677 a,b,2,3,6,14

Edited by Joseph Frank, with additions from the manuscript of Ritson and the "Tale of Robin Hood and the monk." cf Pref.; also Lowndes, Bibl Manuel.

"The original engravings, by the celebrated Bewick, have been again used."

This edition and no.[7] below, reviewed in Westminster review, v. 33, p. 424, 1840.

[7]

+ ——— London, W. Smith, 1840.

(Smith's standard library)

14

Review in North American review, v. 84, p. 1-34, Jan., 1857.

* [8]

[RITSON, JOSEPH] [title as ed. 1] n.p. [1846]

iv, 112 p. 23½ cm. 2 column.

Contents: [ballads numbered as 1795 edition (see above). Titles not repeated here]: Memoir of Joseph Ritson, p. ii ——— Life of Robin Hood, p. 1-4 ——— Notes and illustrations, p. 4-35 ——— Part I. 1. p. 35-53 ——— 2. p. 54-57 ——— 3. p. 57-61 ——— 4. p. 61-64 ——— 5. p. 64-69 ——— Part II. 1. p. 69-71 ——— 2. p. 72 ——— 3. p. 72-73 ——— 4. p. 73-74 ——— 5. p. 74-75 ——— 6. p. 75-77 ——— 7. p. 77-78 ——— 8. p. 79-80 ——— 9. p. 80-81 ——— 10. p. 81-82 ——— 11. p. 83-86 ——— 12. p. 86-88 ——— 13. p. 88-89 ——— 14. p. 89-90 ——— 15. p. 90-91 ——— 16. p. 91-92 ——— 17. p. 93 ——— 18. p. 94-95 ——— 19. p. 95-96 ——— 20. p. 96 ——— 21. p. 97-98 ——— 22. p. 98-99 ——— 23. p. 99-100 ——— 24. p. 100-101 ——— 25. p. 101-103 ——— 26. p. 103-104 ——— 27. p. 104-105 ——— 28. p. 105-106 ——— Appendix. 1. p. 106-108 ——— 2. p. 109 ——— 3. p. 110 ——— 4. p. 110 ——— 5. p. 110-111 ——— 6. p. 111-112 ——— 7. p. 112.

+ [9]

RITSON, JOSEPH. Robin Hood a collection of poems, songs, and ballads relative to that celebrated outlaw. Ed. by Joseph Ritson [London, Ingram, Cooke & co. 1853] 2 p. l., [iii]-iv, 112 p. front 24 cm. (On cover: Universal library [Poetry. vol. II]) 12-38048 a.b,2,3,14

Issued by R. Griffin & co.?

* [10]

+ RITSON, JOSEPH. Robin Hood ballads and songs relating to that celebrated outlaw: with anecdotes of his life. From Ritson and others London, Bell and Daldy, 1862.

xviii, 336 p. 14 cm

d,4,14

Contents: [Ballads numbered as 1795 edition (see above). Titles 1-28 not repeated here]: Part I 1. p. 1-68 ——— 2. p. 69-81 ——— 3. p. 82-96 ——— 4. p. 97-106 ——— 5. p. 107-125 ——— Part II. 1. p. 126-135 ——— 2. p. 136-139 ——— 3. p. 140-142 ——— 4. 143-146 ——— 5. p. 147-151 ——— 6. p. 152-158 ——— 7. p. 159-165 ——— 8. p. 166-170 ——— 9. p. 171-175 ——— 10. p. 176-182 ——— 11. p. 183-195 ——— 12. p. 196-202 ——— 13. p. 202-206 ——— 14. p. 207-210 ——— 15. p. 211-216 ——— 16. p. 217-222 ——— 17. p. 222-226 ——— 18. p. 227-231 ——— 19. p. 232-235 ——— 20. p. 236-239 ——— 21. p. 240-246 ——— 22. p. 247-250 ——— 23. p. 251-255 ——— 24. p. 256-259 ——— 25. p. 260-266 ——— 26. p. 267-272 ——— 27. p. 273-276 ——— 28. p. 277-280 ——— 29. Robin Hood and the monk, p. 281-294 ——— 30. A freemans song, p. 295-296 ——— 31. Hey jolly Robin, p. 297-298 ——— 32. Robin Hood rescuing the three squires from Nottingham gallows, p. 299-302 ——— 33. Robin Hood's delight, p. 303 ——— 34. The song of Robin Hood and his huntmen, p. 304-305 ——— 35. Robin Hood and the tanner's daughter

ter, p. 306-310 ——— 36. Robin Hood and the peddlars, p. 311-315 ——— 37. The bold pedlar and Robin Hood, p. 316-318 ——— 38. The birth of Robin Hood, p. 319-322.

† [11]

——— 1865.

14

† [12]

[RITSON, JOSEPH] Robin Hood; a collection of poems, songs, and ballads, with notes by J. M. Gutch . . . and life by John Hicklin . . . London, 1866.

16°

b,3,14

† [13]

——— W. TEGG, 1867.

16° [2], xxxi, 367 p. pl.

d,14

* [14]

† RITSON, JOSEPH, ed. Robin Hood: a collection of poems, songs, and ballads relative to that celebrated English chief . . . with thirty-two illustrations by Gordon Browne. London, George Routledge and sons, 1884.

iv, 444 p. illus. 19½cm. \$1.25.

b,1,3,4,14

Binder's title: Adventures of Robin Hood.

Contents: see edition below.

* [15]

——— same; ½ parchment. Printed from same plates, but text in red ornamental border.

Pagination identical with [14]

Contents, [14] and [15] [Ballad numbers as in 1795 edition. Titles omitted here]: Preface, p. 1 ——— The life of Robin Hood, p. 2-10 ——— Notes and illustrations, p. 11-113 ——— Part I. 1. p. 114-195 ——— 2. p. 196-210 ——— 3. p. 210-226 ——— 4. p. 226-237 ——— 5. p. 237-257 ——— Part II. 1. p. 258-268 ——— 2. p. 268-271 ——— 3. p. 272-274 ——— 4. p. 274-278 ——— 5. p. 278-283 ——— 6. p. 284-289 ——— 7. p. 290-297 ——— 8. p. 297-301 ——— 9. p. 301-306 ——— 10. p. 306-313 ——— 11. p. 313-329 ——— 12. p. 329-337 ——— 13. p. 337-341 ——— 14. p. 342-346 ——— 15. p. 347-352 ——— 16. p. 352-357 ——— 17. p. 357-361 ——— 18. p. 361-367 ——— 19. p. 367-370 ——— 20. p. 370-374 ——— 21. p. 374-380 ——— 22. p. 380-383 ——— 23. p. 383-389 ——— 24. p. 389-392 ——— 25. p. 393-399 ——— 26. p. 399-403 ——— 27. p. 404-407 ——— 28. p. 408-411 ——— Appendix. 1. p. 412-417 ——— 2. p. 417-419 ——— 3. p. 420 ——— 4. p. 420-421 ——— 5. p. 421-425 ——— 6. p. 425-427 ——— 7. p. 427-428 ——— 8. Robin Hood and the monk, p. 428-438 ——— Glossary, p. 439-444.

* [16]

RITSON, JOSEPH. Robin Hood: a collection of all the ancient poems, songs, and ballads, now extant, relative to that celebrated English outlaw; to which are prefixed historical anecdotes of his life . . . with eighty wood engravings by Thomas Bewick . . . also nine etchings from original paintings by A. H. Tourrier and E. Buckman. London, John C. Nimmo, 1885.

xii, cxviii, 400 p. illus. pl. 23cm.

Half parchment.

"Three hundred copies of this book printed for England, and two hundred, with an American imprint, for sale in that country." Gable collection copy is no. 108.

'This edition . . . is printed from that published in 1832, which was carefully edited and printed from Mr Ritson's own annotated edition of 1795'

Called small paper edition

Has the full contents. For contents see next edition

The 80 wood engravings reproduced from first edition, printed on Japan paper and mounted.

* [17]

—— Same; large paper edition, 1885

Wider margins than [16] 29cm.

Bound in green silk.

[16] and [17] printed from same plates

The nine etchings included in duplicate, one printed on Whatman paper, the other on Japanese

"Of this fine large paper edition one hundred copies are printed, each being numbered." Gable collection copy is no 19.

Undoubtedly the finest edition

Contents [16] and [17] [Ballad numbers same as 1795 edition Titles not repeated here] The life of Robin Hood, p. i-xiii — Notes and illustrations, p. xiv-cxviii — Part the first 1. p 1-80 — 2. p. 81-96 — 3 p 97-113 — 4 p. 114-125 — 5 p. 126-148 — Part the second 1 p 149-160 — 2 p. 161-165 — 3. p 166-169 — 4 p 170-174 — 5. p 175-180 — 6 p 181-188 — 7. p 189-196 — 8 p. 197-202 — 9. p 203-208 — 10 p 209-216 — 11. p 217-234 — 12. p. 235-243 — 13. p. 244-248 — 14. p 249-253 — 15 p. 254-261 — 16. p 262-267 — 17 p 268-273 — 18. p. 274-279 — 19 p. 280-284 — 20. p. 285-289 — 21. p 290-297 — 22 p. 298-302 — 23. p. 303-308 — 24. p. 309-313 — 25. p 314-322 — 26 p. 323-329 — 27. p 330-334 — 28 p. 335-340 — Appendix. 1. p. 341-353 — 2 p. 353-357 — 3. p 357 — 4. p 358-359 — 5. p 359-365 — 6. p. 365-368 — 7. p 369 — 8 Robin Hood and the monk, p. 370-385 — Glossary, p. 387-400.

† [18]

—— London, J. C. Nimmo, 1887.

2 v.

14

676. RITSON, JOSEPH, 1752-1803, ed.

Robin Hood's adventures; poems, songs and ballads. Philadelphia, McKay, 1912. \$1 00.

Possibly the well-known Ritson collection. This item not examined.

678. ROBERTS, JOHN S.

† . . . The legendary ballads of England and Scotland. Comp. and ed. by John S. Roberts . . . With original illustrations and steel portrait. London, F. Warne and co. New York, Scribner, Welford, and co., 1868.

xi, 628 p. incl front. (port.) plates. 19½cm. (The Chandos poets)

15-23445 a,2,14

Contains Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 356-363 — Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valour, and marriage, p. 577-581 — Lytell geste of Robin Hood, p. 582-610 — Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 611-612 — Robin Hood and the butcher, p 612-614 — Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 614-620 — Robin Hood rescuing Will Sturly, p 620-622 — Robin Hood and the bishop, p 622-624 — Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 624-626.

——— London and New York, Warne, 1890.
 xii, 628 p.

d

680 ROBERTS, THOMAS.

The English bowman; or, Tracts on archery: to which is added the second part of the Bowman's glory. By Thomas Roberts . . . London, Author, 1801.

1 p. l., xxxiv, 296 p. front., fold. pl., fold. port. 21cm 5-39493 a,2

* ——— Title: The English bowman, or, Tracts on archery: to which is added the second part of the Bowman's glory. By T Roberts, a member of the Toxophilite society . . . London, Printed for the Author. by C Roworth . . . sold by Mr. Egerton, at the Military Library, Charing Cross; also by Mr. Waring, at his archery ware-room, Caroline street, Bedford Square, 1801.

2 p. l., xlii, 298, [1] p. front. 22cm.

Contemporary half calf.

Dedication dated June, 1801.

Contains: Part III. An inquiry and investigation into such extraordinary feats, as are said to have been achieved with the English long-bow, in former times; and particularly by that great Hero of Archery, Robin Hood. with an account of that famous outlaw, from the most authentic record: and a comparison of these feats of archery, with such as are well attested in modern times, p. 91-113.

682. Robin and Gandelyn; or Robyn Lyth in greene wode bowndyn.

Song, about 1500? Mentioned in Wright's Essays on the literature . . . of England, as belonging to the Robin Hood cycle, at least by its subject. Ritson thought that Robyn Lyth might have been one of Robin Hood's men.

——— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 35-39, from Wright's duodecimo edition, published by Pickering, 1836.

——— In Ritson. Ancient songs and ballads, 2d ed. 1829.

683. Robin and Marion in troubadour poetry. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 4, vol. 1, p. 148, Feb. 15, 1868.

Robin Hode and the sheriff of Nottingham. *See under* Mery geste of Robyn Hode.

ROBIN HOOD TITLE ENTRIES

I

Books for Which No Publisher's Name Could Be Found

684. Robin Hood. [London] 1809.

* Single sheet. Colored prints with accompanying verses.

b,3

686. Robin Hood. London [1870].

16°

Colored illus. with descriptive letterpress

II

Books Arranged by Publishers

688. Robin Hood. New York, H. M. Caldwell, n.d.

50 cents; 75 cents; \$1.25.

In print 1912.

I

690. Robin Hood. [London] Collin's clear-type press [1928].
*† 32 p. 8½x10cm. (Stocking booklets) 6d 4
692. Robin Hood. New York, Crowell, 1917.
(Children's favorite classics) 75 cents. 1
694. Robin Hood. New York, R. F. Fenno, n.d.
50 cents. In print 1912 1
696. Robin Hood. London, Harrap, 1921.
300 p. 12/6. 4
——— 1926.
290 p. 7/6. 4
698. Robin Hood. Nashville, Tenn., Southwestern co., n.d.
75 cents. Subscription. In print 1912 1
700. Robin Hood. An opera. As it is perform'd at Lee's and Harper's Great
Theatrical Booth in Bartholomew-Fair. With the musick prefix'd to each song.
London, J. Watts [etc.], 1730. 26-66 a,b,2,3,6
45 p. 19½cm.
[Longe, F. Collection of plays. v. 49, n. 6]
- Robin Hood [photoplay] *See under Woods, Lotta.*
702. Robin Hood [play] In: A mery geste of Robyn Hode and of hys lyfe, wyth
a newe play for to be played in Maye games very plesaunte and tull of pastyme.
(Last 9 pages) Title: Here beginneth the playe of Robyn Hode, very proper
to be played in Maye games Last page. Thus endeth the playe of Robyn Hode.
Imprinted at London, upon the thre Crane Wharfe, by Wyllyam Copland.
From apparently unique original in the British Museum. Some reason to
suppose the play was also issued separately about the same date, i.e. 1561.
Composed partly from the ballad of Robin Hood and the cuital friar, and
partly from Robin Hood and the potter.
——— In Gutch, II, p. 50-60.
——— Amersham, 1914. (Tudor facsimile texts)
Together with the Mery geste.
† ——— Title: A play of Robin Hood for May-games From the edition by Cop-
land. Malone society collections, v. 1, pt 2, p. 125-136. Oxford, 1908. b,e,3,14
See also under Mery geste . . . ; TICKNER, F. J.
704. Robin Hood [song] In: Daniel, George. Merrie England.
7 stanzas.
——— In Gutch, II, p. 424-425.

III

Periodical Articles

- 706 Robin Hood. In: All the year round, old series v. 27, p. 88-92, Dec., 1871.
- 708 Robin Hood. In: Analectic magazine, v. 1, p. 434-436, 1813.

710. Robin Hood. In: *Argosy*, v. 67, p. 472, 1898-1902.
712. Robin Hood. In: *Edinburgh review*, v. 86, p. 122-138, July, 1847 (Review of Gutch).
 — In: *Living age*, v. 15, p. 87-92, 1847.
714. Robin Hood. In: *Westminster review*, v. 33, p. 424, 1840.
 Review of Ritson, 1832, 1840

IV

Longer Titles Beginning with the Words Robin Hood

- Robin Hood; a comic opera. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD.
716. Robin Hood; a dramatic tale Huddersfield, J. Bairstow, 1846.
 12 p. 12° g
 Robin Hood; a new musical entertainment. *See under* MENDEZ, MOSES.
718. Robin Hood; a tale of the olden time. Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd 1819
 + 2 v. 12° b,3,14
 — 2d ed. Edinburgh, 1819.
 2 v b,3
720. Robin Hood, Allin Dale, and the sheriff of Nottingham In: Fawcett, Stephen
 Edwy and Elgiva, 1842.
 Ballad.
 "Found in an old black-letter manuscript, dated 1513, and never before published."—cf. p. 23.
 See also under FAWCETT, STEPHEN.
- 722 Robin Hood and Allen a Dale; or, A pleasant relation how a young gentleman being in love with a young damsel, which was taken from him to be an old knight's bride, and how Robin Hood, pitying the young man's case, took her from the old knight, when they were going to be married, and restored her to her own love again. London, Printed for Alex. Milbourne, Will. Ownley, Tho. Thackeray, at the Angel in Duck-Lane
 Ballad, 27 stanzas. Roxburghe, II, 394.
 — London, Printed for Alex. Milbourne, In Green Arbor court, in the Little Old Bailey, Pepys, II, 110, n 97.
 — London, For Coles, Vere, Wright and Clarke. Douce, II, 185.
 — Douce, III, 119b.
 — Kinloch mss., V, 183 (Scotticised).
 — Euing, 299.
 — Jersey, II, 223=Lindes, 260.
 — In Evans, 1777, I, p 126; 1810, II, p. 127-131.
 — In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 46-51.

- In Gutch, II, p. 259-263.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 172-175 (No. 138).
- Translation (German) In: Auersperg, Robin Hood, p. 146; Werke, 1877, V, p. 288-292.
For the music, see under RIMBAULT, E. F.
724. Robin Hood and Allen-a-Dale [poem] In: Outlook, v. 93, p. 466-468, Oct. 23, 1909.
Robin Hood and Friar Tuck. See Robin Hood and the curial friar
726. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne In: Percy ms., p. 262
Ballad, 58 stanzas.
- In: Percy. Reliques. 1765, I, p. 74.
First publication of the ballad.
- Percy. Reliques. All later editions.
(In 1794, I, p. 81)
- Percy folio. Hales and Furnivall. 1867. II, p. 227
- In Ritson, 1795, I, p. 114-115.
(Reprinted from the Reliques)
- In Gutch, II, p. 68-83.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 89-94 (No. 118).
- Translation (German) In Bodmer, II, p. 128.
- Translation (German) In Busching, p. 241.
- Translation (German) In Doenniges, p. 174.
- Translation (German) In Auersperg Robin Hood, p. 103; Werke, 1877, V, p. 248-256.
- Translation (Italian) In Cantù, p. 799.
728. Robin Hood and his bugle horn. London, Harrow, 1856.
Ballad. 8 vo. b,3
730. Robin Hood and his crew of souldiers A comedy acted at Nottingham on the day of his Sacred Majesty's coronation. London, 1661.
Unpagd. 4to. b,3,6,12
731. Robin Hood and his merry men; [illus by D. C. Emlee] Glasgow, Children's
† press [1933].
Edition sold by Woolworth's. 14
732. Robin Hood and his merry men. New York, Hurst & co., n.d.
35 cents; leather \$1.25. In print, 1912. 1
734. Robin Hood and his merry men. Philadelphia, J. E. Potter, n.d.
20 cents; paper, 15 cents illus.
In print, 1876. 1

736. Robin Hood and his times. In: *National quarterly review*, v. 20, p. 101-130, Dec., 1869.
Running title only. Reviews Gutch 1847 and Ritson 1832.
738. Robin Hood and King Henry. In: Fawcett, Stephen. Edwy and Elgiva. 1842.
* p. 30-32.
"Found in an old black-letter manuscript, dated 1513, and never before published."
Ballad. See also under FAWCETT, STEPHEN.
Robin Hood and Kynge Richard. See Robyn Hode and Kynge Richard.
742. Robin Hood and Little John Being an account of their first meeting, and fierce encounter Likewise their friendly agreement, and how he came to be call'd Little John. London, Printed and sold in Bow-Church-yard.
Ballad, 39 stanzas. White-letter Roxburghe, III, 728.
——— London, Printed for W. Onley [*ca.* 1680-85].
Black-letter. Lindes, 1320.
——— Douce, III, 125.
——— Tewksbury [1785²]. b,3
——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 204, 1810, II, p. 224-230.
——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 138-145.
——— In Gutch, II, p. 295-301.
——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 133-136 (No. 125).
——— Translation: In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 65; Werke, 1877, V. p. 215-220.
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F. See also Yorkshire notes and queries, 1907, p. 337.
744. Robin Hood and Little John. Drama in 7 parts. Hyde, G. Booth,
† 1852. 14
746. Robin Hood and Maid Marian.
Ballad, 22 stanzas. Wood, 401, 21b.
——— In Evans, 1810, II, p. 240-244.
——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 157-161.
——— In Gutch, II, p. 302-306.
——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 218-219 (No. 150).
——— Translation (French) In Loève-Weumars, p. 208.
——— Translation (German) in Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 72; Werke, 1877, V, p. 221-224.
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.
748. Robin Hood and other ballads . . . with coloured engravings from drawings by J. Gilbert. London [1879].
Pages 133-229 of a series. 4to. b,3

- 750 Robin Hood and other stories London, Routledge, 1872
1/-.
752. Robin Hood and Queen Katherine.
Ballad, 3 versions. A, 38 stanzas, B, 42 stanzas, C, 35 stanzas. All three
versions in Child, 1883-98, III, p. 196-205 (No. 145).
- Editions of version B
- Wood, 502, 10
- Wood, 401, 31b
- Wood, 402, 10
- London, Printed by L. How Roxburghe, I, 356.
- Roxburghe, III, 450.
- London, Wright, Clarke, Thackeray, and Passenger, [16-?] Pepys, II,
103, n. 90.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 149; 1810, II, p. 159-166.
Title: Renowned Robin Hood.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 82-91.
- In Gutch, II, p. 172-180.
- Translation (German) In Auersperg Robin Hood, p. 172, Werke, 1877,
V, p. 313-319.
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W; RIMBAULT, E. F
See also under variant title. Renowned Robin Hood.
754. Robin Hood and the beggar. Shewing how Robin Hood and the beggar
fought, and how he changed cloaths with the beggar, and how he went a begging
to Nottingham; and how he saved three brethren from being hanged for stealing
the king's deer. London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright [ca 1656].
Ballad, 31 stanzas. Black-letter Roxburghe, III, 20.
Is first version (I) given by Child.
The rescuing of the three brethren is "Second Part." Not to be confused with
either Robin Hood rescuing three squires, or its variant Robin Hood rescuing the
widow's three sons.
Signed T. R. [Thomas Robins?]
- Wood, 401, 23 verso.
- Pepys, II, 116, n. 100.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 180; 1810, II, p. 210-215.
Title: Robin Hood turned beggar.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 122-127.
- In Gutch, II, p. 165-171.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 155-158 (No. 133).
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.



Come light and listen, you Gentlemen all, *with hey down, down,*
 That mirth do love for to hear, [and a down.
 And a Story true I'll tell unto you, if that you will but draw near.

*From Robin Hood and the Beggar, in Ballad Society's Reprint of the
 Roxburghe Ballads. No 754.*

756. Robin Hood and the beggar.
 Ballad, 93 stanzas Second version (II) given by Child; continuation of version I
- Douce, IV, 88.
 - Douce, HH, 88 (Aberdeen version)
 - In Evans, 1810, II, p. 193-209
 - In Ritson, 1795, I, p. 97-113.
 - In Gutch, II, p 230-247.
 - In Child, 1883-98, III, p 158-165 (No. 134).
 - Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 180; Werke, 1877, V, p. 320-333.
758. Robin Hood and the bishop; shewing how Robin Hood went to an old woman's house and changed cloaths with her, to escape from the bishop; and how he robbed him of all his gold, and made him sing mass. London, Printed by and for W. O., and are to be sold by the bookseller of Pye-corner and London Bridge [1670?].
- Ballad, 24 stanzas. Black-letter. Roxburghe, I, 362, 363.
- London, Printed for F. Grove. Wood, 401, 11b
 - London, Alexander Milbourne [16-?] Pepys, II, 122, n. 107.

——— Pepys, II, 109, n 96.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p 102, 1810, II, p 103-107.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 19-23.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 147-151.

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 191-193 (No. 143)

——— Translation (German) In Auersperg Robin Hood, p 113; Werke, 1877, V, p. 257-260.

——— Translation (German) In Doenniges, p. 203.

For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W ; RIMBAULT, E. F.

760. Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.

Ballad, Version A, 21 stanzas

——— Douce, II, 123b.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p.211, 1810, II, p. 231-234.

Title: Robin Hood's entertainment of the Bishop of Hereford.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 146-150.

——— In Gutch, II, p 277-280.

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 193-196 (No. 144).

——— Translation (French) In Loève-Weimars, p. 204

——— Translation (German) in Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 151, Werke, 1877, V, p. 293-296.

Version B, 11 stanzas.

——— E Cochrane's song-book, p. 149, n. 113.

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p 195-196

See also Notes and queries, series 5, vol 12, p. 88, Aug 2, 1879; series 5, vol. 12, p. 177, Aug. 30, 1879; series 10, vol. 8, p 449, Dec. 7, 1907; series 10, vol. 9, p. 55, 278, Jan. 18, Apr. 4, 1908.

For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W ; RIMBAULT, E. F.

762. Robin Hood and the butcher. [no colophon]

Ballad, 30 stanzas. Roxburghe, III, 259.

——— London, Printed for F. Grove on Snow-hill. [before 1656] Wood, 401, 19. Black letter.

——— London, For Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger. Pepys, II, 102, n. 89. Black-letter.

——— Douce, III, 114.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p 106; 1810, II, p. 107-112

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 24-29.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 152-157.

- In Child, 1883-98, III, p 118-120 (No. 122).
 Called Version B.
 A version A, 31 stanzas, also given in Child, III, p 115-117.
 For the music, See under CHAPPEL, W; RIMBAULT, E. F
- 764 Robin Hood and the curtal friar London, Printed for F Coles. T. Vere,
 and J. Wright [1672?]
 Ballad, 41 stanzas. Black-letter. Roxburghe, III, 16.
 Called Version B in Child.
- Wood, 401, 15.
- Pepys, I, 78, n. 37. H Gosson [1606-41]
- Pepys, II, 99, n. 86.
- Douce, II, 184.
- Lindes, 682.
- Huth, II, 69
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 136; 1810, II, p. 152-159
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p 58-65.
- In Gutch, II, p. 189-196
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p 124-126 (No 123).
- Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p 124; Werke, 1877,
 V, p. 267-273.
 A version (fragment) much garbled, of 21 stanzas, is given in Child as
 version A, III, p. 123-124.
766. Robin Hood and the curtall fryer, decorated and illustrated by Matthew Hins-
 chiff. London, Simpkin, 1900.
 folio. 6/-. 4
- † ——— Leeds, R. Jackson, 1900. 14
 Not seen. Possibly the ballad reprinted, or done into prose.
768. Robin-Hood and the Duke of Lancaster A ballad To the tune of The abbot
 † of Canterbury. London, J. Roberts, 1727.
 6 p. 35½ cm. 28-3506 a,b,2,3
 [Poetical pamphlets. v. 9, n 16]
 Ballad, 17 stanzas
 Signatures: [A¹]-B²
 On Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Lechmere, a satire on the latter, then chan-
 cellor of the duchy of Lancaster.
- London [1729?] fol. b,3
- In Gutch, II, p 397-400.
- In Percival, Milton. Political ballads, 1916. p. 4-7. See under PERCIVAL,
 MILTON.

770. Robin Hood and the golden arrow.
Ballad, 33 stanzas.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 226; 1810, II, p. 252-257.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 171-177.
- In Gutch, II, p. 289-294.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 223-225 (No. 152).
- Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 140; Werke, 1877, V, p. 283-287.
- Robin Hood and the jolly pinder of Wakefield, shewing how he fought with Robin Hood, Scarlet and John a long summer's day See the Jolly pinder of Wakefield
772. Robin Hood and the men of the greenwood. Chicago, M. A. Donohue & co.
* [1928]
2 l., 401 p. col. front. 23cm. \$1.00. (Kenmore series)
- * ——— (Peerless series) 19cm. front. (not col.)
The two issues printed from same plates, differ only in frontispieces.
774. Robin Hood and the monk. Ms. of about 1450, Cambridge university library, ff. 5.48, fol. 128 verso.
Considered the oldest Robin Hood ballad. 90 stanzas.
- One leaf of a ms., containing stanzas 69³-72, 77²-80². British Museum, case 39, K. In Ballad society's reprint of the Roxburghe ballads, v. 8, pt. 2, p. 538.
- In Ritson, 1862, p. 281-294; 1884, p. 428-438; 1885, p. 370-385.
- In Gutch, II, p. 1-20.
Title: A tale of Robin Hood.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 94-101 (No. 119).
- In Jamieson, Robert. Popular ballads and songs, II, p. 54-72.
- Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 89; Werke, 1877, V, p. 236-247.
- Translation (German) in Grundtvig, p. 148, n. 24.
After Jamieson.
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.
776. Robin Hood and the old man In. Jamieson, Robert. Popular ballads and songs, II, p. 49-53.
Ballad, 18 stanzas
- In Gutch, II, p. 369-373.
Reprinted from Jamieson.
778. Robin Hood and the outlaws of Sherwood forest . . . London, Temple pub. co.,
* 1869.
1 l., 414 p. 52 illus. 25cm.
Issued in 52 numbers, each with illus.
Copy bound up with Pierce Egan's Clifton Grey.

780. Robin Hood and the peddlers. Ms., formerly owned by J. Payne Collier, now in the British Museum.
Ballad, 30 stanzas.
- In Gutch, II, p. 351-355. (From Collier's ms.)
- In Ritson, 1862, p. 311-315.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 170-172 (No. 137).
- Robin Hood and the pinder of Wakefield. *See* The jolly pinder of Wakefield.
782. Robin Hood and the potter. ms, Cambridge university library, E c 4.35, fol.14b. (about 1500)
Ballad, 83 stanzas.
- In Ritson, 1795, I, p. 81-96.
- In Gutch, II, p. 21-35.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 108-114 (No. 121).
- Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 76; Werke, 1877, V, p. 225-235.
- Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon. *Variant title for* Robin Hood, Will Scarlet and Little John.
784. Robin Hood and the ranger.
Ballad, 23 stanzas.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 133-137.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 200, 1810, II, p. 220-224.
- In Gutch, II, p. 272-276.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 152-154 (No. 131).
- For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W; RIMBAULT, E. F.
786. Robin Hood and the Scotchman.
Ballad, 7 stanzas. Originally as conclusion to Robin Hood newly revived, and is appended as such to the Roxburghe (III, 18, 19), Wood (401, 27 verso), and Pepys (II, 101, n. 88) exemplars of Robin Hood newly revived.
- In Gutch, II, p. 132-133, as note to Robin Hood and the stranger (i.e. Robin Hood newly revived).
- Gutch reprinted it from Ritson, 1795, II, p. 71-72, who had also appended it as a note to Robin Hood and the stranger.
- Ritson stated that these 7 stanzas were included only in early editions
- Another version, 7 stanzas, agreeing with the first version in stanzas 1-3, in Gutch, II, p. 392-393. Taken from an Irish garland, printed at Monaghan, 1796. Not seen (by Gutch, 1847) in any other collection.
- Both versions in Child, 1883-98, III, p. 150-151 (No. 130).
- See also under РѢСЬ, F.

788. Robin Hood and the shepherd, showing how Robin Hood, Little John and the shepherd fought a sore combat [London, 1670²].
 Ballad, 28 stanzas. Black-letter. Roxburghe, II, 392
- Roxburghe, III, 284
- London, Printed for John Andrews, at the White Lion, in Pye-corner [ca.1656] Wood, 401, 13 verso.
- London, For William Thackeray, at the Angel, in Duck-lane. [later than edition above] Pepys, II, 115, n. 102.
- Douce, III, 115.
- Jersey, II, 267 = Lindes, 27
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 136, 1810, II, p. 132-136.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 52-57.
- In Gutch, II, p. 203-208
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 165-167 (No. 135).
 For the music, see under RIMBAULT, E. F.
- Robin Hood and the sheriff. *See under* Robin Hood rescuing three squires.
- Robin Hood and the stranger. Earliest title for Robin Hood newly revived *See under* the latter title.
790. Robin Hood and the tanner. London, W. Gilbertson.
 Ballad, 37 stanzas Wood, 401, 9 verso.
- London, W. Gilbertson. Pepys, II, III, n. 98.
- Ballad society's reprint of the Roxburghe ballads, p. 502-503. (Not in Roxburghe collection)
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 112; 1810, II, p. 113-119.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 30-37.
- In Gutch, II, p. 181-188.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 137-140 (No. 126).
- Translation (German) in Auersperg Robin Hood, p. 117; Werke, 1877, V, p. 261-266.
 For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.
792. Robin Hood and the tanner's daughter. In Gutch, II, p. 344-350.
 Ballad, 31 stanzas. Transmitted to Gutch by J. Payne Collier
- In Ritson, 1862, p. 306-310.
 Robin Hood and the tinker. Title here used is: A new song to drive away cold winter. *See under* this title
794. Robin Hood and the valiant knight.
 Ballad, 21 stanzas. Douce, HH, 88.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 232; 1810, II, p. 258-261.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 178-182

——— In Gutch, II, p. 307-311.

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 225-226 (No. 153).

——— Translation (French) In Loève-Weimars, p. 219.

795. Robin Hood ballads.

Six notes have appeared in Notes and queries on this subject, as follows: series 3, vol. 8, p. 88, July 29, 1865; series 3, vol. 8, p. 158, Aug. 19, 1865; series 3, vol. 8, p. 199, Sept. 2, 1865; series 3, vol. 8, p. 257, Sept. 23, 1865; series 4, vol. 1, p. 148, Feb. 15, 1868; vol. 161, p. 333, Nov. 7, 1931.

796. Robin Hood ballads. Illustrated with engravings on wood, by an eminent artist.
London, 1840. b,3

797 Robin Hood bibliography.

See items in Notes and queries as follows: series 11, vol. 5, p. 29, Jan. 13, 1912; series 11, vol. 5, p. 94, Feb. 3, 1912; series 11, vol. 5, p. 296, Apr. 13, 1912; series 11, vol. 8, p. 203-204, Sept. 13, 1913 (W. A. Frost and Alfred Armitage); series 11, vol. 8, p. 297, Oct. 11, 1913 (H. G. Emery); series 11, vol. 8, p. 313-314, Oct. 18, 1913 (J. B. McGovern); series 11, vol. 8, p. 378, Nov. 6, 1913 (W. A. Frost); series 11, vol. 9, p. 498, June 20, 1914 (C. H. Crouch); series 11, vol. 12, p. 170, Aug. 28, 1915 (J. Ardagh); series 12, vol. 1, p. 427, May 27, 1916 (J. Ardagh); v. 166, p. 266, Apr. 14, 1934 (J. W. Fawcett).

798. Robin Hood in French.

See items in Notes and queries as follows: series 9, vol. 11, p. 169, Feb. 28, 1903; series 9, vol. 11, p. 258, Mar. 28, 1903 (T. P. Armstrong); series 9, vol. 11, p. 410, May 23, 1903 (J. B. McGovern); series 10, vol. 5, p. 468, June 16, 1906 (J. B. McGovern); series 10, vol. 6, p. 16, July 7, 1906; series 10, vol. 6, p. 135, Aug. 18, 1906.

799. Robin Hood library, n.p., n.d.

- * 46 numbered issues, one penny each, each with different title, each in 32 p.
Nos. 1-23 in v. [1]; nos. 24-46 in v. [2] 21cm.

Each number with col. cover.

Each number a separate story, and forms a separate book.

List:

1. Sweet liberty or death, by Alfred S. Burrage.
2. Robin Hood and the tyrant of Nottingham, by Alfred S. Burrage.
3. The fighting friar of Sherwood forest, by Alfred S. Burrage.
4. Robin Hood to the rescue, by Alfred S. Burrage.
5. Will Scarlet the brave, by Alfred S. Burrage.
6. The battle of the giants, by Alfred S. Burrage.
7. 'Twixt axe and freedom, by Alfred S. Burrage
8. Robin Hood's great shot, by Alfred S. Burrage.
9. The tyrant of Blackmoor castle, by Alfred S. Burrage.
10. Robin Hood's call to arms, by Alfred S. Burrage.
11. The great fight in Sherwood forest, by Charles E. Brand.
12. The dungeons of despair, by Roderick Dare.

13. Robin Hood and the red fox of Tirlstone, by Charles E. Brand.
 14. From the jaws of death, by Alfred S. Burrage.
 15. For Richard and the right, by Charles E. Brand.
 16. In desperate plight, by Roderic Dare.
 17. The demon of the forest, by Alfred S. Burrage.
 18. Sons of the brave, by Alfred S. Burrage.
 19. Robin Hood and Bede the wrestler, by H. Philpott Wright.
 20. The branded arrow, by Escott Lynn.
 21. In the lion's mouth, by Charles E. Brand.
 22. The witch of Epping forest, by Charles E. Brand.
 23. The knight of the forest, by Escott Lynn.
 24. The outlaw of the fens, by H. Philpott Wright.
 25. Friar Tuck's bold foray, by H. Philpott Wright.
 26. The lord of the wolves, by Singleton Pound.
 27. The wizard's tower, by Charles E. Brand.
 28. Against Norman steel, by Escott Lynn.
 29. Outlaw and king, by Escott Lynn.
 30. The prentice bowmen of Nottingham, by Singleton Pound.
 31. A mighty foe, by H. P. Wright.
 32. The jester's secret, by Singleton Pound.
 33. The grey wolf of Windsor, by Charles E. Brand.
 34. The scourge of the forest, by Escott Lynn.
 35. The black-cross knight, by H. Philpott Wright.
 36. A life for a ransom, by Singleton Pound.
 37. Beset by foes, by Escott Lynn.
 38. The peril of the king, by Escott Lynn.
 39. With Lion heart the brave, by Escott Lynn.
 40. Sherwood ho, by Escott Lynn.
 41. Little John the dauntless, by A. W. Bradley.
 42. Through foam to freedom, by A. W. Bradley.
 43. To the king's rescue, by A. W. Bradley.
 44. Brave Hal of Harding, by G. C. Glover.
 45. The bowmen of England, by G. C. Glover.
 46. A felon stroke, by G. C. Glover.
- No. 46 advertises a 47th.

† ——— 76 issues [1902-1905]. 14

This item the complete set, of which nos. 1-46 listed above.

800. Robin Hood library [of tales] London, 1919 b,3
 "In progress."

What connection, if any, this title may have with entry above, has not been determined.

802. Robin Hood newly revived. London, Printed for Richard Burton at the sign of the Horshoe in West-Smith-field.

Ballad, 25 stanzas. Roxburghe, III, 18, 19.

——— London, Clarke, Thackeray and Passenger [1750?] Pepys, II, 101, n. 88.

——— Roxburghe, III, 408.

——— Wood, 401, 27 verso.

——— Douce, III, 120b.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 143; 1810, II, p. 137-142.

Title: Robin Hood's meeting and fighting with his cousin Scarlet.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 66-70. (See note below.)

——— In Gutch, II, p. 128-132. (See note below.)

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 144-147 (No. 128).

The earliest title for this ballad was Robin Hood and the stranger, and it is reprinted under this title in both Ritson and Gutch.

For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.

The second part of this ballad, 58 stanzas, is given by Child, 1883-98, III, p. 147-150, under the title: Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon, though the customary title was: Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John. See under this title.

Early printings omitted this second part, but did include 7 extra stanzas, as conclusion, which Child reprinted, III, p. 150-151, as Robin Hood and the Scotchman. For fuller discussion of this title, see under Robin Hood and the Scotchman, no 786.

803. Robin Hood of Sherwood forest. London, Wells, Gardner, Darton & co., 1933. illus. 2/-.

804. Robin Hood; or, The merry men of Sherwood forest. A sylvan drama, by an experienced amateur. London [1871].

8 vo.

b,3

In one act, in verse

——— New York, Happy hours co. [1871?]

15 cents.

1

Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons. See Robin Hood rescuing three squires.

806. Robin Hood rescuing three squires
Ballad. 3 versions, all in Child, 1883-98, III, p. 177-185 (No. 140).
Version A, 18 stanzas.

Version B, 29 stanzas. Title: Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 215; 1810, II, p. 235-240.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 151-156.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 248-254.

Version C, 19 stanzas. Title: Robin Hood rescuing three squires.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 216-219.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 155-158.

In Child, the ballad has an appendix: Robin Hood and the sheriff, which is in the Kinloch mss, V, 288.

Translations (German)

——— In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 135; Werke, 1877, V, p. 278-282.

——— In Doenniges, p 135.

——— In Knortz, n. 19.

——— In Robinson, p. 489.

This ballad should not be confused with Robin Hood rescuing three brethren, which is the second part of Robin Hood and the beggar (I)

- 808 Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly.
Ballad, 38 stanzas. Wood, 401, leaf 35b.

——— Pepys, II, 106, n. 93

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p 164; 1810, II, p. 176-182

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p 102-109

——— In Gutch, II, p. 158-164

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 185-187 (No. 141).

For the music, see under RIMBAULT, E. F.

810. Robin Hood rides upon the screen In Literary digest, v 75, p. 32-33, Nov. 18, 1922.

Robin Hood, Scarlet and John; wherein you may see how Robin Hood, having lived an out-law for many years, the Queen sent for him, and shooting a match before the King and Queen at London, and winning the rich prize, the Queen gained his pardon, and he was afterwards Earl of Huntington. See Robin Hood and Queen Katherine

811. ROBIN HOOD SOCIETY.

[The Robin Hood society was composed of eminent wits, who met every Monday night, at the sign of the Robin Hood in Butcher Row, St. Clements, where they had a room in which to debate, each speaker being allowed five minutes in which to hold argument. The society had little or nothing to do with Robin Hood himself, except the use of his name, and it is even doubtful if the group actually existed.]

See also Notes and queries, series 2, vol. 5, p. 71, Jan. 22, 1858; series 5, vol. 8, p. 351, Nov. 10, 1877; series 5, vol 9, p. 257, Mar. 30, 1878; series 5, vol. 9, p. 476, June 15, 1878; series 5, vol. 10, p 279, Oct 5, 1878, series 5, vol. 10, p. 525, Dec. 28, 1878; series 7, vol. 2, p. 268, Oct. 2, 1886; series 7, vol. 2, p. 376, Nov. 6, 1886 (A. M. Galer), series 7, vol. 2, p. 516, Dec. 25, 1886; series 11, vol. 5, p. 367, May 11, 1912 (J. B. McGovern); series 11, vol 5, p. 474, June 15, 1912 (Tom Jones).

Titles as follows (Nos. 812-820)

812. . . . Defence of the Robin Hood society London, Burd, 1764
1/6.

5,6

"A defence against calumnies and misrepresentations of a late author." Supposedly written by a member of the society.

814. The history of the Robin Hood society In which the origin of that illustrious
* body of men is traced; the method of managing their debates is shewn; the
† memoirs of the various members that compose it are given; and some original
speeches, as specimens of their oratorical abilities, are recorded. Chiefly compiled
from original papers . . . London, James Fletcher and co., 1764.
xu, 246 p. 17cm.

i,5,6,14

816. Memoirs of the stated speakers of the Robin Hood society, with specimens of several of their speeches. London, 1751. 6
This title afterwards became part of *The history . . .* 2
818. . . . Robin Hood society, a satire, with notes variorum, by Peter Porence, esq. [pseud.] London, 1756. 6
820. Secret history of the Robin Hood society. London, 1764. 6
Not seen. Perhaps same as *History of . . .* above.
821. Robin Hood springs. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 8, vol. 10, p. 95, Aug. 1, 1896. .
Robin Hood turned beggar. *See* Robin Hood and the beggar.
822. Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John; or, A narrative of their victory obtained against the Prince of Aragon and the two giants, and how Will Scadlock married the princess. London, By and for W. O. [1670?] 6
Ballad, 58 stanzas. Roxburghe, I, 358, 359.
—— London, By and For W. O. [1670?] Pepys, II, 120, n. 106.
—— London [ca.1750?] without printer's name. Roxburghe, III, 582.
—— In Evans 1810, II, p. 142-152.
As second part of Robin Hood's meeting and fighting with his cousin Scarlet. (Variant title for Robin Hood newly revived.)
—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 71-82. (See note below.)
—— In Gutch, II, p. 132-142. (See note below.)
—— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 147-150 (No. 129)
Title. Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon.
Ritson and Gutch reprint this ballad without title, as the second part of Robin Hood and the stranger (variant title for Robin Hood newly revived).
823. Robin Hood wind.
See items in Notes and queries as follows: series 4, vol 5, p 58, Jan. 15, 1870 (H. Fishwick); series 4, vol. 11, p. 303, Apr. 12, 1873 (Robert Holland), series 4, vol. 11, p. 390, May 10, 1873, series 7, vol. 11, p. 248, Mar. 28, 1891 (Herbert Hardy); series 7, vol. 11, p. 310, Apr. 18, 1891 (Thomas Ratcliffe); series 7, vol. 11, p. 353, May 2, 1891; series 12, vol. 10, p. 378, May 13, 1922 (Arthur Bowes); series 12, vol. 10, p. 411-412, May 27, 1922 (William Self-Weeks).
Robin Hoode, his death. *See* Robin Hood's death and burial.
824. Robin Hood's adventures. London [1902?] 14
+ (Tit-bits monster penny books)
826. Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valour and marriage. London, J. Wright, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger [1650-1680] Pepys, II, 116, n. 103
Ballad, 55 stanzas.
—— London, Printed by and for W. O., and are to be sold by the book-sellers [1650-1680] Roxburghe, I, 360, 361.
Title: A new ballad of bold Robin Hood, shewing his birth, breeding, valour and marriage, at Titbury bull-running; Calculated for the meridian of Staffordshire, but may serve for Derbyshire or Kent.

- London, Alexander Milbourn [1650-1680] Pepys, II, 118, n. 104
- In Dryden. *Miscellany poems*, v. 6, p. 346
See under DRYDEN, JOHN.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 86; 1810, II, p. 87-96
Title Pedigree, education and parentage of Robin Hood.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 1-11
- In Gutch, II, p. 111-121.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 214-217 (No. 149)
- Translation (German) In Auersperg *Werke*, 1877, V, p. 207-210.
828. Robin Hood's bowmen
Rules and orders of the society named Robin Hood's bowmen. A.D. 1787.
London, 1790.
16° b,3
829. Robin Hood's chapel in Barnesdale. [Note] In *Notes and queries*, series 7, vol. 1, p. 64, Jan. 28, 1886; series 7, vol. 1, p. 256, Mar. 27, 1886.
830. Robin Hood's chase; or, A merry progress between Robin Hood and King Henry: Shewing how Robin Hood led the King his chase, from London to Chester, and back again to London; and when he had spoken with the Queen, he returned to merry Sherwood. London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke [1680?].
Ballad, 24 stanzas. Roxburghe, III, 14, 418.
- Wood, 401, 29 verso. Signed T. R., i.e. Thomas Robins (?)
- Pepys, II, 104, n. 91.
- Douce, III, 121 verso.
- Jersey, II, 224 = Lindes, 279.
- In Evans, 1777, I, p. 156; 1810, II, p. 167-171.
- In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 92-96.
- In Gutch, II, p. 214-218.
- In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 205-207 (No. 146).
- Translation (German) In Auersperg. *Robin Hood*, p. 169; *Werke*, 1877, V, p. 310-312.
Omits stanzas 1-7, 24
For the music, see under CHAPPELL, W.; RIMBAULT, E. F.
832. Robin Hood's courtship with Jack Cade's daughter; and, The frieris tragedy. Aberdeen, Published and sold by William Robertson [1822?].
- † ——— ed. by T. G. S. [i.e., T. G. Stevenson].
vi, 10 p. 8 vo. b,3.14
30 copies printed at Edinburgh, 1883.
With facsimile of original title page.
British Museum copy dated 1886?

—— Robin Hood's courtship with Jack Cade's daughter, ballad, 25 stanzas, reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 360-368.

834. Robin Hood's death and burial.

Ballad. Version A, 27 stanzas; version B, 21 stanzas. Both in Child, 1883-98, III, p. 102-107 (No. 120).

Editions of B.

—— Douce, F. F. 71 (6)

—— Douce, F. F. 71 (4)

—— In Evans, 1810, II, p. 262-265.

—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 183-187.

—— In Gutch, II, p. 312-316.

—— Translation (French) In: *Magasin pittoresque*, 1838, p. 126.

—— Translation (French) In *Loève-Veimars*, p. 223.

—— Translation (German) In *Auersperg. Robin Hood*, p. 200; *Werke*, 1877, V, p. 337-340

—— Translation (German) In *Knortz*, n. 20.

—— Translation (Italian) In *Cantù*, V, III, p. 801

For the music, see under RIMBAULT, E. F.

836. Robin Hood's delight.

Ballad, 24 stanzas. Wood, 401, leaf 41b.

—— Pepys, II, 112, n. 99.

—— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 176; 1810, II, p. 188-192.

—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 116-121; music, II, p. 219-220.

—— In Gutch, II, p. 225-229.

—— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 168-170 (No. 136).

—— Translation (French) in *Loève-Veimars*, p. 199

For the music, see under RIMBAULT, E. F.

Robin Hood's entertainment of the Bishop of Hereford See *Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford*

837. Robin Hood's festival. [Note] In: *Notes and queries*, series 1, vol. 8, p. 622, Dec. 24, 1853.

838. ROBIN HOOD'S GARLAND.

[This work, a chap-book, was issued in many forms, by numerous publishers, over a period of years. It is likely that many of the following editions are identical, yet the bibliographic information available has not been sufficient to identify each title perfectly. Titles and editions as follows (numbered arbitrarily), arrangement alphabetical and chronological, no-date titles preceding.]

- † [1]
Celebrated songs of the renowned Robin Hood. Belfast, Simms and McIntyre
[1840?]. 14
- [2]
The English archer, or, Robert, Earl of Huntington, vulgarly called Robin Hood.
Edinburgh, 1749. 6,12
- [3]
——— Falkirk, D. Reid, 1779. b,3
96 p. 12°
- † [3a]
——— Glasgow, Printed for George Caldwell, 1782. 14
- † [4]
——— Paisley, Printed by John Neilson for George Caldwell, bookseller, near
the Cross, 1786. h,13,14
- [5]
——— Monaghan, 1796. b,3
12°
- [6]
——— York, Printed by N. Nickson in Feasegate, n.d. h,13
- † [7]
——— Edinburgh, A. Robertson [1800?]. 14
- † [8]
——— Newry, J. Stevenson, 1815 14
- [9]
The English archer; or, Robin Hood's garland. [ed. by S— M—] Lichfield,
M. Morgan [18-?]. a,d,g,2
4, 91 p. wdct. 16°
See also under Adventures of Robert, Earl of Huntington. Possibly same work
as this.
- † [10]
Robin Hood's garland. How, n.d. h,6,13,14
- [11]
——— London, J. Marshall & co., Aldermay churchyard, n.d. d,13
- [12]
——— London, R. Marshall & co., Aldermay churchyard, Bow Lane, n.d. d,13
- [13]
——— Wolverhampton, Printed and sold by J. Smart, n.d. h,13
- [14]
——— York, T. Wilson and R. Spence, n.d. h,13
- † [15]
——— London, J. Clarke [and others] 1744. 14

- [16]
 — Printed by C. Dicey in Bow churchyard, n.d. (Before 1741) h,13
- [17]
 — n.p., n.pub., 1749. d,13
- [18]
 — Printed by C. Dicey, in St. Mary Aldermary churchyard, Bow Lane, Cheapside, and sold at the warehouse in Northhampton, n.d. [ca.1753]. h,13
- [19]
 — London, R. Marshall, 1760.
 wdct. b,3.6
- † [19a]
 — Birmingham, Printed by Esther Butler, 1765. 14
- [20]
 — Sympson [1770²].
 8 vo. b,3
- [21]
 — Cluer, Dicey & co. [London, 1780²]
 87 p. 4to. b,3
- [22]
 — Hull [1790²].
 12° b,3
- † [23]
 — Nottingham, C. Sutton, 1794. 14
- [24]
 — Whitchurch [1799-1800]. b,3
- [25]
 — Preston [1800²].
 12°
- [26]
 — London [1800²]
 "Printed for the booksellers." b,h,3,13
- † [27]
 — York, T. Wilson and R. Spence, 1805. 14
- † [28]
 — London, T. Sabine and son [1810²]. 14
- † [29]
 — York, J. Kendrew [1810²]. 14
- [30]
 — York, Strettell, 1811. b,3,6
- [31]
 Robin Hood's garland; being a compleat history of all the clever & merry exploits

performed by him and his men. containing an account of his birth, life, and death. London. T Sabine [1780²]

60 p. wdcts

b,d,g,3

Possibly no. [28] above²

[32]

Robin Hood's garland: being a compleat history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on divers occasions. [London, T Sabine, 1789²]

93 p engr front wdcts

b,d,g,3

Possibly no. [28] above²

† [33]

———— Same, [1810²].

12°

b,3,14

* [34]

Robin Hood's garland: being a complete history of all the clever and merry exploits performed by him and his men. containing an account of his birth, life, and death . . Derby, Published by Thomas Richardson; London, Simpkin and Marshall, n.d.

87 p. engrs. 14cm.

† [35]

———— Same, Derby, London and Dublin, T. Richardson and son [1850²]. 14

[36]

Robin Hood's garland; being a complete history of all the exploits performed by him and his men [With] a preface giving a more full account of his birth, &c than any hitherto published London, n.d.

87 p. vigns.

[37]

———— Same; London, n.d.

91 p. vigns.

[38]

Robin Hood's garland; being a complete history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on divers occasions. Newcastle, M. Angus and son [1810²].

95 p. wdcts.

d,g

† [39]

Robin Hood's garland; being a complete history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on divers occasions. Stirling, C Randall, 1811.

92 p. wdcts.

d,g,14

[40]

Robin Hood's garland; being a complete history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on divers occasions. To which is added, a preface, giving a particular account of his birth, life, &c. Nottingham [1770²].

8vo.

b,3

† [41]

———— Same; Nottingham, G Burbage, 1792.

2, 62 p. wdcts.

b,d,g,3,14

- † [42]
 ——— Same [1794²]. 6
- † [42a]
 Robin Hood [’s garland]: being a complete history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on many occasions. London, Wm. Darton, Jr., 1818
 engr. (dated 1821) 14
- [43]
 Robin Hood’s garland; being a complete history of all the notable and merry exploits performed by him and his men on many occasions. New and much improved edition. Kidderminster. Printed by Gower and Pennell For Howard and Evans, London [17-²].
 96 p. wdcts. d,g
- [44]
 Robin Hood’s garland; being a complete history of all the notable exploits performed by him and his men: to which is added a preface London, n.d.
 96 p. wdcts. d
- † [45]
 Robin Hood’s garland; being a complete history of all the notable exploits performed by him and his men, in which is given a preface: containing a more full and particular account of his birth, &c., than any hitherto published. York, Printed by and for Thomas Wilson and son, High Ousegate, 1809.
 iv, 5-106 p f
- * [46]
 † ——— Same; 1811.
 iv, 5-106 p d,g
- * [47]
 † Robin Hood’s garland; being a complete history of all the notable exploits performed by him and his merry men, to which is prefixed a full account of his birth, &c. [Colophon: Printed by and for J. Kendrew, Colliergate, York] [1800²]
 108 p. 25 engr. sewn. 15cm. 6,14
- [48]
 Robin Hood’s garland, containing his merry exploits and the several fights which he, Little John, and Will Scarlet had, upon several occasions. [London, 1700²]
 8vo. Black-letter b,3
- [49]
 Robin Hood’s garland, containing his merry exploits, and the several fights which he, Little John, and Will Scarlet had, upon several occasions. Some of them never before printed. [London] Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright, 1670.
 16 ballads. h,13
- [50]
 Robin Hood’s garland; or, delightful songs shewing the noble exploits of Robin Hood, and his yeomandrie. With new editions and emendations. London, Printed for W. Gilbertson, at the Bible in Gilt-spur-street without Newgate, 1663.
 17 ballads. Wood collection 13



23. *The Bishop of Hereford's Entertainment by Robin Hood, and Little John, &c. in merry Barnsdale.*

SOME they will talk of bold Robin Hood,
 and some of barons bold ;
 But I'll tell you how he serv'd the bishop of Hereford,
 when he robb'd him of all his gold.
 As it befel, in merry Barnsdale,
 and under the green wood tree ;
 The bishop of Hereford was to come by,
 with all his company.
 Come, kill a venison. then said Robin Hood,
 come kill me a good fat deer,
 The bishop of Hereford's to dine with me to day,
 and he shall pay for his cheer.
 We'll kill of the venison, said bold Robin Hood,
 and dress it by the highway side,
 And we'll watch the bishop narrowly,
 lest some other way he may ride.
 Robin Hood dress'd himself in shepherd's array,
 and fix of his men also,
 And when the bishop of Hereford came by,
 they about the fire did go.
 O what is the matter then said the bishop,
 or for whom do you make this ado,
 Or why do you kill the king's venison,
 and your company is so few.
 We are shepherds, said bold Robin Hood,
 and keep sheep all the year ;

*Page from Robin Hood's Garland, No. 838 [47] Beginning of
 the Ballad Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.*

[51]

Robin Hood's garland; or, Sherwood songster. A collection of pastoral and elegant songs, sung by the nymphs and shepherds of the groves and plains. London, 1787.

Not seen. May not be the well-known garland

[52]

Robin Hood's garland; to which is added a preface, giving a more full and particular account of his birth . . . Nantwich [1790²]. b,3,6,12

[53]

Robin Hood's garland; to which is added three original songs which has [*sic*] not been printed in any edition for upwards of an hundred years. London [1750²]. 12° b,3

ROBIN HOOD'S GARLAND. *See also* Life and adventures of Robin Hood; Life and exploits of Robin Hood; Life of Robin Hood.

839. Robin Hood's hill. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 1, vol. 6, p. 599, Dec. 25, 1852.

840. Robin Hood's golden prize, shewing how he robbed two priests of five hundred pound. London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke, 1674.

Ballad, 24 stanzas. Roxburghe, III, 12, 486.

Dated 1674, but the true date should be 1656, as it was entered to F. Grove June 2d of that year, but not printed because of the Puritan interdict.

—— London, Printed for F. Grove on Snow-hill; entered according to order, L. P. [i.e. Lawrence Price]. Wood, 401, 39 verso.

—— London, Printed for Wm. Thackeray. Pepys, II, 114, n 101.

—— Douce, III, 121.

—— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 160; 1810, II, p. 171-175.

—— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 97-101.

—— In Gutch, II, p. 209-213.

—— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 208-210 (No. 147).

—— Translation (German) In Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 131; Werke, 1877, V, p. 274-277.

—— Translation (German) In Doenniges, p. 198.

Robin Hood's meeting and fighting with his cousin Scarlet. *See* Robin Hood newly revived.

841. Robin Hood's men in May games [Notes] In: Notes and queries, series 11, vol. 1, p. 346, Apr. 30, 1910 (Ethel Lega-Weekes); series 11, vol. 1, p. 493, June 18, 1910 (A. Rhodes); series 11, vol. 2, p. 16, July 2, 1910; series 11, vol. 2, p. 79, July 23, 1910.

842. Robin Hood's name and fame. [Notes] In: Notes and queries, series 1, vol. 2, p. 321, Oct. 9, 1850 (Richard John King); series 1, vol. 6, p. 97, July 31, 1852; series 1, vol. 6, p. 597, Dec. 24, 1852, series 1, vol. 7, p. 162, Feb. 12, 1853 (John Dalton Curtis).

Robin Hood's penerthes *See under* HOUGHTON, WILLIAM.

843. Robin Hood's "pennieworths." [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 2, vol. 11, p. 310, Apr. 20, 1861.

See also under HOUGHTON, WILLIAM.

Robin Hood's preferment. *See* The noble fisherman: or, Robin Hood's preferment.

844. Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham. London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright [ca.1660].

Ballad, 18 stanzas Roxburghe, III, 270.

——— London, For Fran. Grove, and entered according to order, [1620-50] Wood, 402, 14 verso.

——— London, Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright. Wood, 401, 87.

——— London, J. Clarke, W. Thackeray, and T. Passenger. Pepys, II, 104, n. 92.

——— Roxburghe, III, 845.

——— Douce, III, 120.

——— Euing, 306.

——— Lindes, 1031.

——— In Evans, 1777, I, p. 96; 1810, II, p. 97-100.

——— In Ritson, 1795, II, p. 12-15.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 122-126.

——— In Child, 1883-98, III, p. 175-177 (No. 139).

——— Translation (German) in Auersperg. Robin Hood, p. 61; Werke, 1877, V, p. 211-214.

——— Translation (German) in Doenniges, p. 170.

Robin Hood's stride. *See* ACKERLEY, FRED G.

Robin Hood's well. *See under* GUTCH, J. M.

845. Robin of Sherwood, and other stories; with illustrations in color by Rowland Wheelwright, and in black and white by Edward Shenton. Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & company [c1923].

4 p.l., [7]-118 p. col. front., plates (part col.) 20cm* [The Franklin classics]
75 cents. 23-15168 a.1,2

846. Robin the bold. New York, Pott, Young & co.
50 cents. In print 1876. 1

848. Robin Whood and King Richard. In: ms. by F. Peck, apparently taken from the prose story Whole life and merry exploits of bold Robin Hood. *See under* this title, also PECK, F.
18 stanzas.

850. Robin Whood revived. In: ms. by F. Peck, apparently taken from Robin Hood and the Scotchman.
Ballad, 8 stanzas. *See under* PECK, F.

852. [ROBINSON, MRS THERESE ALBERTINE LOUISE (VON JACOB) 1797-1870]
 Versuch einer geschichtlichen Charakteristik der Volkslieder germanischer Nationen mit einer Uebersicht der Lieder aussereuropaischer Volkerschaften, von Talvj [pseud.] Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1840.
 xvi, 614 p. 1 l. 21 cm. 15-1228 a,2
 Contains German translations of: Robin Hood rescuing three squires, p. 489
 ——— Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford, p. 493.
853. Robyn Hode and Kyngge Richarde; or A pleasant relation how Robyn Hode and hys merrye men met Kyngge Richarde in Sherwood forest; howe they brought the Kyngge homeward to the grene wode to dyne, and various pleasaunte devices relatynge thereto; — to the tune of "Arthur a Bland." In: Fraser's magazine, v. 19, p. 593-603, May, 1839.
 Review in Westminster review, v. 33, p. 424-491, 1840. (Signed: G. F.)
854. RODGERS, JOSEPH.
 * The scenery of Sherwood forest with an account of some eminent people once
 † resident there, by Joseph Rodgers. London, T. F. Unwin, 1908
 xiii, 445 p. incl. front., plates, ports., map. 2 geneal. tab. 27cm.
 Price: New York, Doubleday, \$7.50. A10-2459 a,1,2
 Contains: Sherwood forest, p. 7-19 ——— Robin Hood, p. 21-52 ——— Robin Hood and Allin a' Dale [reprint of the ballad] p. 53-58.
- ROGERS, JAMES HOTCHKISS, 1857- See under DEKOVEN, REGINALD (piano solos).
856. Rose the red, and white lilly. In: Scott, Sir Walter. Minstrelsy of the Scottish border, v. 2, p. 434. See under Scott.
 Ballad, 60 stanzas.
 ——— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 376-388.
 ——— A different version, in: Buchan, Peter. Ancient ballads and songs, v. 2, p. 66-75 (55 stanzas).
 Robin Hood is a character in this ballad.
 Apparently founded on the same story as The wedding of Robin Hood and Little John.
858. ROTH, PAUL.
 † The film till now, a survey of the cinema, by Paul Roth. London, J. Cape [1930].
 362 p. front., plates. 22½ cm. 31-26539 a,1,2,14
 Contains brief references to the film of Robin Hood, p. 26, 108-110, 133.
- ROXBURGHE, JOHN KER, 3d duke of, 1740-1804. See under ROXBURGHE BALLADS.
- ROXBURGHE BALLADS. A collection of ballads, originally formed by Robert Harvey, earl of Oxford, and augmented by successive owners, among them, John, Duke of Roxburghe. Now in the British Museum. Referred to under ballad titles in this list as "Roxburghe."
860. The Roxburghe ballads . . . Hertford, Printed for the Ballad society by S. Austin and sons; 1871-99.
 9 v. fronts., illus. 23cm. (On back cover: Ballad society. Publications. no. 4-6, 8-9, 12-13, 18-19, 21-38.) 2-1460 a,2
 Issued in 27 parts, 1869-99.

Vol. I has imprint London: Printed for the Ballad society by Taylor and co.
 Vols. 4-5. 7-9 have title: The Roxburghe ballads. illustrating the last years of the Stuarts.

A "final part 28" (v. 10) to contain "General index to historical names," was announced, but never published?—cf. cover of pt. 27.

Contains [Parenthetical notes refer to identification nos. in the broadside collection in the British Museum] v. 2, part 3: Renowned Robin Hood; or, Robin Hood and Queen Katherine, p. 418-425 (Rox. I, 356, 357; III, 450) ——— Robin Hood newly revived; or, Robin Hood and the stranger, p. 426-431 (Rox. III, 18, 19) ——— Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John, p. 431-440 (Rox. I, 358, 359, III, 582) ——— Robin Hood's birth, breeding, etc., p. 440-448 (Rox. I, 360, 361) ——— Robin Hood and the bishop, p. 449-453 (Rox. I, 362, 363) ——— v. 8, part 2, t.-p.: Second and final group of Robin Hood ballads (Roxburghe collection) Dedicated to two most warmly esteemed friends, Frederic George Stephens and Joseph Grego, valued for their supreme knowledge of "The humorous in art," practice and history; and as true helpers in all worthy literature. ——— Robin Hood's story, from Drayton's Polyolbion, song 26, 1613, p. 482 ——— The Robin Hood ballads, p. 483-485 ——— The noble fisher-man; or, Robin Hood's preferment, p. 486-489 (Rox. II, 370) ——— Robin Hood and the shepherd, p. 490-492 (Rox. II, 392) ——— Robin Hood and Allin of Dale, p. 493-496 (Rox. II, 394) ——— Little John and the four beggars, p. 497-499 (Rox. III, 10) ——— Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham, p. 499-501 (Rox. III, 270) ——— Robin Hood and the tanner, p. 502-503. ——— Robin Hood and Little John, p. 504-508 (Rox. III, 728) ——— Robin Hood's golden prize, p. 509-511 (Rox. III, 12, 486) ——— Robin Hood's chase, p. 512-514 (Rox. III, 14, 418) ——— Robin Hood and the beggar [fragment] p. 515-516 ——— Robin Hood and the beggar, p. 517-520 (Rox. III, 20) ——— The famous battle between Robin Hood and the curtal fryer, p. 521-525 (Rox. III, 16) ——— Robin Hood and Friar Tuck, p. 525-526 [from Percy folio, garbled fragment] ——— A new song to drive away cold winter, between Robin Hood and the jovial tinker, p. 527-530 (Rox. III, 22) ——— The jolly pinder of Wakefield, p. 531-532 (Rox. III, 24) ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 533-534 [mutilated. From Percy folio ms.] ——— Robin Hood and the butcher, p. 535-537 (Rox. III, 259) ——— Fragmentary ms. of Robin Hood and the monk, p. 538 ——— Other ballads on Robin Hood [not in Roxburghe collection] List of 15, p. 538-539 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial [summary of an early, but mutilated version, in Percy folio ms., p. 21].

862. The Roxburghe ballads. Ed. by Charles Hindley . . . London, Reeves and Turner, 1873-74.

2 v. front., illus. 26cm.

1-3125 a,2

Vol. 2, p. 385-432 incorrectly numbered p. 285-332.

864. RUCKDESCHEL, [JOHANN] ALBERT, 1865-

Die Quellen des Dramas "The downfall & the death of Robert, earle of Huntington, otherwise called Robin Hood". . . Erlangen, Buchdr. von F. Junge (Junge & sohn), 1897.

2 p. l., 72 p. 22cm.

19-8974 a,2

Inaug.-diss.-Erlangen.

865. RUTLEY, CECILY M.

* Stories of Robin Hood and his merry men; retold . . . illus. by M. W. Taylor.

† London, The R[eligious] T[ract] S[ociety] office [1927].

95 p. front., 1 pl. 19cm. (The "Companion story library") 1/-.

4

- 1935.
95 p. (Dominion library) 1/-. 1
866. ST. HELEN'S, ABINGDON.
Accounts, 1566.
Have an entry "for setting up Robin Hood's bower."
See Brand's *Antiquities*.
867. ST. LAWRENCE, READING.
Accounts.
1505: "Came Robyn Hod of Handley and his company." 1507. "Robyn Hod and his company from Ffynchamsted." See also under KERRY, C.
SAINTSBURY, GEORGE EDWARD BATEMAN, 1845- See under PEACOCK, THOMAS LOVE.
Maid Marian.
868. SAMUEL, KENNETH ORMSBY, 1893-
Robin Hood and the babes in the wood, a pantomime in four acts, by K. O. Samuel . . . London, S. French, Ltd.; New York, S. French, Inc., [c1923].
48 p. 18½cm. (On cover: French's acting edition, no. 1549) 34-5503 a,1,2
SARGENT, HELEN CHILD, ed See under CHILD, FRANCIS JAMES.
869. SAUNDERS, JOHN, 1810-1895.
Robin Hood ballads. In: *People's journal*, v. 1, p. 71-260, 1846.
870. SCHELLING, FELIX EMMANUEL, 1858-
Elizabethan drama, 1558-1642. A history of the drama in England from the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the closing of the theatres, to which is prefixed a resumé of the earlier drama from its beginning. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin co. [c1908]
2 v 22½cm. 8-5140 a,2
Contains many references to the Robin Hood plays.
871. SCHELLING, FELIX EMMANUEL, 1858-
The English chronicle play. A study in the popular historical literature environing Shakespeare. New York, the Macmillan Co., 1902.
xi, 310 p. 16cm. 8-2780 a,2
Mentions Robin Hood, p. 6, 9, 15, 28, 128, 155, 157, 158, 162-164, 166, 272, especially p. 9-15, which discuss early plays. Includes some discussion of Munday's "Metropolis coronata," "Robin Hood and his crew of souldiers," and "George a Greene the pinder of Wakefield."
872. SCOTLAND. LORD HIGH TREASURER.
Accounts, 1877-1901.
v. 1, 1473-1498, ed. by Thomas Dickson; v 2-3, 1500-1504, 1506-1507, ed. by Sir J. B. Paul.
v. 2, p. 377, mentions "Robin Hude of Perth" as a May game character.
873. SCOTT, SIR WALTER, bart. 1771-1832.
The Doom of Devergoil. Edinburgh, 1830. b,3
In act 2, scene 1, character Blackthorne sings a song about Robin Hood. 2 stanzas in ballad meter.
——— Title: Doom of Devergoil, Harold the dauntless, and minor poems. Glasgow [1887]. b,3

——— Reprinted in Woods [the song] See under Woods, George Benjamin.
The play generally included in Scott's dramatic works

874. SCOTT, SIR WALTER, bart. 1771-1832.

* Ivanhoe . . . ed. for school use by William Edward Simonds . . . Chicago,
Scott, Foresman and co., c1899.

2 l., 13-620 p. 17cm (Lake English classics) 45 cents

Robin Hood and Friar Tuck are characters in this novel

Space does not permit full bibliography of this title. The Library of Congress
alone lists 52 editions of Ivanhoe.

876. SCOTT, SIR WALTER, bart. 1771-1832, ed.

Minstrelsy of the Scottish border: consisting of historical and romantic ballads.
collected in the southern counties of Scotland; with a few of modern date, founded
upon local tradition . . . Kelso, Printed by J. Ballantyne, for T. Cadell, jun. and
W. Davies. London; [etc., etc] 1802.

2 v. front. 22cm.

28-31251 a,b,2,3

Dedication signed. Walter Scott.

First edition; eight hundred copies printed, fifty of which were on large paper.
cf. Lockhart's Life of Scott, 1902 (v. 1, p. 320) Vol. III. was published at Edin-
burgh in 1803.

Contains: Rose the red, and white lily, v. 2, p. 434 See also under ballad title.

——— 2d ed. Edinburgh, Printed by J. Ballantyne, for Longman and Rees,
London, 1803.

3 v. 21½cm.

15-19156 a,2

——— 4th ed. Edinburgh, 1810

3 v.

b,3

——— Philadelphia, M. Carey, 1813

iv, [5]-312 p. 14cm.

Copy in University of Michigan library.

——— 5th ed. Edinburgh, 1921.

3 v.

b,3

——— Paris, Baudry's European library 1838.

2 v. illus. (music) 21½cm. [Collection of ancient and modern British authors.
v. 211-212]

28-17223 a,2

Caption title: The poetical works of Sir Walter Scott.

Binder's title: Scott's Poetical works. 1-[2]

——— London, T. Tegg, 1839.

lxxxiii, p., 1 l., 559, [1] p. front. (port.) 22cm.

20-7207 a,2

——— Reprint of original ed. London, 1869.

b,3

——— Reprint of original ed. London, Ward, Locke and co. [1883]

b,3

——— Title: Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish border; ed. by T. F.
Henderson. William Blackwood and sons, Edinburgh and London; Charles Scrib-
ner's sons, New York, 1902.

4 v. 23cm.

Contains: Rose the red, and white lily, v. 3, p. 264-278.

——— [First title]; edited, with a new glossary, by Thomas Henderson . . .
New York, Thomas Y. Crowell company [1931]
731 p. front. (port.) plates 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. 31-28491 a.2

——— Title. Minstrelsy of the Scottish border, with notes and introduction by
Sir Walter Scott; revised and edited by T. F. Henderson . . . Edinburgh, London,
Oliver and Boyd, 1932.

4 v. front. (port.) 21 cm. 33-1100 a.2
Copy in University of Michigan library.

SCOTT, SIR WALTER. *See also* under GUTCH, JOHN MATHEW; LOEVE-VEIMARS,
FRANCOIS.

878. A Search for Robin Hood. In: Chambers' Edinburgh journal, v. 18, p. 136-139,
1852.

879. SELF-WEEKS, WILLIAM.

Robin Hood wind. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 12, vol. 10, p. 411-412,
May 27, 1922.

See also Robin Hood wind, *supra*.

SHERWOOD FORESTER, [pseud] *See* HALL, SPENCER

880. SHIELD, WILLIAM, 1748-1829.

† Robin Hood; or, Sherwood forest, a comic opera as performed with universal
applause at the Theatre Royal in Covent-Garden; selected and composed by William
Shield. The words by Leo^d. MacNally, esq^r. London, Harrison Cluse & co.
[1784?] 14

Not seen. With his Rosina?

The opera was published, without the music, in 1784. *See* under MacNally,
Leonard.

——— Printed by J. Bland [1785?].

[1], 65 p. 23x32 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm.

882. SIDGWICK, FRANK, ed

Ballads and poems illustrating English history; ed. by Frank Sidgwick. Cam-
bridge, The University press, 1907.

viii, 211 p. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ cm. (Half-title: Pitt press series) W7-144 a.2

Contains: Robin Hood and the three squires, p. 16-19 ——— Bold Robin, by
T. L. Peacock, p. 20-21.

——— Reprinted 1907, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1913.

884. SIDGWICK, FRANK, ed.

* Popular ballads of the olden time, selected and edited by Frank Sidgwick.
Fourth series. Ballads of Robin Hood and other outlaws . . . London, Sidgwick &
Jackson, ltd, 1912.

xxxii, 229, [1] p. incl. maps 18 cm.

13-309 a.2

"Short bibliography of Robin Hood" p. xxxi-xxxii.

SIDNEY, BERTHOLD. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD

SIMPSON, PERCY. *See under* JONSON, BEN.

885. SIMONS, SARAH EMMA, 1867-

Dramatization; Selections from English classics adapted in dramatic form, by Sarah E. Simons . . . and Clem Irwin Orr . . . Chicago [etc.] Scott, Foresman and co. [c1913]

64, 7-88, 7-90, 7-87 p., 11., 7-95 p. 19½cm. \$1.25. 13-12344 a,2

The 5 sets of pages have titles: Purpose and method; First year; Second year; Third year; Fourth year.

Contains suggestions for dramatization, p.55-56; Robin Hood ballads, p. (First year) 47-57, which include The baptism of Little John (dramatized), The marriage of Allin a Dale (dramatized) and "Song" from Tennyson's "The Foresters," act II, scene I, 3 stanzas.

—— [c1919].

886. SISSONS, F. comp.

Sissons' "Beauties of Sherwood Forest" A guide to the "Dukeries" and Worksop: with map and copious illustrations. Comp. by F. Sissons. Worksop, Sissons and son; London, H. Adams and co., 1888.

4 p. l, 145, [1] p. illus. (incl. ports facsim.) 2 maps (1 fold.) 18½cm.

20-1654 a,2,14

SKEAT, WALTER WILLIAM, 1835-1912. *See under* LAGLAND, WILLIAM.

888. SKINNER, ELEANOR LOUISE, 1872-

Tales and plays of Robin Hood, by Eleanor L. Skinner . . . New York, Cincinnati [etc.] American book company [c1915].

236 p. incl. fol. front., illus. (part col.) 19½cm. 56 cents. 15-17807 a,1,2

—— [1920].

b,3

890. SKINNER, J.

† Manuscript towards a history of Robin Hood.
(From the Phillipp collection of mss.)

14

SKINNER, RICHARD DANA. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD.

892. SMITH, A. H.

Robin Hood. In: Modern language review, v. 28, p. 484-485, Oct., 1933.

894. SMITH, ALEXANDER.

The history of the lives of the most noted highwaymen, foot-pads, shop-lifts and cheats of both sexes, in and about London and other places . . . for fifty years last past. 2d ed London, 1714.

2 v. 12°

b,3

First ed. not found, nor 3d and 4th.

—— 5th ed. London, S. Briscoe, 1719.

3 v. 12°

b,3

Title: A compleat history of the lives and robberies of the most notorious highwaymen . . . for above an hundred years past . . . to which is prefixed the Thieves new canting dictionary . . .

† ——— Title: A complete history of the lives and robberies of the most notorious highwaymen, footpads, shoplifts, & cheats of both sexes, wherein their most secret and barbarous murders, unparalleled robberies, notorious thefts, and unheard-of cheats are set in a true light and exposed to public view, for the com-

mon benefit of mankind, by Captain Alexander Smith; edited by Arthur L. Hayward. London, G. Routledge & sons, ltd., 1926.

xxiii, 607 p. front., plates. 25½ cm.

27-13632 a,i,2,14

"This edition . . . is reprinted from the 5th edition, published . . . 1719."—

Introd.

Contains a section on Robin Hood.

See also under Peck, F.; Whole life and merry exploits of bold Robin Hood.

896. SMITH, EVELYN, comp.

* Form-room plays; junior book comp. from English literature, by Evelyn Smith. London & Toronto, J. M. Dent & sons ltd. [New York, E. P. Dutton and company, 1920].

256 p. incl. front. (port.) illus. (music) 15½ cm. (Half-title: The king's treasuries of literature; general editor: A. T. Quiller Couch) 21-10199 a,2

Contains: Robin Hood. From an old ballad, p. 158-179.

897. SMITH, GEORGE BARNET, 1841-1909.

Illustrated British ballads, old and new. Selected and ed. by George Barnett Smith . . . London, New York [etc.], Cassell, Petter, Galpin and co., 1881-1882.

2 v. fronts, illus. 27 cm.

20-14423 a,b,2,3

Not seen, but known to contain some Robin Hood ballads.

——— 1886.

b,3

——— 1894.

b,3

——— 1895.

b,3

SMITH, GRACE LOUISE. See RICHMOND, GRACE LOUISE (SMITH)

SMITH, HARRY BACHE, 1860- See under DeKOVEN, REGINALD.

898. SMITH, LAURA ROUNTREE, 1876-

Robin Hood and the Pied Piper. In: Musician, v. 18, p. 556-557, Aug, 1913.

899. SMITH, W. J. BERNHARD.

Legend of Robin Hood at Ludlow. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series 4, vol. 2, p. 430, Oct. 31, 1868.

See also NICHOLS, JOHN GOUGH.

SNELL, FREDERICK JOHN, 1863- See under HALES, JOHN WESLEY.

SOCIETY OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO. See under MENDEZ, MOSES.

900. Song of Robin Hood and his huntes-men. In: Munday, Anthony. Metropolis coronata. See under MUNDAY, ANTHONY.

——— In Ritson, 1862, p. 304-305.

——— In Gutch, II, p. 61-67.

Songs of Robin Hood. See under Whole life and merry exploits . . .

Sonnets on Robin Hood. See under REYNOLDS, JOHN HAMILTON.

902. SOUTHEY, ROBERT, 1774-1843.

† Robin Hood, a fragment, by the late Robert Southey and Caroline Southey, with other fragments and poems . . . Edinburgh and London, W Blackwood and sons, 1847.

xx, 248 p. 19½ cm.

904. SPENCER, LEWIS.
Robin Hood in Scotland. In: Chambers' journal. 7th series. v. 18. p. 94-96,
Jan. 1. 1928.
906. SQUIRE, JOHN COLLINGS. 1884-
* Robin Hood, a farcical romantic pastoral, by J. C. Squire (with the collabora-
tion of Joan R. Young) London, W. Heinemann, Ltd. [1928] 29-2139 a,2
6 p.l., 117 p. 19½ cm.
——— Criticism of its production by the Fair Oaks players, by Ivor John
Carnegie Brown. In: Saturday review, v. 142, p. 175-176, Aug. 14, 1926.
908. STAPLETON, ALFRED
† Robin Hood: the question of his existence discussed, more particularly from a
Nottinghamshire point of view . . . By A. Stapleton. [Newark, Eng. 1898]
23 p. 18½ cm. 23-6114 a,2,14
[Hazlitt tracts, v. 55, no. 11]
"Read before the Nottingham Sette of odde volumes, session 1898-9."
"Reprinted from 'The Newark advertiser,' October, 1898."
- † ——— Worksop, Sissons and son, 1899
[46] p. illus. 21½ cm. 2-30102 rev. a,2
909. STAPLETON, N. A.
Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford. [Note] In: Notes and queries, series
10, vol. 9, p. 278, Apr. 4, 1908.
See also Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.
910. STEADMAN, JOHN MARCELLUS, JR.
Dramatization of the Robin Hood ballads. In: Modern philology, v. 17, p. 9-23,
May, 1919.
- STEARNS, KATHERINE. See PAGE, MRS. KATHERINE (STEARNS) 1873-
912. STERLING, SARA HAWKS.
Robin Hood and his merry men, retold by Sara Hawks Sterling, illustrated by
Rowland Wheelwright . . . Philadelphia, Pa., G. W. Jacobs and company [c1921].
360 p. col. front., 7 col. pl. 20 cm. (Lettered on cover. The Washington square
classics) 21-13317 a,b,2,3
* ——— Philadelphia, Macrae Smith co. [c1921] \$1.50.
* ——— London, J. Coker & co., n.d.
† vii, 152 p. col. front., 8 col. pl. 25½ cm. 3/-. Pictorial cloth boards, originally 4
6/-.
The extra plate is from the cover of the Macrae Smith edition.
——— London, Harrap [1921]. 7/6 4
† ——— London, Coker, 1928. 14
——— New York, Grossett, 1932.
360 p. illus. (Juveniles of distinction) \$1.00. 1
914. STEVENS, FRANK LEONARD, 1898-
† Through merrie England, by F. L. Stevens. Illustrated by Francis D. Bedford.
[London] F. Warne & co. Ltd. [1928]

7 p.1, 214 p. col. front., illus., col. plates. 22x16¹/₂cm. 29-17932 a,2,14
 Title-page illustrated in colors.
 Describes the Robin Hood festivities on May-day.

916. STEVENSON, GEORGE SHIELDS, d.1915, ed.

Pieces from the Makculloch and the Gray mss., together with the Chepman and Myllar prints, ed. by the late George Stevenson . . . Edinburgh and London, Printed for the society by W. Blackwood and sons, 1918.

xix, 303, [1] p. front. (port.) 12 facsim. 23cm (Half-title: The Scottish text society. [Publications, 65]) 19-5833 a,2

Three of the earliest collections of Scottish verse of the 15th and early 16th centuries.

The Chepman and Myllar prints are from a unique volume of tracts, mostly fragments, including "the earliest extant specimens of Scottish printing," printed in Edinburgh about 1508. A reprint of the collection by David Laing, appeared in 1827 under title: The Knightly tale of Golagros and Gawaine and other poems.—cf. *Introd.*

Contains: XI. A gest of Robyn Hode.

STEVENSON, T. G. *See under* Robin Hood's courtship . . .

918. STOCQUER, J. H.

† Maid Marian, the forest queen. London, G. Pierce [1849]. 14

920. Stories of Robin Hood. London. Nelson, 1919.

† 61 p. 2/-. 4,14

922. Stories of Robin Hood and The little lame prince. New York, Barse & Hopkins, * n.d.

59, 6-47 p. front., 3 col. pl. 22cm. (Pleasant hour series) 60 cents.

The Robin Hood story first, with front. and 1 col. plate.

923. [STRANG, HERBERT]

* A ride with Robin Hood. London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford univ. press [1931].

24 p. col. front., 4 illus. (2 col.) 18cm. (Strang's penny books) paper 1d.

Cover-title. Illus. by K. W. Coates.

924. STREDDER, E.

Who was Robin Hood? In: Notes and queries, series 7, vol. 3, p. 201-202, 222, 281, 323, 1887; series 7, vol. 9, p. 226, Mar. 12, 1887.

See also Who was Robin Hood? *infra*.

925. STUKELEY, WILLIAM, 1687-1765.

Palaeographia Britannica: or, Discourses on antiquities in Britain. Number I- [III] . . . By William Stukeley . . . London, Printed for R. Manby, 1743-52.

3 v. in 2 fronts., plates (part fold) 26x21cm 17-11484 a,2

Vol. 2 has imprint. Stamford, Printed by F. Howgrave, v. 3: London, Printed for C. Corbet.

Reference to Robin Hood, v. I, p. 115.

STURT, MARY. *See under* OAKDEN, E. C.

926. . . Surprising life and adventures of Robin Hood . . . to which is added the wonderful life of Wm. Davis, commonly called the Golden Farmer. London, 1805.

12°

b,3

A tale of Robin Hood. Variant title for Robin Hood and the monk See under this title.

928. A tale of Robin Hood, dialogue wise, betweene Watt and Jeffry. The morall is the overthrowe of the abbyes, the like being attempted by the Puritans which is the wolfe: and the Poletician which is the ffox, agayst the bushops. Harleian ms 367, fol. 150.

Verses on the dissolution of the monasteries, illustrative of the popularity of Robin Hood's name.

—— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p 39-44.

930. Tales of Robin Hood and King Arthur . . . New York, G. P. Putnam's sons.
* [n.d.]

vi p., 1 l., 416 p. 19½ cm. (Reading circle classics for young people) \$1.00, 1928; 1931, \$1.50.

Contains: Robin Hood and Maid Marian, by Paul Creswick, p 1-150.

TALVY. [pseud.] See ROBINSON, MRS. THERESE ALBERTINE LOUIS (VON JACOB) 1797-1870.

932. TAPPAN, EVA MARCH, 1854-1930.

Old ballads in prose, by Eva March Tappan; illustrated by Fanny Y. Cory. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin and co., 1901

7 p. l., 228 p., 1 l. front., plates. 18½ cm. 4/6. 1-22018 a,2

—— Issued by Longmans, 1901. 4/6.

1,4

934. TAPPAN, EVA MARCH, 1854-1930.

Robin Hood, his book, by Eva March Tappan . . . illustrated by Charlotte Harding. Boston, Little, Brown and company, 1903

xiv, 267 p. col. front., illus., 5 col. pl. 21 cm. \$1.50. 3-26880 a,1,2

* ——— 1905.

† ——— Issued in England by Warne, 1905. 3/6.

4

—— New ed. London, Warne, 1912. 3/6.

4

936. TAYLOR, KATHARINE, 1888-

. . . Robin Hood, by Katharine Taylor. [Chicago] Chicago school of civics and philanthropy [c1918].

31 p. 1 illus. (music) 19½ cm. (Publications of the recreation department, no. 4) 20 cents.

Noted in Dramatic index, 1918.

18-15597 a,1,2

938. TENNYSON, ALFRED TENNYSON, 1st baron, 1809-1892.

The foresters, Robin Hood and Maid Marian By Alfred Lord Tennyson, poet laureate. (First produced in New York, March 17th, 1892) Souvenir edition, printed for Augustus Daly. New York, Macmillan and co., and London, 1892.

——— Title: *The foresters, Robin Hood and Maid Marian*. by Alfred Lord Tennyson . . . New York and London, Macmillan and co., 1892.
4 p.l., 155 p. 18½cm. 15-8667 a.b.1,2,3

* ——— Same; but imprint: London, Macmillan and co., and New York, 1892.

† \$1.25.

940. TENNYSON, ALFRED TENNYSON, 1st baron, 1809-1892.

The works of Alfred, Lord Tennyson. New York, Macmillan co., 1892.

6 v. 17½cm.

The foresters, v. 6, p. 323-483.

——— c1908.

6 v. 17½cm.

The foresters, v. 6, p. 261-423.

——— Title: *The works of Tennyson, with notes by the author*. Ed. with memoir by Hallam, Lord Tennyson. New York, Macmillan co., 1920.

lviii, 1021 p. 19cm.

The foresters, p. 814-848.

Note: "The Foresters" could not, of course, appear in collected works published prior to 1892. However, the work appears in but very few editions of Tennyson's works published since 1892. Not contained in the Cambridge edition.

942. THIERRY, AUGUSTIN, 1795-1856.

Histoire de la conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands, de ses causes et de ses suites jusqu'à nos jours, en Angleterre, en Écosse, en Irlande et sur le continent; par Augustin Thierry . . . Trois. éd. entièrement revue et augmentée. Paris, 1830.

4 v.

No record of 1st, 2nd, 4th or 5th editions.

v. 4, p. 81— discusses Robin Hood as chief of a tribe of Saxon bandits.

——— 6. éd. Paris, J. Tessier, 1843.

4 v. 22cm and atlas (2 p.l., 32 p., 4 maps, 9 pl., fold. facsim.) 23x28½cm.

Title vignette.

2-18160 rev. a,2

Translations as follows:

——— Title: *History of the conquest of England by the Normans: with its causes from the earliest period, and its consequences to the present time* Tr. from the French of A. Thierry . . . London, Printed for G. B. Whittaker, 1825.

3 v. 22cm.

3-1520 a,2

Charles Claude Hamilton, translator.

——— Title: *History of the conquest of England by the Normans; its causes, and its consequences, in England, Scotland, Ireland, & on the continent*, by Augustin Thierry . . . tr. from the 7th Paris ed. by William Hazlitt . . . London, D. Bogue, 1847.

2 v. fronts. (ports.) 18½cm.

17-20489 a,2

——— Tr. from the 7th Paris ed., William Hazlitt, esq. London, G. Bell and sons, 1881, '80.

2 v. fronts. (ports.) (Half-title: Bohn's standard library)

A12-1518 a,2

——— Tr. from the 7th Paris ed., by William Hazlitt. . London, G. Bell and sons, 1885

2 v. fronts. (ports.) 19cm. (Half-title: Bohn's standard library) 15-19016 a,2

——— Title: History of the conquest of England by the Normans, by A. Thierry. London, J. M. Dent & co; New York, E. P. Dutton & co. [1907]

2 v. 17½cm. (Half-title: Everyman's library, ed by Ernest Rhys. History)

Title within ornamental border; illustrated lining papers A11-1452 a,2

[Edited] with an introduction by J. Arthur Price.

THOMAS, ELTON. *See under Woods, Lotta.*

944. THOMPSON, BLANCHE JENNINGS.

Robin Hood and his merry men. In: Instructor, v 40, p. 54, June, 1931.

946. THOMPSON, E.

John in prison. 1912.

Contains: May pageant of Robin Hood

14

948. THOMPSON, E.

† Plays and pageants. London, Benn, 1931.

Contains: May pageant of Robin Hood.

14

THOMPSON, RUPERT SPENS, ed. *See under Tiddy, Reginald.*

950. THOMS, WILLIAM JOHN, 1803-1885, ed.

Early English prose romances, with bibliographical and historical introductions . . . London, 1828.

3 v.

v.2 contains: Noble birth and gallant achievements of . . . Robin Hood. (See under Noble birth, etc.)

——— 2d ed. enl. . . . London, Nattali and Bond, 1858.

3 v. 19cm.

12-39586 a,2

Includes reproductions of several of the old title-pages.

Noble birth, etc. in v 2. Also: The history of George a Greene, pinder of the town of Wakefield, p. 150.

——— Title: Early English prose romances, edited by William J. Thoms. New ed., rev. and enl. London, G. Routledge and sons, limited, New York, E. P. Dutton and co. [1906]

2 p.l., vii-ix, [11]-958 p. 21cm. [Library of early novelists, ed. by E. A. Baker. v. 11]

"Consists of a reprint of The early prose romances, ed by the late Professor Henry Morley . . . together with those tales from the late W. J. Thom's Early English prose romances, which Professor Morley omitted . . ."—cf Publishers' note.

Includes the Noble birth, etc., under title: The noble parentage and the achievements of Robin Hood.

952. THOMS, WILLIAM JOHN, 1803-1885.

* Robin Hood and other stories . . . London and Glasgow, Collin's clear-type † press [1931].

152 p. col. front. 19cm. (Favorite library) Boards. 1/—.

1,14

Contains: Robin Hood, p. 9-42 [reprint of Noble birth and gallant achievements of, etc.]—Robin Hood and the widow's three sons, p. 75-80 [the ballad]

See under Noble birth, etc.

954. THOMS, WILLIAM JOHN. 1803-1885.

* Robin Hood. George à Green . . . ed. by John Drinkwater. London and Glasgow, Collin's clear-type press, [1924].

80 p. 19cm (Collin's supplementary readers, grade II).

Contains: Robin Hood, p. 9-42 [reprint of Noble birth, etc.] — George à Green [Pinder of Wakefield, in prose], p. 43-74 — Robin Hood and the widow's three sons [the ballad], p. 75-80.

—— (John Drinkwater series for schools).

THOMS, WILLIAM JOHN. *See also* HAYENS, HERBERT.

955. THORNDIKE, ASHLEY HORACE, 1871-

Relation of As you like it to the Robin Hood plays. In: *Journal of Germanic philology*, v.4, p. 59, 1902.

THORNDIKE, ASHLEY HORACE, 1871- *See also under* JONSON, BEN.

956. TICKNER, FREDERICK JAMES, ed.

* Earlier English drama from Robin Hood to Everyman, ed. and arranged for acting by F. J. Tickner . . . London and Edinburgh, T. Nelson & sons, ltd. [1926]

xvi, 17-310 p. incl. front., illus. 16cm. (Half-title: The "Teaching of English" series; General editor, Sir Henry Newbolt . . . no. 55) 2/-. 27-9621 a,2,14
Frontispiece on verso of half-title.

Contains: Introduction. Notes on individual plays. The Robin Hood play, p. xi — Chapter I. May day [Robin Hood play] p. 17-23 — Notes and summaries. May day, p. 255-258.

The play is based on the ballad Robin Hood and the potter, and on the 1560 Playe of Robyn Hode for May games. *See also under* Robin Hood [play].

—— American ed., rev. by Thomas Whitfield Baldwin . . . New York, T. Nelson & sons [c1929].

xx, 17-304 p. incl. front., illus. 16cm. (Half-title: Nelson's English series; General editor, E. Bernbaum). 29-3195 a,2

—— Title: Earlier English drama, from Robin Hood to the Second play of the shepherds, edited and arranged for acting by F. J. Tickner . . . London, New York [etc.] T. Nelson and sons, ltd. [1931]

xvi, 17-287 p. incl. front., illus. 16cm. (Half-title: The "Teaching of English" series; General editor, Sir Henry Newbolt. no. 55) 33-6366 a,2
Frontispiece on verso half-title.

—— Reprinted Sept. 1932.

958. TIDDY, REGINALD JOHN ELLIOTT, 1880-1916.

† The mummers' play, by the late R. J. E. Tiddy . . . With a memoir. Oxford, The Clarendon press, 1923.

2 p. l., [3]-257 p. front., pl., port. 23cm. 24-10885 a,2

Edited by R. S. Thompson, from the author's notes, with a Memoir (p. [7]-59) by D. R. Pye.

Contains: Bold Robin Hood: mummers' play from Shipton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire [being in part a corrupt version of the ballad of Robin Hood and the tanner] p. 209-213 — Robin Hood and the tanner: mummers' play from Kempsford, Gloucestershire, p. 248-253.

959. TIERSOT, JULIAN, 1857-
 Sur Le jeu de Robin et Marion d'Adam de la Halle (XIII^e siecle). Paris,
 Fischbacher, 1897
 27 p. 25cm. 9-31924 rev. a,2
960. TILNEY, FREDERIC COLIN, ed.
 Robin Hood and his merry outlaws, retold by F. C. Tilney; with coloured
 illustrations by Ione Raiton. London, J. M. Dent and sons, ltd; New York, E.
 P. Dutton & co. [1913]
 128 p. col. front., 7 col. pl. 18cm. (Half-title: Tales for children from many
 lands, ed. by F. C. Tilney) 50 cents. 1/2 leather, 80 cents. A22-132 a,1,2
 ——— Reprint 1916. 1
 † ——— Reprint 1918. 2/-. 4
 ——— Reprint 1922.
 ——— Reprint 1925.
 * ——— Reprint 1930. 3/-; \$1.00.
961. TREASE, GEOFFREY
 † Bows against the barons. London, Martin Lawrence, 1934.
 152 p. illus. 2/6 1,14
 ——— New York, International publishers co, 1934
 204 p. illus. \$1.25. 1
962. Treasury of pleasure books for young and old; illustrated by E. Wehnert and
 † H. Weir. London, Cundall and Addey, 1851. 14
 Contains: History of bold Robin Hood.
 True tale of Robin Hood. *See under* PARKER, MARTIN.
964. TUCKERMAN, BAYARD, 1855-
 A history of English prose fiction from Sir Thomas Malory to George Eliot, by
 Bayard Tuckerman. New York, G. P. Putnam's sons, 1882.
 4 p.l., 331 p. 19½cm. 11-22934 a,2
 Contains discussion of Robin Hood, p. 47-50.
 ——— London, Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1882.
 vii, 331 p. 19½cm. b,3
 Tudor facsimile texts. *See under* FARMER, J. S.; Mery geste, etc; MENDEZ,
 MOSES.
965. VIVIAN, EVELYN CHARLES.
 † Robin Hood; illus. by H. G. Theaker. London, Ward, Lock and co. [1933]
 176 p. (Sunshine series) 3/6. 1,14
 Abridged ed. of his. Robin Hood and his merry men.
966. VIVIAN, EVELYN CHARLES.
 * Robin Hood and his merry men . . . with 48 colour plates by Harry G.
 † Theaker. London, Ward, Lock & co. [1927]
 338 p. incl. col front., 47 col. pl. 21½cm. (Charming colour books for child-
 ren) 6/-. 4
 About the best modern English juvenile edition.

- † ——— [1934]. (Sentinel series) 1/6.
New ed., lacking all illus except the first. 1,14
——— [1935] 1/—. 1
967. VORETZSCH, CARL, 1867-
Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Literatur, im Anschluss an die Einführung in das Studium der altfranzösischen Sprache . . . Halle, a. S, M. Niemeyer, 1905.
xvii, [1], 573 p. 23½cm. (Added t.-p.: Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literatur, II) 8-10032 a,2
——— 1913.
xix, 575, [1] p. 23½cm. (Series as above) 20-18858 a,2
——— 3d. aufl., 1925.
xix, 552 p. 23½cm. (Series as above) 29-13195 a,2
Discussion of Adam de la Halle, p. 394, 447, 448, 450, 477, 479-481, 503, especially, 479-481 (The Jeu . . .)
VREDENBURG, CAPT. EDRIC WOLCOTT, 1860- *See under* WOOLF, ROSE YEATMAN, 2d title.
968. VRIE, JAN DE, 1890-
Robin Hood en Mijn Here van Malleghem. In: Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde, v 36, p. 11-54.
WALDRON, FRANCIS GODOLPHIN, 1744-1818. *See under* JONSON, BEN. Sad shepherd.
WALKER, JOSEPH [pseud.] *See* MACSPADDEN, JOSEPH WALKER.
969. WALKER, ROWLAND.
Life and adventures of Robin Hood . . . London [Aldine] Goodship house, 1925.
142 p. col. front. 19cm. 1/6. 4
Front. by W. B. Handforth.
† ——— 1928.
* ——— 1929.
"First impression, 1925. Second . . . 1926. Third . . . 1926. Fourth . . . 1928. Fifth . . . 1929."
970. WALKEY, S.
† Bowmen of Sherwood, illus. by Paul Hardy. In: Chums, April, 1934, p. 562-565. 14
971. WALKLEY, ARTHUR BINGHAM, 1855-1926.
Maid Marian on the stage. In: Theatre, v. 28, p. 227 [1892-1896].
WALLER, ALFRED RAYNEY, 1867-1922, jt. ed. *See under* Cambridge history of English literature.
WARD, SIR ADOLPHUS WILLIAM, 1837-1924, ed. *See under* Cambridge history of English literature.

972. WARD, C. A.
Catalogue of the ms romances in the British Museum.
p. 516- Robin Hood ballads.
974. WARREN, MRS. MAUDE LAVINIA (RADFORD) 1875-
* Robin Hood and his merry men, by Maude Radford Warren . . . illustrated by
Milo Winter Chicago, New York, Rand, McNally & company [c1914].
1 p. l. 5-290 p. illus. 18cm \$1 50 14-20778 a,1,2
* ——— Same: c1914 "Edition of 1929."
976. WEBB, W. G.
+ Webb's characters and scenes in Robin Hood. London, W Webb [1860?]. 14
"Penny plain" sheets for a toy theatre, with col. duplicate of plate 8. Webb
also wrote the book of the play.
978. The Wedding[s] of Robin Hood and Little John In: Kinloch, G. R. Ancient
Scottish ballads. (See under Kinloch.)
Ballad, 17 stanzas. Founded on the same story as Rose the red, and white
lilly.
——— Reprinted in Gutch, II, p. 389-391 (from Kinloch)
- WELLS, ENGLAND (Somerset). See under GREAT BRITAIN. HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS
COMMISSION.
980. WEST, W.
+ Oh bold Robin Hood: glee; words from the popular novel of "Maid Marian."
London, Cramer, Beale and co. [ca.1822]
WHALLEY, PETER, 1722-1791, ed. See under JONSON, BEN.
982. WHEATER, WILLIAM.
Who was Robin Hood? In: Gentleman's magazine, n.s., v. 44, p. 56, 1889.
See also Who was Robin Hood, *infra*.
984. WHITTUCK, EDWARD ARTHUR.
+ Robin Hood—the English outlaw. Bath, Coward & Gradwell [1914].
18 p. 8 vo. b,3
986. [WHITWORTH, R. H.]
+ Cause and effect; or, The fault, punishment and death of Robin Hood [1902].
Reprinted from the Mansfield reporter. 14
988. Who was Robin Hood?
Items in Notes and queries as follows: series 7, vol. 2, p. 421, Nov. 27, 1886
(W. F. Prideaux); series 7, vol. 3, p. 201-202, 222, 281, 323, March-April, 1887
(E. Stredder); series 7, vol. 3, p. 252, Mar. 26, 1887 (William J. Bayley); series 7,
vol. 3, p. 412-413, May 21, 1887 (H. C. Norris), series 7, vol. 3, p. 525-526,
June 25, 1887 (W. F. Prideaux); series 7, vol. 4, p. 32, July 9, 1887; series 7,
vol. 4, p. 153, Aug. 20, 1887; series 7, vol. 4, p. 198, Sept. 3, 1887; series 7,
vol. 4, p. 329, Oct. 22, 1887 (W. F. Prideaux), series 7, vol. 9, p. 226, Mar. 12,
1890 (E. Stredder).
See also WHEATER, WILLIAM.
990. The whole life and merry exploits of bold Robin Hood, Earl of Huntington.
London [1712]. b,3

† ——— London, D. Pratt. 1724

14

——— London, Printed by J Willis [1719-35]

J. Willis may have printed the [1712] edition. Willis copied the tale from Smith, Capt Alexander History of the lives of the most noted highwaymen. 5th ed. 1719, v. 3, p. 29.

——— Same; to which is added, several songs not in the former impressions With the whole history of Johnny Armstrong of Westmoreland. London, Printed for H. Woodgate [1759].

[4], 83, [21] p front. 24mo

b,d,3

——— Same; but with title: The songs of Robin Hood, containing the history of all the merry exploits done by him and his men on various occasions. To which is prefix'd, a preface, giving a more full and particular account of him, than any hitherto publish'd. London, 1778.

2 p. l., 98 p. 15½ cm.

27-8950 a,b,2,3

See also under PECK, F.

Possibly Robin Hood's garland.

WIEGAND, GEORGE. *See under* DEKOVEN, REGINALD. (Piano solos)

992 [WILLIAMS, HENRY MEADE] 1899-

* Robin Hood, by Arthur Malcolm [pseud.]; illustrated by Margaret Malpass Geiszel. New York, J. H. Sears & company, inc. [c1927]

x, 240 p. col. front., text in illus. border. 25cm [Sears illustrated juveniles]
\$1.25. 27-22447 a,1,2

——— (Sears juvenile classics) 50 cents.

Printed from same plates as preceeding edition.

994. WILLIAMS, S. FLETCHER.

* Robin Hood: a history and a vindication. London, Longmans; Liverpool, D.

† Marples and co., 1887.

14

Extract from the Proceedings of the Literary and philosophical society of Liverpool, n. 41, 76 session, 1886-87, p. 125-156. 22cm.

† ——— 1887. Reprint with separate pagination.

996. WILLSON, WINGROVE, ed.

* The merry men of Sherwood . . . London, Aldine, Goodship house [1927].

† 144 p. illus., col. front., 3 col. pl. 23½ cm. 3/6.

b,3,4

Collection of stories by Wingrove Willson, Rowland Walker and others. Illustrated by W. B. Handforth and others.

The 2d volume of the Willson series.

998. WILLSON, WINGROVE, ed.

* More adventures with Robin Hood . . . London, Aldine, Goodship house

† [1930].

144 p. illus., col. front., 3 col. pl. 23½ cm. 3/6.

4

The 4th volume in the Willson series

1000. WILLSON, WINGROVE, ed.

* Robin of Sherwood . . . London, Aldine, Goodship house [1928].

† 144 p. illus., col front, 3 col pl. 23½ cm. 3/6.

4

The 3d volume of the Willson series.

1002. WILLSON, WINGROVE, ed.
 * Stories of Robin Hood . . . London, Aldine, Goodship house [1925].
 † 144 p. illus., col. front, 3 col. pl 23½cm. 3/6. 4
 The first volume of the Willson series.
1004. WILSON, CHARLES.
 † Robin Hood; his merry exploits retold by Charles Wilson, illustrated by R. C. Smith. London, George G. Harrap & co., 1917
 159 p. incl. front, illus. 19cm. 1/6 (All time tales) b,3,4
 * ——— Reprint 1930. 2/-.
 "First published July, 1917 . . . reprinted: January, 1919; April, 1920; November, 1921; October, 1922; February, 1924; September, 1924; April, 1925; April, 1926; November, 1926; July, 1927; April, 1928; April, 1929; August, 1930."
 † ——— 1932. 1
 124 p. 1/-.
 ——— Philadelphia, McKay, 1926. 1
 75 cents.
 WILSON, CHARLES, jr. auth. *See under* McSPADDEN, JOSEPH WALKER.
1006. WILSON, E. L.
 Robin Hood and Little John; an American version . . . ed. by H. V. S. Jones. In: Journal of American folk-lore, v. 23, p. 432-434, Oct., 1910.
 Modern version of Child's 125 (same title).
1008. WILSON, F. M.
 Robin Hood. In: Temple Bar, v. 95, p. 401.
1010. WIMBERLY, LOWRY CHARLES, 1890-
 * Death and burial lore in the English and Scotush popular ballads [by] Lowry Charles Wimberly, Ph.D., Lincoln, Nebr., 1927.
 138 p. 22½cm. (On cover: University of Nebraska. Studies in language, literature, and criticism. no. 8) 27-27319 a,2
 Thesis (Ph.D.)—University of Nebraska, 1925.
 Without thesis note.
 Contains references to and quotations from the Robin Hood ballads.
 Autographed copy.
1012. WIMBERLY, LOWRY CHARLES, 1890-
 * Folklore in the English and Scottish ballads, by Lowry Charles Wimberly . . . Chicago, Ill., The University of Chicago press [c1928].
 xii, 465, [1] p. 23½cm. 28-30945 a,2
 Contains references to and quotations from the Robin Hood ballads.
 Presentation copy.
1014. WIMBERLY, LOWRY CHARLES, 1890-
 * . . . Minstrelsy, music and the dance in the English and Scottish popular ballads, by Lowry Charles Wimberly . . . Lincoln, 1921.
 63 p. 22½cm. (University of Nebraska studies in language, literature, and criticism. no. 4) 22-27226 a,2
 Contains references to and quotations from the Robin Hood ballads.
 Autographed copy

1016. WITHAM, ROSE ADELAIDE. 1873- ed.
 . . . English and Scottish popular ballads, selected and ed for study under the supervision of William Allan Neilson . . . by R. Adelaide Witham. Boston, New York [etc.], Houghton Mifflin company [c1909].
 xlii, 187 p. 18½ cm. (The Riverside literature series) 9-7833 a,2
 Contains: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne, p. 97-105 ——— Robin Hood's death and burial, p. 105-108 ——— Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons, p. 108-113.
- WOOD, ANTHONY A, 1632-1695, comp. Collection of broadsides in the Bodleian library, Oxford, Referred to under ballad titles in this list as "Wood."
1018. WOOD, ANTHONY A, 1632-1695, comp.
 [Collection of black-letter ballads. London, ca 1620-1688]
 2 v. (facsim.: 297 sheets mounted in 150 l.) illus. 23x33cm. [The Modern language association of America. Collection of photographic facsimiles, no. 60. 1927] Pho M30-20 a,2
 At head of prelm. leaf of each volume: Library of Congress.
 Reproduced from broadsides in Wood E 25, 401, 402, 416, 417, 276a, 276b in the Bodleian library.
 Not seen, but according to the collation, this facsimile edition does not contain all of the Robin Hood ballads in the collection.
1020. WOODS, GEORGE BENJAMIN, 1878- ed.
 English poetry and prose of the romantic movement, selected and ed., with notes, bibliographies, and a glossary of proper names, by George Benjamin Woods . . . Chicago, New York, Scott, Foresman and company [c1916].
 xviii, 1432 p. front. (map) 24cm. \$3 25. 16-24236 a,2
 Contains: Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne [from Percy. Reliques of ancient English poetry] p. 110-112 ——— Robin Hood, by Sir Walter Scott [8 line song from The doom of Devergoil, 1825] p. 471 ——— Robin Hood, by John Keats, p. 766-767.
 ——— c1929.
 xviii, 1454 p. front. (2 maps) 24cm. 29-5442 a,2
 Frontispiece printed on both sides.
- WOOD, GEORGIA. See PANGBORN, MRS. GEORGIA WOOD.
1022. WOODS, LOTTA.
 * "Douglas Fairbanks in Robin Hood." Story by Elton Thomas, condensed version by Lotta Woods. [New York, Prospect press, c1922].
 [64] p. incl. front, illus. 20cm. CA23-404 unrev'd. a,2
1024. WOODS, LOTTA.
 Robin Hood; photoplay, founded on the story by Elton Thomas.
 ——— Description of its production, by J. M. Chapple. In: National magazine, v. 51, p. 365-370, Jan. 1923.
 ——— Fictionized by P. Andrews. In: Motion picture magazine, v. 24, Jan., 1923, p. 45-49, 112.
 ——— Scene from. In: Classic, v. 15, Nov., 1922, p. 40.
 ——— Scene from. In: Theatre, v. 36, p. 243, Oct., 1922

WOOLDRIDGE, HARRY ELLIS, 1845-1917 *See under* CHAPPELL, WILLIAM.

1026 WOOLF, ROSE YEATMAN.

! Robin Hood and his life in the merry greenwood il by Howard Davie;
ed. by Capt Vredenburg London, Raphael Tuck & sons [1918]
106 p. 8 vo. illus b,3,4
(Raphael House library of gift books for boys and girls)

* ——— [1928].

256 p. illus., col front, 6 col. pl (incl 1 on cover) 20cm. (Golden treasury
library) 3/6; \$1 25 1,4

† ——— 1931.

80 p. illus. 1/-; 50 cents

WORDE, WYNKEN DE. *See under* Mery geste, etc

1028. WRIGHT, THOMAS, 1810-1877.

+ Essays on subjects connected with the literature, popular superstitions, and
history of England in the Middle Ages By Thomas Wright . . . London, J R
Smith, 1846.

2 v. 20cm.

3-14240 a,2

Contains. On the popular cycle of the Robin Hood ballads, v. 2, p. 164-211.

WYNKEN DE WORDE. *See under* Mery geste, etc.

WYNNE, MAY [pseud.] *See* KNOWLES, MAY WYNNE.

YOUNG, JOAN R., jr auth. *See* SQUIRE, JOHN COLLINGS.

APPENDIX

TRADITIONAL ROBIN HOOD BALLADS

Alphabetical list of titles, taken from the bibliography, with variant titles. Numbers appended are those in the five-volume collection of Francis James Child.

- The Bishop of Hereford's entertainment by Robin Hood and Little John. *See* Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford.
1. The Bold pedlar and Robin Hood. 15 stanzas. (No. 132)
The Famous battel between Robin Hood and the curtal fryer. *See* Robin Hood and the curtal friar.
A Famous battle between Robin Hood and Maid Marian, declaring their love, life and liberty. *See* Robin Hood and Maid Marian.
Guy of Gisborne. *See* Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne.
 2. The Jolly pinder of Wakefield. Version A, 13 stanzas; version B, 5 stanzas. (No. 124)
 3. The King's disguise and friendship with Robin Hood 44 stanzas (No. 151)
Little John a begging. *See* Little John and the four beggars.
 4. Little John and the four beggars. Version A, 11 stanzas; version B, 22 stanzas. (No. 142)
A new song to drive away cold winter. *See* Robin Hood and the tinker.
 5. The Noble fisherman, or, Robin Hood's preferment. 28 stanzas. (No. 148)
Pedigree, education and parentage of Robin Hood. *See* Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valour and marriage.
Renowned Robin Hood; or, His famous archery truly related; with the worthy exploits hee acted before Queen Katherine, hee being an out-law man; and how shee for the same obtained of the king his own and his fellows pardon. *See* Robin Hood and Queen Katherine.
 6. Robin Hood and Allan a Dale. 27 stanzas. (No. 138)
Robin Hood and Friar Tuck. *See* Robin Hood and the curtal friar.
 7. Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne. 58 stanzas. (No. 118)
 8. Robin Hood and Little John 39 stanzas. (No. 125)
 9. Robin Hood and Maid Marian. 22 stanzas. (No. 150)
 10. Robin Hood and Queen Katherine. Version A, 38 stanzas; version B, 42 stanzas; version C, 35 stanzas. (No. 145)
 11. Robin Hood and the beggar I. 31 stanzas (No. 133)
Also called Robin Hood turned beggar.
 12. Robin Hood and the beggar II. 93 stanzas. (No. 134)
 13. Robin Hood and the bishop. 24 stanzas. (No. 143)
 14. Robin Hood and the Bishop of Hereford. Version A, 21 stanzas; version B, 11 stanzas. (No. 144)

15. Robin Hood and the butcher Version A, 31 stanzas; version B, 30 stanzas.
(No. 122)
16. Robin Hood and the curtal friar Version A, 21 stanzas; version B, 41 stanzas.
(No. 123)
17. Robin Hood and the golden arrow 33 stanzas (No. 152)
Robin Hood and the jolly pinder of Wakefield, shewing how he fought with
Robin Hood, Scarlet and John a long summer's day. *See* The Jolly pinder
of Wakefield.
18. Robin Hood and the monk. 90 stanzas. (No. 119)
19. Robin Hood and the peddlers. 30 stanzas. (No. 137)
20. Robin Hood and the potter 83 stanzas. (No. 121)
Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon. *See* Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and
Little John.
21. Robin Hood and the ranger. 23 stanzas (No. 131)
22. Robin Hood and the Scotchman. 7 stanzas. (Conclusion to Robin Hood newly
revived, in early editions.) (No. 130)
23. Robin Hood and the shepherd 28 stanzas. (No. 135)
Robin Hood and the sheriff. *See* Robin Hood rescuing three squires.
Robin Hood and the stranger. *See* Robin Hood newly revived.
24. Robin Hood and the tanner. 37 stanzas. (No. 126)
25. Robin Hood and the tinker. 42 stanzas (No. 127)
26. Robin Hood and the valiant knight. 23 stanzas. (No. 153)
27. Robin Hood newly revived. 25 stanzas. (No. 128)
Early editions include Robin Hood and the Scotchman, 7 stanzas, as con-
clusion. Later editions include Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John,
58 stanzas, as second part.
28. Robin Hood rescuing the widow's three sons. Is version B, 29 stanzas, of
Robin Hood rescuing three squires.
29. Robin Hood rescuing three squires Version A, 18 stanzas; version B, 29 stan-
zas; version C, 19 stanzas. (No. 140)
30. Robin Hood rescuing Will Stutly. 38 stanzas. (No. 141)
Robin Hood, Scarlet and John; wherein you may see how Robin Hood, having
lived an out-law for many years, the Queen sent for him, and shooting a
match before the King and Queen at London, and winning the rich prize,
the Queen gained his pardon, and he was afterwards Earl of Huntington.
See Robin Hood and Queen Katherine.
Robin Hood turned beggar. *See* Robin Hood and the beggar I.
31. Robin Hood, Will Scadlock, and Little John; or, A narrative of their victory
obtained against the Prince of Aragon. 58 stanzas. (No. 129)
Also called Robin Hood and the Prince of Aragon. Usually included as
second part of Robin Hood newly revived, in later editions of this ballad.
Robin Hood, his death *See* Robin Hood's death and burial

32. Robin Hood's birth, breeding, valour, and marriage. 55 stanzas. (No. 149)
33. Robin Hood's chase 24 stanzas. (No. 146)
34. Robin Hood's death and burial Version A, 27 stanzas; version B, 21 stanzas.
(No. 120)
35. Robin Hood's delight. 24 stanzas. (No. 136)
36. Robin Hood's golden prize. 24 stanzas. (No. 147)
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Robin Hood's preferment. *See* The Noble fisherman; or, Robin Hood's prefer-
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37. Robin Hood's progress to Nottingham. 18 stanzas. (No. 139)
38. A True tale of Robin Hood, by Martin Parker. 120 stanzas. (No. 154)

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NO. 18

**The Ideas Embodied
in the
Religious Drama of
Calderon**

BY LUCY ELIZABETH WEIR

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Lincoln, Nebraska

1940

PREFATORY NOTE

Strange as it may seem, there is no complete edition of the works of Calderón de la Barca, the Spanish dramatist and poet. There is little material available concerning his life, and critical studies of his work are unbelievably scant. Religion was Calderón's outstanding interest, and it seemed to me of interest and value to follow out his clearly defined ideas and his philosophy, since no one else has done so, and to try to correlate his doctrines in such manner as to weaken or perhaps overthrow the commonly accepted opinion that he is too orthodox to be intelligible or acceptable to readers of the present day.

The Hartzenbusch collection of Calderón's works is the most complete. More modern and easier to read is the one-volume edition of Luis Astrana Marín. The most complete editions of his *Autos Sacramentales* are those of Don Juan Fernández de Apontes, and Eduardo González Pedroso, dated 1759 and 1884 respectively. In addition to the material in the University of Nebraska library, I relied on the libraries of Harvard University, the University of Chicago, and the University of California at Berkeley, through interlibrary loans.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor Hilarío Sáenz of the Department of Romance Languages of the University of Nebraska for guidance in the development of what proved to be a difficult but interesting subject, and to Professor Louise Pound of the Department of English for practical editorial help.

LUCY ELIZABETH WEIR

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The Ideas Embodied in the
Religious Drama of Calderon

By LUCY ELIZABETH WEIR

INTRODUCTION

ON PEDRO CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, although well known in Spain, has not enjoyed the universal popularity that should have been his; yet from his pen flowed beautiful poetry. Through it there is exhibited philosophic thought, keen understanding of human nature, and above all a profound love of God. He was absolutely convinced that Eternity is a reality, and he sought to give practical expression to his faith.

Many factors enter into the matter of literary prominence, and unfortunately Calderón's activities hindered his equalling the popularity of some of his contemporaries. The scant biographical material available keeps us from knowing the intimate details of his background which do much toward creating a sympathetic understanding of the man as a person. The geographical isolation of Spain and its tendency to be self-contained made Spanish writers more national than universal in their point of view, and Calderón especially was a strict adherent of *Españolismo*. Furthermore, he was a Roman Catholic, not an ordinary layman but perhaps the most outstanding churchman of his time. His religion was his all; so that it is not surprising that his critics have felt that his extreme orthodoxy greatly interfered with a universal appreciation of his writings. However, too much stress has been placed on this latter factor, for a study of his religious works will show that he was dealing with universal truth, spiritual facts that are commonly accepted by all Christian denominations and not unique to the Catholic faith. Calderón's method of approach to his themes and his solution of the problems they involved, however, were always in terms of the Roman Catholic dogma, and

one of the purposes of this study will be to give some evidence of the deep universal moral value contained in the subjects which he handled so skillfully. Here again is the answer to the criticism that he is too Spanish to be appreciated generally. It will be shown that his religious ideas are based on universal truth, that no geographical sectionalism can restrict it, that his understanding of human nature is of the same human nature the world over, and that his own religious dogma was merely a vehicle or a method of approach to a subject that is itself infinite.

While philosophy and theology may sometimes be handled as two distinct subjects, and while some students of Calderón's works make this distinction, for the discussion in this study it will prove more satisfactory to handle them together under the title, "Ideas Embodied in the Religious Works of Calderón." His philosophy virtually became his theology, so interwoven were his beliefs and convictions about nature and God. He recognized God as the Father or Creator of all; hence the need of understanding nature as an expression of God.

The quality of Calderón's faith cannot be questioned. His faith was more than a belief that God would help man. It was an absolute conviction. An American translator of the Bible, Professor E. J. Goodspeed, expresses succinctly the very type of faith we can attribute to Calderón. "Faith means the assurance of what we hope for; it is our conviction about things that we cannot see. For it was by it that the men of old gained God's approval. It is faith that enables us to see that the universe was created at the command of God, so that the world we see did not simply arise out of matter." It was this understanding which enabled Calderón to move with perfect ease in what most people term a world of ideas; in other words, in the intangible.

Taking into account the limitations of human language in the expression of that which is divine, we find Calderón's ability in this field as nearly adequate as is humanly possible. People may smile at his intimate acquaintance with the so-called intangible, but it was this very conviction which enabled him to utter the sublime passages so characteristic of his religious poetry. We find throughout the works of some of Calderón's English contemporaries, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, George Herbert, John Donne and John Bunyan, a group known as the "Divines," this sublimity of thought expressed through their poetic diction; so Calderón is no exception to the rule that the conception of that which is truly divine is expressed in language that is truly sublime. The two are inseparable.

The intellectualism so evident in Calderón's works is not the mere scholastic intellectualism which indulges in mental gymnastics through high-sounding arguments or flowery speeches. It is far more than that. His religious dramas show clearly that he was aware of an all-pervading Intelligence or Mind. He frequently refers to the understanding of God as *Ciencia*. In fact, he uses the word *Ciencia* in a theological rather than in a secular sense. To him, it seems to indicate an exact or practical aspect of religion; not just an acceptance of certain spiritual truths as possible roads to salvation, but rather the actual participation in this spiritually mental activity which he defines as the Christ, or spirit of God which comes to the flesh, forming the link by which man is led to God and saved through grace, that is, purified thinking. In his play *La Exaltación de la Cruz* he intimates this very definitely. Anastasia, the official magician to Cosdroas, King of Persia, is greatly puzzled when he finds his magic is powerless in the presence of Zacarías, patriarch of Jerusalem, who is explaining to Anastasia the reason why one omnipotent Christian God far outshines his idolatry and sorcery.¹

- Anastasia.* Varias ciencias he estudiado,
Varios libros he leído,
y ni en ellas, ni ellos hallo
que pueda un Dios ser posible,
en la multitud de tantos
como las gentes adoran,
de quien el nombre ha tomado
la Gentilidad.
- Zacarías.* Estudia en el libro soberano
de las ciencia de las Ciencias,
verás misterios más altos.
- Anastasia.* Aguarda; ¿libro hay alguno
en el mundo, intitulado
Ciencia de Ciencias?
- Zacarías.* No es libro
materialmente tomado
el nombre, sino un supuesto
tan grande, tan docto, y sabio,
que es capaz de todas ciencias.
- Anastasia.* ¿Quién es? que eso voy buscando.
- Zacarías.* Cristo.
- Anastasia.* ¿Cristo?
- Zacarías.* Sí.
- Anastasia..* ¿Pues cómo?

Then Zacarías gives Anastasia a rather full explanation of the all-inclusive nature of God, the Christ, that He is complete in

¹ Act I, Scene 2.

Himself, and how man can find Him, know Him, and partake of His glory. Calderón himself evidently drew consistently on his own spiritual understanding for guidance, and undoubtedly this keenness and spiritual perspicacity which enabled him to perceive and explain the depths of metaphysics have often been mistaken by critics for a sort of dogmatic intellectualism set out to propound a thesis. Unfortunately, his method of presentation was sometimes a little too didactic, and might easily be mistaken for a scholastic argument rather than for the desire to teach some moral truth.

From first to last Calderón's chief interest was Salvation. What was Salvation? Where and how was it to be found? Of course, he answered these questions in his own way, that is, according to the Roman Catholic faith. This is most evident in his famous *Autos Sacramentales*, which will be discussed later. However, there is a vein of it through all his religious dramas. He arrives at his conclusions on this subject very logically. Indeed, the reasoning from cause to effect throughout the speeches which he puts into the mouths of his characters causes his readers to feel that most of his works are thesis plays.

Examined in the light of logic, Calderón's religious ideas are sound. He believed firmly, as did most of his contemporaries, both that God is omnipotent and yet that man can exercise the freedom of his will. The history of the disputes over the problem of God's omnipotence and Free Will is long and complicated. However, regardless of all the arguments, Papel bulls, theories, and conclusions on the subject, Calderón still pursued an unchallenged course. He was too metaphysically minded not to have had some good reason for doing so, and although his critics are rather inclined to let well-enough alone on this point, there is a possibility that the answer to it is contained in his most well known and outstanding play, *La Vida es Sueño*. Free will, as he handles it, and the omnipotence of God as he understands it, contradictory as they may seem, really form the groundwork for his ideas about Salvation. They are both leading points in his theology, and a thorough discussion of them is requisite to appreciating his religious works.

Equally important to a thorough understanding and appreciation of these works is some explanation of the religious, political, and economic conditions which prevailed in Spain in Calderón's day, and something of the background from which these conditions evolved.

From the discovery of the New World to the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, Spain rose steadily in power, but perhaps not firmly, under the régime of the Catholic kings. Naturally, it was the desire of Spain to make her colonies Catholic, to extend the influence of the church; and as head of what was called the "Holy Roman Empire," King Charles V was forced to play a very difficult rôle in European politics. Spain had assumed an undertaking greater than her wealth or strength would permit, and the death blow came in 1588, a blow so serious that she has never regained her old place.

On the heels of the defeat there came the inevitable decadence in every field of endeavor, but apparently an unrecognized decadence, for the reigns of Philip III and of Philip IV were filled with lavish spending, waste, and incompetency in general. It was during this time that Calderón reached the height of his career. He was a favorite at court, and wrote many plays for court presentation. Philip IV himself had some talent in the art of writing, encouraged the production of plays and the writing of poetry, and sponsored dramatic events which turned the government purse into a veritable sieve. Calderón seemed oblivious to the fact that there was a change in the old order, but he was not alone in this respect, for most of his contemporaries shared this illusion.

In keeping with these political and economic extremes, were also extremes in religious matters. The country was burdened with an excessive number of monasteries and with those pursuing religious careers. The situation is best explained in the words of Fernández Navarrete:

Estando España tan falta de gente para la cultura de las tierras y para el ejercicio de artes y oficios, tiene en doscientas leguas de latitud y longitud más de nueve mil conventos, y en ellos más de setenta mil religiosos, sin los monasterios de monjas, que es otro grande número.²

This testimony, of course, alters somewhat the general opinion of the time that the poverty and under-population in Spain were due entirely to foreign wars and migration to America in search of gold. This impression is further disproved by a letter written by El Arzobispo Don Gaspar de Criales to the King, in which he says:

Resta lo último, Señor, que son muchos los frailes, clérigos y monjas, y eso ya se ve que no es dudable que, respectivamente por lo menos,

² *Conversación de Monarquías, Discurso 43, Madrid (1925).*

impida la multiplicación, y que haya provenido de ahí la mayor parte de la mucha falta de gente que hay en ese Reino.³

He further intimates that all the best men of the country, the most handsome, able, ingenious, and sound, were the ones who entered the clergy, and so it is not surprising that Menéndez y Pelayo termed it "una democracia frailuna."⁴ Obviously, such a condition was not a wholesome one for growth in any direction.

In spite, however, of the apparent weakening in the national morale of Spain, there had been during that time, a number of gifted writers; Quevedo, Rojas, Lope de Vega, and finally Calderón, the last brilliant literary figure of his time, a writer whose brilliance might be termed an after-glow. His own religious conviction never waivered for an instant, and he carried to a successful and well-sustained close a long and very fruitful life.

We find among Calderón's very extensive theatrical works almost every type of theme, and in almost every department of dramatic art he won high praise. In his plays of love and jealousy, he carried out the code of honor to its most technical extremes. His *El Médico de su honra* leaves his readers aghast over the inflexibility in the relationships of his characters. Human ties meant nothing. *El punto de honor* was the cruel dictator. A similar situation is depicted in *El Mayor Monstruo los Celos*. The historical plays probably do not show the skill or excellence of his other types. There is wide diversity of subjects in his *Comedias palaciegas*, written to be played before court audiences, and undoubtedly these pieces delighted the spectators and insured the patronage he had at court. Because of his close association with the court circle, he naturally made a point of including in his themes personal loyalty to the King. *El Alcalde de Zalamea*, Calderón's most noted tragedy, and perhaps one of the greatest tragedies in Spanish literature, gives evidence to his readers that Calderón has some ability to depict character. Ordinarily his characters are not so finely drawn.

As a writer of religious drama, Calderón is unexcelled. His religious plays are outward expressions of a deeply religious nature, of piety, understanding, and goodness. His *Autos Sacramentales* stand in a class by themselves, for he developed this type of religious play far beyond any heights it had previously reached. The fact that Calderón was asked by the court to write two *Autos* each year for the city of Madrid is evidence of his ability in this

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30. When one reads that an archbishop wrote in such a tone in an age when there were so many excellent writers, one wonders what the culture of the church must have been at that time.

⁴ *Calderón y su teatro* (Colección de Escritores Españoles), Third Edition, Madrid (1884), XXI, p. 53.

field. A more complete discussion of the *Autos* will be found in Chapter III.

For the purpose of more systematic and efficient study, the various religious works have been put into four different classifications, each one of which will be handled in a separate section. The various sources, as nearly as they could be found, will be discussed in these respective sections. The following *Autos Sacramentales* will be examined: *La Vida es Sueño*, *La Viña del Señor*, *El Gran Teatro del Mundo*, *La Divina Filotea*, *La Mística y Real Babilonia*, *La Primer Flor del Carmelo*, *La Cena del Rey Baltasar*, *El Primer Refugio del Hombre*.

Included in the Biblical and Historical dramas are these: *Los Cabellos de Absalón*, *Judas Macabeo*, *La Exaltación de la Cruz*, *El Príncipe Constante*. Dramas based on the Catholic dogma are: *La Devoción de la Cruz*, *La Virgen del Sagrario*, and *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*.

In the chapter dealing with the subject of free will the following plays will be discussed: *La Vida es Sueño*, *Las Cadenas del Demonio*, *El Mágico Prodigioso*, and *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*.

LIFE OF CALDERÓN

Angel Valbuena-Prat says of Calderón: "*es difícil en extremo trazar una buena biografía de Calderón.*" He calls it the "*biografía del silencio,*"⁵ since Calderón made very few commentaries on the world about him. He lived quite apart from it in an ideal world. He was not dazzled by human glories, and even was indifferent to his court position, a thing which would have been a matter of great pride to most men in a similar position. His birth in 1600 into a Madrilenian home of culture to parents of noble lineage had particularly fitted Calderón for the courtier that he was by nature, for he moved with a natural ease and grace in this rôle. The fact that he was Chaplain to Philip IV, and was court poet for forty years gives sufficient evidence of his aptitude and success in court life. Though at times rebellious, he had a very noble and gentlemanly side to his disposition and was, according to his biographers, a priest beyond reproach.

In modern psychological terms, Calderón was an introvert. He found the consolation to his troubles within his own heart; he answered the problems of the universe in terms of his own philosophy, and viewed the world as a mental world rather than a physical one. Calderón's conception seems to envisage as many worlds as there are individuals, for to everyone the world would seem a different place, depending upon his concept of it. At all events, Calderón grew more and more apart from the material universe, as such. "*El gradual apartamiento del mundo, la indiferencia ante el poder y la distinción en la corte, la vida modesta y retirada del Calderón sacerdote, están en consonancia con esta filosofía moral de sus más hondas comedias, de sus Autos más característicos.*"⁶

It is said that Calderón had an independent nature, the example being given that he did not immediately follow the religious life his parents so much hoped he would, but took his time, and became a priest when he wished to be one. This may be true, but the delay may also have been the result of circumstances not within his control. There can be no question, however, about the independence of his nature as shown through his works. He dared to be different. He had a unique philosophy from which he did not deviate to harmonize with the fleeting beliefs of the time.

⁵ *Calderón de la Barca, Comedias Religiosas*, ed. Angel Valbuena-Prat, Ediciones de "La Lectura," Madrid (1930), p. 10.

⁶ *Calderón, Comedias Religiosas*, ed. Angel Valbuena-Prat, p. 21.

The type of education his parents first chose for him in the Jesuit College in Madrid, may have been in keeping with their desire to create in him early in his life an interest in a religious career. Whether or not this is the case, he did seem in later life to adhere more or less to the Jesuit principles, even though his monastic life was not within the cloister of the Jesuit Fathers. According to some of his biographers he studied canonical law at the University of Salamanca. Indeed, it is rather difficult to make many definite statements about the personal life of Calderón. That he was possessed with the rashness of youth is indicated in the report of his part in a duel which resulted in the death of an actor; and like most young men of his time, Calderón had a short military experience. Again in later years, he served in a campaign in the army of the Duke of Olivares. It was upon his return from this expedition that he definitely undertook his religious career and was ordained in the Order of St. Francis in 1651.

Undoubtedly, Calderón was a man of genial temper, wise, and refined. All the acclaim and praise of his work was met with a simplicity and humility characteristic of a noble nature. His close friend and biographer, Vera-Tassis, "dwells affectionately on Calderón's open-handed charity, his modesty, and courtesy, his kindness in speaking of contemporaries, his gentleness, and patience towards envious calumniators. Calderón was a gentleman, as well as a great man of letters—a rare combination."⁷

Considering the moral standards of the time, we might expect some rather unsavory situations to appear among the writings of one who drew heavily on the daily round of men's activities as themes for his plays. Perhaps no one thing points more strongly to his gentility than his freedom from crudity. While he intimates subjects that bespeak irregularity in human affairs, he never drags his readers through the mire of obscenity. Only one with an innate greatness of heart could conceive a character such as Fernando in *El Príncipe Constante*. Calderón had a way of using the unfortunate human situation to teach that good, when it is intelligently manifested, has ascendancy over evil, so that men do not need to be the victims of evil, but rather victors over it.

It is not surprising, in view of Calderón's brilliant contributions to Spanish literature, that his death in 1681 threw Spain into deep mourning for him. His passing marked not only the loss of a great man, but brought to a close the Golden Age of literature in Spain.

⁷ James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, London (1908), p. 192.

II

LEADING TENETS IN CALDERÓN'S THEOLOGY

Since a brief presentation of Calderón's religious ideas will make unnecessary an involved discussion of them in the *resumés* of his works, the following chapter is introduced as an explanatory preface.

Being a Roman Catholic, Calderón very naturally adhered to the dogma of that faith, but his own religious sense of things was deep and broad enough to reach out beyond any creed or dogma into pure metaphysics. He saw and understood things that his own churchmen failed to understand, or even to recognize. Sir Thomas Browne, an English contemporary of Calderón's, made some rather enlightening observations on metaphysics which point to the human tendency to disbelieve or discredit what we do not readily see or understand. He said: "We do too narrowly define the Power of God, restraining it to our capacities."⁸ And in another place he reiterates the same thought: "It is we that are blind, not Fortune: because our Eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hood-wink the Providence of the Almighty." We are thus brought face to face with the fact that we must make some effort to see the situation from the other's point of view before labelling it false or impossible. Otherwise we are not in a position to understand it.

When speaking of Calderón's attempt to establish a relation between drama and religion, Salvador Madariaga quotes from Shelley: "more is lost than gained by the substitution of the rigidly defined and ever-repeated idealisms of a distorted superstition for the living impersonations of the truth of human passions."⁹ While he may be right about the lack of success in Calderón's dual handling of drama and religion, the idealisms Calderón uses seem to be anything but "a distorted superstition." To Calderón, the ideal *was* the real. The fleeting, unstable nature of the human passions did not have any place in eternal perfection, the basis upon which he founded all his conclusions. Because he believed so thoroughly in this perfection, he showed repeatedly through his works that human passions and all the evils proceeding therefrom are impotent in the presence of Omnipotence.

Calderón, in common with others who understand the Christian faith, accepted the Monist theory of the origin of the universe, as is borne out definitely in his works. In fact, this theory is the

⁸ *Religio Medici* (1647).

⁹ Salvador Madariaga, *Shelley and Calderón*, London, (n.d.), p. 23

basis of the themes in *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo* and in *El José de las mujeres*, and plays an important part in *El Mágico Prodigioso*. Briefly, the Monist theory is that all beings in the world are constituted of one eternal substance which contains within itself the power of self-existence; the diversity and attributes of these beings are different manifestations of this one substance. In *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*, Crisanto is disturbed concerning the things he is reading in the Bible and says that if he cannot work them out for himself, he will get a teacher who can help him understand the mystery. This is his problem:

Crisanto.

Bien, principio, dije, pues
empieza el renglón primero
con la misma voz, que dice:
'En el principio era el verbo
Si Verbo es palabra, ¿cómo
en el principio era, puesto
que aquí no se dice cuya,
y no hay palabra sin dueño?
Dice más: 'Y el Verbo estaba
Con Dios, y Dios era el mismo
y todas las cosas fueron
hechas después por su mano
y nada sin él fué hecho.' ¹⁰

Then Crisanto questions in his mind the power of the pagan gods, Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, their origin, and especially the fact that the power is divided. How can there be only one God, one Creator, one origin of all things? If there is, then there must be a primary Cause, something elemental and underived, and such a Cause would necessarily include another puzzling aspect of the situation, so far as Crisanto is concerned. He can see that such a Cause would have no beginning, and if no beginning surely no end, and time would be lost in eternity. The problem is further complicated in the following passage:

Dice, 'El Verbo fué hecho carne.'
Pues: ¿cómo puede ser esto?
Palabra que en el principio,
estando en Dios fué Dios mismo,
palabra que lo hizo todo,
¿pudo hacerse carne? ¹¹

During the course of events, Crisanto comes upon Carpóforo, a Christian who has been hiding away in a cave because of persecution of the Romans. The conversation which ensues includes the explanation of God's absolute power, the truth about the

¹⁰ Act I, Scene 1.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Trinity and how Crisanto can learn more about it. In this discussion Calderón shows that Pantheism¹² has no place in his philosophy. He drives the point home very firmly that there is but one Substance from which all is derived—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.¹³ This Substance is the divine Word or God.

To Calderón, God is Omnipotence Itself, without an opposite, does not share His power with evil, dwells in eternity, is the sole Creator, and Arbiter of the affairs of the universe. It would seem that he accepts Pliny's idea about God,¹⁴ for he makes some reference to it in *El Mágico Prodigioso*. In Cipriano's conversation with Demonio early in the play, he remarks that he is puzzled about this statement of Pliny's. Demonio has assured Cipriano that he is very well versed in all branches of science, but when Cipriano questions him on the subject of God, Demonio is somewhat abashed. That is one subject he prefers to avoid, but is willing to argue it in the hope of confounding Cipriano. Cipriano is more than equal to the situation, however, and in a statement that closely follows Pliny's gives his idea of God:

Cipriano.

Pensar que hay un Dios,
Suma bondad, suma gracia,
Toda vista, todo manos,
Infalible, que no engaña,
Superior, que no compute,
Dios a quien ninguno iguala,
Un principio sin principio,
Una esencia, una sustancia,
Un poder y un querer solo;
Y cuando como éste haya
Una, dos o más personas,
Una deidad soberana
Ha de ser sola en esencia,
Causa de todas las causas.¹⁵

In this speech Calderón has done more than indicate his conception of God. He has intimated that man dwells with God, for there is one essence, one substance, that God is the Cause of all causes, and that no matter whether there is one person or more, there is still only one Essence and one Cause. In fact, Calderón, when dealing with man, dealt chiefly with generic man. He seemed to realize that the good and the bad are not peculiar to any individual, but rather that each person is an individualized

¹² Act I, Scene 1.

¹³ Act I, Scene 15.

¹⁴ "For whatever God be, if there be any other God, and wherever he exists, he is all sense, all sight, all hearing, all life, all mind, and all within himself." Plinius Secundus, *Historiae Naturalis Libri XXXVII*; translated by John Bostock and H. T. Riley, London (1887), I, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵ Act I, Scene 3.

expression, of tendencies that are common to all, or more exactly, the individualized expression of a mass consciousness.

One of his critics has drawn a similar conclusion when he intimates that Calderón saw man as a whole, not against the background of time, but the immovable background of eternity, and that Calderón worked from the basis of eternal perfection. We see this fact illustrated most beautifully in Calderón's *Auto, La Divina Filotea*. Of this work Denis Florence MacCarthy says, "Philothea (Theos-Philos means God loved) does not mean just one human soul in the New Covenant. He sums up, under this idea, rather everything human that can be the object of God's love—be it in the individual or in the species."¹⁶ MacCarthy stresses the fact that Calderón worked from the principle of eternal perfection, and when speaking of man meant all men. "With what is typified by Philothea everything must be in harmony, because in the peculiar and profound idea which she represented everything is contained."¹⁷

This point leads directly to what appears to be a contradiction to the idea which is represented by Philothea, but it will be seen that Calderón proceeds in logical order. In contradistinction to this being that represents everything that is loved of God, Calderón also deals with *Género Humano*, which apparently includes all the unlovely things that could not be loved of God. In the *Auto, El Primer Refugio del Hombre*,¹⁸ *Género Humano* is besieged by Lascivia, *Apetito*, and *Gula*, who keep him from getting down into the pool which is supposed to contain healing properties. Philothea presents an example of positive goodness that involuntarily resists evil, and because of her fidelity to God is worthy of wedding the Prince of Light. *Género Humano* has to take a more roundabout course, and learn through human suffering that the unlovely traits he has made his bosom companions must eventually submit to the law of grace and be banished forever. In each case Calderón has shown the efficacy of the Sacrament, a leading point in his *Autos*, and an underlying principal in all his religious works, for to him it is the basis of salvation. It leads man to the very throne of grace. In neither case, however, has Calderón dealt with an individual, but with a human type, and the temptations that beset men as a whole.

In the matter of Absolution, we find that Calderón adheres quite closely to the Jesuit ideas. We are often surprised at the ease with which the offending parties in Calderón's religious

¹⁶ *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, Dublin (1887), p. 212.

¹⁷ Madariaga, *Shelley and Calderón*, p. 212.

¹⁸ *Autos Sacramentales y Historiales*, collection of Don Juan Fernández de Apontes, Madrid (1759), IV. These will be referred to hereafter as *Autos Sacramentales*.

dramas are pardoned and accepted in good standing after a short period of repentance. Although Calderón himself was a Franciscan, he seemed, in the matter of the Sacrament and the confessional, to be more like a Jesuit. "All the numerous textbooks on morals written by Jesuit authors are filled with instructions to the father-confessor to practice, wherever possible, the utmost leniency in the exercise of the office they have received from God as judges of mortals, so as not to render it unduly difficult for believers to partake of the penitential sacrament and not to bar their road to salvation. The father-confessor is, therefore, urged to act towards the penitent in such a way 'that from the moment he leaves the confessional, he is disposed to return to it quickly.' 'Send no one away dejected,' wrote Ignatius to his disciple, Simón Rodríguez, at Lisbon."¹⁹

The Jesuits based their philosophy on that of Aristotle, even though the scholars of the Renaissance were inclined to lean more toward the ethics of Plato, which held that "everything ethical was of divine origin, and which demanded a ceaseless striving on the part of man after an unattainable ideal lying outside human existence."²⁰ The Jesuits, on the other hand, evolved quite a different code, and held firmly to the ethics of Aristotle, as can be seen by the following statement: "There can be no clinging to the severity of an ideal demand, and the latter must yield to a far-reaching insight into the peculiarities of man. It follows, therefore, that the measure of morality is not the 'demand' but 'attainability.' Not divine norms but the human footrule is the measure; not divine commands but the paragraphs of a law govern actions and judgment."²¹ It is not difficult to see the reflection of this philosophy throughout the religious writings of Calderón.

As to Calderón's conception of the devil, we find it most interesting and ingenious. First of all, the reader never has the slightest feeling that Calderón's devil wears a red suit, has horns, and switches a forked tail. His devil is far more illusive than that. He represents the machinations of evil, whispering into some ready ear, sometimes wearing the cloak he has stolen from Innocence, sometimes parading as an authority on the Scriptures or a learned man of science. He never appears to be what he really is, and he vanishes completely upon the proof that God is omnipotent or that the Son of God has come.

¹⁹ Renée Fillop-Miller, *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*; translated by F. S. Flint and D. F. Tait, New York (1930), p. 143.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

²¹ *The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, p. 161.

The problem of evil is handled most skillfully throughout Calderón's religious dramas. This problem, which seems such an enigma to everyone, was apparently no obstacle to Calderón. He had exactly the same conviction about it as he had about everything else. Salvador Madariaga is quite right when he says: "He believes, knows, asserts. No unanswered doubt ever troubles his mind; no unsatisfied desire ever tortures his heart."²² The matter of free will is linked very closely to Calderón's views on the problem of evil and will be discussed fully in a later chapter. Suffice it to say, however, that to Calderón, an understanding of God was requisite to the excision of evil. Without this understanding man was hopelessly lost.

As regards the earthly existence, Calderón holds to the Roman Catholic belief that it is a preparatory experience for the celestial life, a place where, because man has lost grace, he must regain it through proofs of his piety and worthiness to be accepted into Heaven. He has further ideas of his own on this subject, ideas which are embodied in his play *La Vida es Sueño*; and are borne out in his Auto, *El Gran Teatro del Mundo*.

²² Shelley and Calderón, p. 13.

III

AUTOS SACRAMENTALES

The classification of Calderón's works in the Introduction might suggest that the *Autos Sacramentales* do not belong in the group designated Dramas containing Roman Catholic dogma. As a matter of fact, the Autos are the most Catholic of all Calderón's religious dramas, but since they are a type of religious play quite different from the usual dramatic piece, it is necessary to give them special consideration.

An Auto, in its early form, was a short dramatic piece based on a religious subject and dealing with theological or philosophical subjects. Auto Sacramental is "Se suele definir el Auto Sacramental, como 'una pieza dramática en un acto referente al misterio de la Eucaristía.'" ²⁸ Ángel Valbuena prefers another definition: "una composición dramática (en una jornada), *alegórica* y relativa a la Comunión." Since the element of allegory is characteristic of the Auto, Valbuena is quite right in including it in his definition. The players may be real historical characters or may be created by the fantasy of the author. In these short dramatic pieces the significance of the theme is always hidden in the actions of the players. For this reason in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, all Autos were called *symbolic*.

While the Auto is a type of dramatic literature peculiar to Spain, it is somewhat similar to the old Morality plays of England. Since the thirteenth century in Spain, religious exhibitions on holidays, Christmas, Easter, and other feast days have been popular. In the earlier times Juan del Enzina and Gil Vicente, who wrote in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, supplied the people with this kind of drama, but in a much simpler form than we find in the seventeenth century. During the period of their great popularity, Lope de Vega wrote about four hundred autos, few of which are now extant. Then followed Montalván and Valdivielso, and last Calderón, who perfected the Auto to such a degree that he is recognized as the greatest writer of Autos Sacramentales of all time. His predecessors had neither his technique in dramatic writing nor his spiritual insight. The Auto is more than a dramatic production. It deals with the most sublime elements of religion—the Sacrament, the Eucharist—in short, the

²⁸ *Autos Sacramentales*, ed. Ángel Valbuena-Prat, Madrid (1927), Introduction **XXIII**.

evidence of salvation. It would be much easier to find a writer who could produce a dramatically acceptable piece, from the point of view of technique, than to find one who has a spiritual discernment capable of recognizing the metaphysical depths which Calderón sounded in his Autos. In fact, he is criticised for being too profound for the popular mind.

One critic remarks that Calderón's "philosophic intellect is more interested in theological mysteries than in human passions."²⁴ The more one studies his religious works, the more one realizes that Calderón's theology found a satisfactory way in which to subdue or divert the human passions, for through it, he understood the power of virtue when exercised against the lower tendencies. Calderón's works, and especially his Autos, are full of this element—the subjection of evil to good, which to him was the basis of salvation. It is interesting to note throughout the Autos the relationship Calderón makes between God and nature. Menéndez y Pelayo observes on this point: "Ni es cosa rara hallar en los autos profunda doctrina teológico-filosófica sobre las relaciones de Dios con la naturaleza, del cuerpo con el espíritu, de los sentidos con las potencias del alma."²⁵

So far as Calderón himself was concerned, his Autos were his greatest joy. Composing them gave him a free rein with his beloved philosophy, which he could expound to his heart's content; pouring out his love for God and man in the hope of driving home lessons to those who were seeking salvation, or who needed to be awakened to their moral responsibility. Archbishop Trench summarizes the matter by saying: "Here indeed, at length, his two vocations of dramatist and priest were reconciled in highest and most harmonious atonement, and from the finished excellence of these works in all their details, he appears to have dedicated to them his utmost care, to have elaborated them with the diligence of a peculiar love."²⁶

No better recommendation for them can be given than that the court of the city of Madrid commissioned Calderón to write the Autos for the yearly festivals of Corpus Christi. This he did faithfully from the time he was ordained a priest in 1651 until his death thirty years later. There were in all about eighty, although Calderón's carelessness in preserving manuscripts has made it difficult to determine the exact number.

The nature of the Corpus Christi festival called for just the

²⁴ James Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed.

²⁵ *Calderón y su Teatro, Conferencias Dadas en el Círculo de la Unión Católica*, 3rd ed., Madrid (1884), p. 133.

²⁶ Richard Chenevix Trench, *An Essay on the Life and Genius of Calderón*, 2nd ed., London (1886), pp. 93-94.

type of Auto Calderón was able to produce. It is a festival in which the Roman Catholic church honors the Real Presence of the Christ in the Sacrament of the altar, and celebrates the doctrine of transubstantiation. The festivals of Corpus Christi increased in popularity and splendor under the hand of Calderón until the spectacle, the scenery, and trappings outshone the religious element. This may be one of the reasons the Autos seemed to be buried with Calderón. If the actual moral value of these pieces had been understood and appreciated, they would have lived forever. Because Calderón had really perfected the Auto, it would be very difficult for any successor to do more than had already been done. And further, from the point of view of spiritual insight, Calderón stood alone. The question is—has anyone since Calderón had the ability in this respect to produce Autos of equal merit? Their complete disappearance in the Spanish theatre would indicate that no one has. There are few philosophers who have set forth a more exact analysis of human behavior and its remedies. Denis Florence MacCarthy has given a very good account of the reasons for the present obscurity of Calderón's Autos: "Calderón is, in a certain sense, too deep, and, in the ordinary signification of the word, too unpopular. Without some intellectual effort it is impossible to enter into the meaning of his sublime phraseology. He is altogether too spiritual and too subtle for a century which seems to understand nothing but the sensuous, the palpable, and the material."²⁷ He says further that, "The symbolic signification of the Persons of the drama, and of their action in it, opens the widest field for the deepest conjecture. What at first sight seems but an irregular play of fancy, turns out on closer reflection to be not only a well-considered, but even a deeply poetical expression of full-significant truth."²⁸

After one has entered into the spirit of the Autos, one quite forgets that the characters seldom have Christian names, such as Carlos, Fernández, or Benita. Instead, we find an array such as this: Author, The Divine Painter, The Lord of the Vineyard, The Father of Families, all meaning the Creator or God. Those typifying the Son of God are sometimes designated like this: The Prince of Light, Pilgrim, The Second Adam. In addition to these personages, there are the personified virtues and vices: Chastity, Honor, Discretion, Love, Avarice, Gluttony, Voluptuousness, and others. The Devil also has a number of special appellations: The Prince of Darkness, Luzbel, or one of the idols as Baal or Bel-phegor. The virtues usually are found united or correlated in

²⁷ *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, p. 2.

²⁸ MacCarthy, *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, p. 3.

action with the personifications typifying God or the Son of God, while the vices are the conspirators with the Prince of Darkness, Luzbel, or any of the other satanic beings. Man holds the middle ground, free to choose between one or the other, but suffering or being rewarded according to the choice he makes. The Autos with historical themes have historical figures for their characters, as well as some very unusual personifications. In this class belong Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Zippor, and others, but most peculiar of all are Synagogue and The Hebrew People. There is always the conflict between good and evil forces, in which the treachery of evil now triumphant, now defeated, is finally conquered by the omnipotence of God, and man learns that his free will is a dangerous ally unless restrained by spiritual understanding and God, to whom man must give allegiance if he is to be saved.

Before taking up the actual themes of the Autos, it might be well to look at the underlying ideas they contain and see how true to life they are—that is, to fundamental human thought. The average man is little inclined to look at himself squarely. He excuses himself here and justifies himself there; yet if he examines his mental processes, he will discover that his thoughts are almost constantly engaged in argument. He challenges this thought, accepts that one, or resists another. What he challenges, accepts, or resists depends entirely upon the amount and kind of thoughts that make up his *mentality*. If virtue outweighs vice he is more likely to challenge or resist what he considers unworthy, whereas if he is more inclined toward evil, he succumbs easily to temptation and forgets quickly, with no special mental wear and tear. Between the two extremes there are many degrees of that which we term good and bad, an indication of the very relative nature of both, so far as human experience is concerned.

Now this is the very situation that Calderón handles in his Autos. They are simply dramatizations of man's mentality, dramatizations which include the subordination of the relative human sense of good to the absolute good—to God—which constitutes salvation. The reason people think Calderón's themes so intangible is that, humanity as a whole refuses to accept the fact that a man's thoughts determine what he is. He fails to realize that all there is to any man is his individual character, the thoughts and traits that seem to make him a little different from everyone else. He rarely looks within himself to see how he appears to others. This is a fact that Calderón seemed to understand clearly. His Autos show it definitely and point to his conviction that thoughts are things. Because of his absolute assur-

ance about the tangibility of thoughts, he shows clearly throughout his works that he considers salvation a purely individual experience, individual because it has to do with the renovating of one's own thoughts. Therefore, how fast a man attains grace depends upon him as an individual. *El Primer Refugio del Hombre* contains an especially definite example of Calderón's ideas on this point.

Género Humano, the leading character in this Auto, is the very personification of apathy, as we see him in the first scene. He excuses himself for not getting into the pool when the angel moves the waters, and is taunted by the Devil, who has taken up his position there to keep the impotent ones from getting to the pool on time. The Devil's offer to carry Género Humano on his shoulders is met with opposition, for Género Humano does not trust him.

Género Humano. ¿De manera, que hombre tengo,
que ayude para mi daño,
y no para mi remedio? ²⁹

Género Humano gains in his courage to resist the Devil's various suggestions, telling the Devil he does not like his advice.

Género Humano. Porque
no me agrada tu consejo: ...

Demonio. ¿Pues, qué has de hacer?

Género Humano. Fiar de Dios,
que su Poder es Inmenso,
y podrá darme salud.

Later, Peregrino comes to rescue man from his troubles but does not do it without the consent of Género Humano. He asks Género Humano if he wants to be cured, saying that the Sacrament is necessary in this case, and it cannot be given unless it is sought.

MacCarthy, who shows a clear understanding of and respect for Calderón, speaks thus of his treatment of his characters: "The peculiar and really astonishing art of Calderón consists principally in this that he is able to give to these allegorical beings the most precise, individual, and characteristic delineation. . . . They are really dramatic figures endowed with a life and an individuality, which is very often wanting in the human *personnel* of the secular drama." ³⁰

AUTOS BASED ON THE OLD TESTAMENT

La Cena del Rey Baltasar

La Cena del Rey Baltasar is suitable for the opening of a discussion of Calderón's autos, because this very piece has as one of

²⁹ *Autos Sacramentales*, collection Juan Fernández de Apontes, IV, p. 39.

³⁰ *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, p. 52.

the characters Pensamiento, Human Thought. Pensamiento, appropriately dressed in a suit of many colors, completely lacking in symmetry of design, gives an honest account of his own nature. He is led to speak by Daniel's question, "¿Quién eres?"

Pensamiento: Yo, de solos atributos
que mi ser inmortal pide,
soy una luz que divide
a los hombres de los brutos ...
Soy en el rey el desvelo
de su reino y de su estado:
soy en el que es su privado
la vigilancia y el celo:
Soy en el reo la justicia,
la culpa en el delincuente,
virtud en el pretendiente,
y en el pródigo malicia,
en la dama la hermosura
en el galán el favor
en el soldado el valor,
en el tahir la ventura,
en el avaro riqueza,
en el mísero agonía,
en el alegre alegría,
y en el triste soy tristeza;
y, en fin, inquieto y violento,
por dondequiera que voy,
soy todo y nada, pues soy
El Humano Pensamiento.⁸¹

Pensamiento is not so sure that he and Daniel will get along well, since Daniel means the Wisdom of God and he, Madness. Daniel assures him, however, that they can probably strike some middle ground, and upon hearing the blast of trumpets and sounds of festivity, asks Pensamiento the cause of the rejoicing. The reply is that the great King Belshazzar is being wed to the beautiful empress of the East Idolatry. Daniel is surprised, because he was sure the King was already married to Human Vanity. Pensamiento answers him by saying that Belshazzar is free to have one wife or a thousand, and so far as Vanity and Idolatry are concerned, they are one. Daniel fears the fate of the people of God under these conditions, but no less fearful is Pensamiento of the possibility of only one God. The King has a long, loving conversation with Vanity and Idolatry, saying that no one can ever break their sweet relationship.

Daniel. Dadme las manos las dos.
¿Quién de tan dulces abrazos

⁸¹ Northrup, *Calderón—Three Plays*, pp. 238, 239.

podrá las redes y lazos
romper? ³²

Baltasar.

¡La mano de Dios!

The King wonders who dared to question his resolve, and seeing Daniel, adds that he was merely a simple Hebrew captive in Jerusalem and a fugitive in Babylon, and follows his remarks by drawing his dagger. To everything the King says or does, Daniel says, "La mano de Dios," and try as he will, Belshazzar is not able to raise a finger against him. Pensamiento, who has been standing by, has not been unmindful of the effect of Daniel's declarations and suggests that he and Daniel part company.

Praying that these injuries of Vanity and Idolatry against his faith be avenged, Daniel is suddenly confronted with a dark figure, dagger in hand, whom he questions. The figure replies that he is the end of everyone who is born, the cruel son of Sin and Envy. He is Death and is coming to claim the soul of Belshazzar. While Daniel realizes that the King has erred greatly, that he has not been true to God, he still feels that he is worthy of another chance and reminds Death that he must remember that Belshazzar is mortal and must be dealt with patiently. Death must not, therefore, draw his dagger against the King. All Daniel asks is that he threaten him.

Death, feeling that his power has been severely hampered by this divine decree, calls upon Pensamiento, who, although frightened beyond words, succeeds in catching his breath enough to answer Death's question concerning the whereabouts of Belshazzar. At this time the King is frightened by Daniel's words, the punishment threatened for Idolatry, and most of all by the shadow that is pursuing him, for Death has found him in the garden, and is making his presence felt. The slip of paper which Belshazzar receives from Death contains the reminder that he was dust in the beginning and will return to dust. The King is puzzled. How can he be dust if he is immortal? How can he be dust if he is eternal? He ends by saying: "¡Es engaño, es ilusión!"

Since the entrance of Death, Pensamiento's contact with him has been a necessity in order to reach the King, a fact which has made Pensamiento feel like a traitor. In his self-consciousness, he has vacillated between the two deities, Vanity and Idolatry, and has made Belshazzar appear indifferent to them. Vanity and Idolatry feel that they are being deserted and snatch the paper on which is written the message that the King was dust and will be dust. Belshazzar tries to rouse himself from the lethargy that

³² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

is coming over him, assuring his two companions of his loyalty to them, and suggests that they go into the garden, where they can enjoy the beauty of the flowers. While they are there, Death works his subtle spell over the King, and puts him to sleep. Since Pensamiento can sleep only when Belshazzar is asleep, he takes advantage of this opportunity for a nap, leaving Death free to carry on his plans without interference. Death gives some account of his nature and his work when he says:

Descanso del sueño hace
el hombre ¡ay Dios! sin que advierta
que cuando duerme y despierta,
cada día muere y nace;
que vivo cadaver yace
cada día, pues, rendida
la vida a un breve homicida,
que es su descanso no advierte
una lección que La Muerte
le va estudiando a la vida.³⁸

Death intimates further that Belshazzar is sleeping his last sleep from which he will never awaken, and is about to draw his dagger, when Daniel holds his arm, saying to him that the King's time is not yet fulfilled. Death again resents the interference, and pulling aside a curtain reveals a bronze statute of Idolatry mounted on a horse, and on the other side Vanity standing on a tower. They speak to the King, who hears them in his dreams. After Vanity and Idolatry have impressed upon Belshazzar their power and have urged him to consecrate himself to their temple, Death again enters and Daniel declares that all the idols will have to surrender their power at the sound of the trumpet of God, which will be the trumpet of Judgment.

The Statue then reminds Belshazzar of the evidence she has seen of the great power of God. The King awakens and recounts to Pensamiento the queer things that have disturbed his sleep. Idolatry, fearing for her continued patronage, tries to reach the King through every kind of argument, impressing on him the power of the five physical senses, and he, somewhat regaining his feelings for her, thinks perhaps she can alleviate his melancholy. Pensamiento begs him to forget his tears, at least for that day, for tears have no place at a banquet such as he is about to attend.

Death seizes this opportunity and disguises himself as a servant at the feast, handing to the King the vases of the temple consecrated to the one God. Belshazzar takes them, but drinks to

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

the health of Moloc, god of the Assyrians. A clap of thunder soon follows, and suddenly a hand appears writing with a fiery brand on a piece of paper these words: Mene, Tekel, and Peres. Consternation reigns. No one can interpret the words. Idolatry suggests that Daniel, the young Hebrew, has been able to interpret dreams and perhaps can interpret this. Daniel's interpretation indicates that Belshazzar's reign has ended, that he has been weighed in the balance and found wanting, and that his Kingdom has been divided and given to the Medes and Persians. Belshazzar in desperation appeals to Vanity and Idolatry to help him, but in vain. They can do nothing for him.

The King is fully aware of his sin—the profaning of the vases of the temple. Death appears with his dagger, and the days of the great Belshazzar come to an end. Daniel then shows forth the real feast of Bread and Wine. The old material sense of it has passed away, and the Miracle of grace has come to light.

Calderón has taken the theme for this Auto from the book of Daniel, chapter five, but he has handled the story from a different angle. Characteristically, he has approached the subject from Belshazzar's point of view. *Pensamiento* gives us the key to the situation, portraying all the intricate labyrinths of human thought, its lack of stability, its fear, its pride, its restlessness. In contrast to him is Daniel, the Wisdom of God. Although he comes in contact with *Pensamiento*, he apparently never enters into any relationship with him. In fact, *Pensamiento*, knowing that the Wisdom of God is undoubtedly capable of completely overshadowing him, is inclined to shun Daniel and even suggests that they part company. It is interesting to note, too, that Death inspires *Pensamiento* with the greatest fear and horror, while Daniel in his contact with Death is fearless, business-like, and direct, even managing Death's affairs in a way that makes him feel cramped and fearful and aware that his work must be carried on subtly.

Throughout the Auto, Calderón has made it plain that Human Thought is the offender. Belshazzar is at the mercy of his own thought, which cannot even go to sleep unless Belshazzar sleeps. Even Death realizes that his nefarious plans must be laid while Human Thought is asleep—incapable of offering resistance. When the King receives the slip of paper on which is the edict that he was dust at the beginning and will be resolved into dust, he is naturally puzzled, for he has been taught that man is immortal and eternal. He comes to the conclusion that the whole thing is a mistake and an illusion, and again at this point Calderón shows

that Pensamiento will be the cause of his being committed to dust when he says as he walks around Belshazzar:

Pensamiento. Yo, como loco, en efecto,
vueltas y más vueltas doy.

To the end, it is Pensamiento who keeps the King from accepting the Judgment of God, or receiving Daniel's message, which if accepted would have displaced the recklessness of Pensamiento with the stability of Wisdom, the end of which would have been the consecration of the sacred vases and the reward, eternal life.

Leniency with offenders is one of the Jesuit principles that Calderón introduces here. Belshazzar has already committed a grave sin against God, but Daniel tells Death that he must exercise great patience with the King because he is mortal, that is, subject to human frailties. In the second instance Daniel makes the excuse that Belshazzar's days are not yet fulfilled, but when the King persists in turning to his idols and even profanes the vases of the temple, his transgressions are so obvious that no further clemency is offered. Belshazzar had failed to comprehend the spiritual import of the feast and the eternal reward awaiting those who partake of it, but Calderón does not leave a negative lesson, merely the punishment of evil, but carries his thought beyond to the fulfillment of prophecy which includes the reward.

Daniel. Y si esto
no lo descubre, descubra
en profecía este tiempo
esta mesa transformada
en pan y vino, estupendo
milagro de Dios, en quien
cifró el Mayor Sacramento.

Mística y Real Babilonia

Mística y Real Babilonia is also based on the book of Daniel, the story being drawn from chapter three. This Auto is merely a dramatized version of the Bible stories of Daniel in the Lions' Den and the three Hebrew boys who have been thrown into the fiery furnace because they refused to worship the statue which Nebuchadnezzar had set up. Calderón has used these stories as examples of the rewards that come through fidelity to God, and shows how this exemplification transformed becomes the actual Bread and Wine of the Sacrament.

No comparison can be made in the depth of thought in these two Autos, *Mística y Real Babilonia* and *La Cena del Rey Baltasar*, for the latter is one of the best examples we have of

Calderón's skill in depicting concretely that very illusive and intangible thing called *Human Thought*. The former has no special philosophic significance, but Calderón has made an admirable adaptation of the circumstances to portray the mystery of the Eucharist.

La Primer Flor del Carmelo

There seems to be some confusion in the stories in the Auto entitled, *La Primer Flor del Carmelo*. The underlying theme has to do with sowing the seeds of evil that will result in the destruction of the house of David and cut off the line from which will spring the promised Messiah. Luzbel, the chief evil force in this Auto, tells how man fell and how the line of David is destined to restore grace. The Old Testament story used as a background is that of Nabal and Abigail, found in I Samuel 25, but Calderón has introduced the story of Jesus' temptation taken from the New Testament, attributing it, however, to David, probably to indicate that the power of the Christ was already at work toward its own fulfillment and that God was protecting and maintaining His divine purpose.

By hiding in the wilderness, David has successfully escaped the hand of Saul, who was determined to put an end to him. When David hears that Nabal, a man of great possession, is shearing his sheep and celebrating the harvest, he sends one of his men to ask for food. Nabal is the personification of greed and has as his friends Avarice and Lasciviousness. His response to the request for food is that he does not know David, and there is no reason why he should be asked to send his good food and the fruits of his labor to these men. Besides, it is not his fault that they are hungry. Abigail, the wife of Nabal, remonstrates with her husband, saying that Heaven has decreed that the rich shall help the poor, but she only whets his greed and anger.

In the meantime, David's hunger gives Luzbel an opportunity to tempt him, and he suggests that David turn the stones into bread. David refuses to listen and maintains his devotion to God against Luzbel's arguments that he cast himself down from the pinnacle and that he can have the whole world if he will accept Luzbel as his god.

The Virtues and Vices belonging respectively to Abigail and Nabal join in the harvest festival, where Luzbel, the evil spirit, suggests that they play a game, hoping to catch Abigail. Meanwhile, Nabal comes home and finds his house full of people. He is furious, saying his house has been turned into a veritable Babylon where everyone is speaking a different language, and as it

is time to eat, they must all leave. He refuses to share his food with anyone. Abigail is so distressed that she decides to leave with her two companions, Liberality and Chastity, when suddenly Joran, servant of David, comes to ask for food. After Nabal's refusal Joran is reluctant to return to David with the bad news, but Simplicity, who is also at the feast, tells Joran to speak to Abigail.

Since Abigail has already decided to leave, she goes out with Chastity and Liberality, bearing the sacred Bread and Wine in answer to David's call. Simplicity brings a lamb, and even Lasciviousness and Avarice join with fruits and flowers. Luzbel enters the scene again, but this time there seems to be no mingling of the Virtues and Vices, who now stay in their own groups. David meets Abigail. By this time David has lost his patience with Nabal and gives his soldiers the command that Nabal must die. His wife intercedes, saying that even though Nabal's sins have been many, he should be forgiven.

The character of Abigail is now evident, and David welcomes her as the light of his prophecies, The Flower of Carmel. Nabal and his friends fall into confusion. Good is prevailing, and David realizes that the Bread is efficacious in erasing sin. All hail David and Abigail.

The line of demarcation between the good and evil forces is clearly defined in this Auto, but it is easy to see that in each case, the people themselves are subordinate to the mental qualities which determine their natures. Good wins through its own power and action, while the feigned strength of evil vanishes into nothingness. Here again, Calderón exhibits his leniency with the offender, who is easily pardoned.

The foregoing Auto forms an appropriate transition from the Old Testament to the discussion of those based on the New Testament, for it heralds the coming of the Messiah and gives some hint of the new order of things. The Old Testament stories have much to say on the subject of idolatry, and the power that saves and heals is known only as the Judgment or Wisdom of God, an impersonal Savior, but undoubtedly the animation of the Christ spirit. Jesus himself said, "Before Abraham was, I am," indicating that Jesus realized and made plain to all that the Christ or spirit of God was operating in man's behalf from eternity, and he was the human manifestation which fulfilled the prophecy that the Word would be made flesh and dwell with men. Calderón has apparently been aware of this fact, as is shown in his New Testament Autos.

AUTOS BASED ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

La Viña del Señor

In *La Viña del Señor*, Calderón has used the parable in Matthew 22:3-44 to exemplify the sufferings of the Son of God at the hand of human wickedness. This is the story in brief: A householder had a vineyard, a winepress, and a tower which he let to certain husbandmen. When all was arranged, he left for a far country. When the harvest time came, the householder sent his servants to receive the fruit, but the husbandmen beat, stoned, and killed the servants. At last, he sent his son, feeling sure that the husbandmen would not harm him, but when they saw the son coming, they killed him, too, thinking they would then receive the inheritance. The householder called to him the husbandmen to tell them that because of their wickedness, they must leave, and he would get others to come who were worthy of the fruits.

Calderón has not portrayed the husbandmen as men but as the wicked characters they possessed; so we find Malice and his conspirators attacking Innocence, who represents the servants. During the fray, Malice has caught the sleeve of the cloak of Innocence, thinking he can subdue and conquer her, but Innocence quickly wrests herself away, slipping out of her cloak, which she leaves in the hands of Malice. All goes well with Malice for a time, for he immediately appropriates the cloak and carries on his evil deeds in the guise of Innocence. When he calls to the Hebrews and Synagogue, they cannot imagine who it is, but Malice immediately informs them that he is Innocence. He does not, however, really say *Innocencia*, but *Nocencia*, which means no understanding, no learning, no innocence—just the contrary of *Innocencia*. The evil ones then join hands to confuse the people and put them at odds with one another, unable to oppose their operations.

An argument ensues as to whom they owe allegiance, and they finally decide that if they turn over anything at all to the Father of the Families, it will not be the first fruits. They will keep those for themselves, since they did all the work, and deserve those as a reward. Finally Isaiah comes to collect the fruits and is killed. Then Jeremiah comes but is denied the fruits and is stoned and driven out. Luzero suffers the same fate, and at last the son comes accompanied by Innocence. When the adversaries find out who he is, they are afraid, even though he assures them that he is not coming to punish them, but to see what reparation

they can make for the damage they have done. They decide that he is worthy of praise until they realize that Innocence is with him. Then they contrive again to cause confusion and trouble because they know that Innocence means their ultimate destruction. Malice tries to flee, but Innocence stops him, telling him that the promise reads that she, Innocence, shall rule over the whole world, and that until Malice is destroyed, the world will be terrorized by his wrongs and thrown into chaos. After a struggle Innocence wins over Malice and regains her cloak. Her reply to Malice is a shout of praise:

Innocencia. Albricias, que ya ha quedado
 la Malicia descubierta,
 pues yo mi traje restauro:

This is one of the most subtle points Calderón makes in this whole Auto. He shows clearly that when evil is discovered or "uncovered," it ceases to exercise any further power. The Father comes. The son appears on the Cross, signifying the sufferings of the New Testament, and the various cars pass showing the mystery of the Eucharist. This display makes the adversaries angry and fearful. They want to flee away to die, but Malice says he cannot die but must continue to be tormented in his own bonds. Then the Father welcomes all to His arms. Their penitence has saved them.

It would be impossible to find a more exact interpretation of the parable than Calderón has given in this Auto. He has shown the subtle nature of evil, its struggle to disguise itself as good and the accomplishment of its terrible purpose, when it succeeds in confusing people and setting them at odds with one another. Calderón makes clear the necessity for evil to masquerade as good, its fear of discovery, and its flight before the truth that has uncovered it, leaving the light to fulfill its sacred purposes in the Communion.

The easy absolution in this Auto is somewhat distracting to the reader. No matter what the offenders have to say for themselves at the end, one feels that they have been so wicked that they should have received at least a suitable period of probation instead of absolute grace.

El Primer Refugio del Hombre

The second Auto to be discussed in this group is based on the ideas of the New Testament, for it deals entirely with the healing ministrations of Jesus, the determination of evil to challenge

his activities, and his absolute proofs of the supremacy and power of divine Law when understood and utilized in man's behalf. It bears the fitting title—*El Primer Refugio del Hombre*—Christ, the refuge from all the downward tendencies of the human mind. It is a rather long Auto and includes four Bible stories; that of the impotent people at the Pool of Bethesda in John 5, of the Tribute Money according to Matthew 22: 17-22, of the Samaritan woman at the well, John 4: 1-15, and of the woman taken in adultery, John 8: 1-11.

As usual in his Autos, Calderón depicts here the various human natures involved rather than the corporeal beings themselves, and deals with mankind as *Género Humano*. The human tendencies involved here are not peculiar to one individual, but to everybody. All that differs in the individual is the degree and quality of the various traits manifested.

The scene opens at the pool of Bethesda where Mankind and other impotent folk, Lasciviousness, Pride, Gluttony, and others, are waiting to step into the pool when the angel comes to stir the water. Those who succeed in getting into the water at these periods are healed of their diseases, but many lose their opportunity. Some of the characters fail because of inertia, but Mankind, whose lameness represents the total of all the ills, cannot get into the pool because there is no one to put him in. He justifies himself thus:

Género Humano. ¿Si todos sentís
 tan en particular vuestro
 mal, que haré yo, que en común
 todos los de todos siento?

The Devil is on hand to do his part in keeping the characters away from the pool where they could be redeemed, but Mankind, somewhat aware of a power of good outside himself, begins to resist the Devil's arguments and temptations, and almost simultaneously is heard the angel voice which moves the waters. The Angel Raphael enters accompanied by Peregrino, The Pilgrim. The Devil accosts him and immediately wants to know how he is going to heal people. There is no drawing back on the part of the Pilgrim. To the question about his desire to be cured, Mankind answers in the affirmative, while Appetite sarcastically adds, "Who doesn't want to be cured when he is sick?" The Devil remarks that it is a fine time to be wishing to be healed when the water isn't moving! This remark calls forth the following words that become the refrain:

Peregrino.

Que el hombre, que tiene Hombre,
después de hecho Carne el Verbo,
como Hombre le da la mano
y como Dios el remedio,
Toma tu lecho, y camina.

This is the Pilgrim's answer to Mankind's complaint that someone will have to take his hand to help him into the pool because he has an infinite illness and an infinite means will be needed to heal him. He indicates that Man must achieve the highest or most perfect attributes of humanity before God may give the remedy, and the final command to Man to take up his bed and walk indicates the permanence of the healing wrought by God.

From this point on in the *Auto*, the Devil and his Effects³⁴ challenge everything the Pilgrim says or does, and to each challenge there is a satisfactory reply, which puts the Effects to shame. Finally Pride wants to know who the Pilgrim is and by what means he does all these things. The reply is: "Soy quien soy."³⁵ "I am that I am," which really means self-existence, the eternal Ego, and no doubt was Calderón's explanation of the divine Essence or Substance from which all is derived and by which all is maintained. The Pilgrim says his name is "Immanuel," or God with us. The Effects continue their questions, but each time the Pilgrim forces them to answer in their own terms, and at last an explanation of the concurrence of the Human and Divine is given. This is too much for one of the Effects, who determines to confuse the understanding and dull the memory by doubting and arguing and breaking the testimonies. Pride is conquered and the Devil and Appetite join forces to catch the Pilgrim. They tempt him with the story of the tribute money, the Samaritan woman at the well, and last with punishment as exhibited in the story of the woman taken in adultery. Eventually, each one of the adversaries and Effects falls at the feet of the Pilgrim, who pardons them.

One might think that Calderón's treatment of the subject of this *Auto* is far-fetched, but a careful study will show that he has been perfectly logical throughout in all his amplifications of the various stories. First of all, he has followed the Bible stories very closely, and second, he has gone beneath the surface and shown how in each case the healing has come about through faith in the divine Word, and a willingness to take up arms against evil, or as St. Paul puts it, "That ye put off concerning

³⁴ Instead of giving specific names to a group of characters that personify the evil effects of the Devil's work, Calderón calls them all collectively "Afectos."

³⁵ See also Exodus, 3:14

the former conversation the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; . . . And that ye put on the new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."³⁶ Calderón has struck the root of the problem when he finds the cause of the impotence in the stultifying human tendencies, appetite and passion in all their forms. Mankind represents the sum total of them all, and Calderón made a far-reaching statement when he put into the mouth of Género Humano the complaint that he had an infinite illness and an infinite remedy would be needed to cure him. The "infinite remedy" is contained in St. Paul's words, and is borne out in Calderón's refrain throughout the Auto.

AUTOS DEALING EXCLUSIVELY WITH THE SACRAMENT

La Divina Filotea

In sheer literary beauty, *La Divina Filotea* is one of the loveliest of Calderón's Autos. It might be called strictly abstract in its portrayal of any virtuous nature resisting base or unworthy suggestions.

The Auto is meant to represent the perils and mischances which beset the soul (God's intended bride) in its earthly course. The conflict is between the soul, Philothea, attempting to preserve its fidelity to its heavenly bridegroom, and the hostile forces that beset it. The Auto shows especially the aid that Christ gives His bride, either openly or secretly, culminating in the glorious victory won with His own life. It also exemplifies the divine help by which Philothea is enabled through the Sacrament to regain strength and continue in the struggle.

The allegory typifies what the soul here on earth has to endure in the castle of the body, from the manifold enemies that are banded against it. The army of these enemies is led on by the Devil with his two allies—The World and Voluptuousness, who lay plans for the siege of Philothea (Theos-Philos, God-loved or God-loving). The World calls in Atheism, Paganism, and Judaism. Voluptuousness seduces the services of The Human Understanding, who deserts from the army of Philothea to serve as an assistant for Voluptuousness. The garrison of the castle of Philothea consists of The Five Senses and the Three Theological Virtues. The last remain faithful to her, but the Senses, when their quarter has been set on fire by the mine of Sensuality, fly away in a cowardly manner and are only brought back to obed-

³⁶ Ephesians, 14:22-24.

ience under Philothea by direct interposition of The Prince of Light, who arrives in a ship to bring relief to the castle.

One of the outstanding points in this Auto is the evidence of power resulting from a combination of faith and right reasoning. Philothea manifests a mighty faith, intelligently directed, which defeats the army of evil suggestions. In Chapter II, in speaking of the nature of Calderón's Devil, it was said that "He represents the machinations of evil whispering into some ready ear,"³⁷ but Philothea did not have a "ready ear" for evil. Calderón makes it plain in this Auto that he believes firmly in St. Paul's statement: "For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds; Casting down imaginations and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ."

AUTOS BASED ON CALDERON'S PHILOSOPHY

Because the two following Autos cannot be easily classified under any of the foregoing subdivisions, *El Gran Teatro del Mundo* and *La Vida es Sueño* will be discussed separately. They are both motivated to a certain degree by Calderón's ideals about free will, and the fleeting temporary nature of human existence, as he sees it.

El Gran Teatro del Mundo

El Gran Teatro del Mundo is a play within a play and has a vein of humor through it. The characters are: The Author, the World, the Poorman, the Richman, the Farmer, the King, a Child, Beauty, Discretion, and others. The Author gives each one his part, but not without some resistance from the actors. The Poorman cannot understand why he is poor when everyone is supposed to be created equal, but his mind is soon put at rest by the Author, who tells him that it is not the rôle that one is given, but the way one plays it that counts. Those who sit on the right hand of God are those who have played their parts without an error.

The other characters want to know how they will learn when to begin and when to end their parts, and the Author tells them that he will call them; that is, set the time of birth and death. The Author also tells his actors that He will teach them all they need to know and that they can never have cause to complain of him, since he is giving them the freedom of their wills. Some confusion ensues over their respective parts, and when they turn

³⁷ See II, page 27.

to the Author for assistance, he tells them that while he is perfectly able to mitigate their troubles, he is leaving them to work together and live by his Law, exercising the free will with which they are endowed. After this warning their guilt will be their error. The refrain that runs through the Auto is: "Ama al otro como a ti, y obrar bien, que Dios es Dios."

The King is especially anxious to talk about his power and glory, but The World deflates his vanity somewhat when he reminds the King that Solomon asked for wisdom. The other actors express their ideas about the universe, each one indicating a point of view characteristic of the part he is playing.

Just as the King finishes his speech, a door opens, a low voice is heard, and the King sees before him a bier. The end is at hand, and although he wishes to draw back, he finds that he cannot. The characters all go unwillingly. Beauty feels sure she is permanent, but is reminded of the saying in Ezekiel³⁸ that beauty is like the flower that fades. Her rosy hues begin to fade, and a voice is heard chanting these words:

Que en el Alma eres eterna,
y en el cuerpo mortal flor.

Like the others when she sees that the end is at hand, Beauty says:

y hacia este sepulcro voy,
mucho me pesa que no haber
hecho mi papel mejor.

The Farmer wants to appeal to some higher tribunal, saying he knows there will be a better season for his departure. The Richman decides that since life is so short anyway, he might as well "eat, drink, and be merry, for tomorrow we die." The Poorman goes voluntarily. Life has been hard for him, and he does not regret the end. As for the World, he says the only thing in him that is permanent is religion. Calderón intimates here that even in our earthly life the only evidence of immortality is religion, the means by which man attains grace.

Then comes the judgment day when all appear before the Author to be received into grace or put on probation. The King is surprised when he finds the World has forgotten him and must be reminded that he was the King. He asks the World why he gave him all the royal robes, pomp, and power if he is going to take it all away. The World answers briefly that those things were not given to him, but lent while he was playing his part,

³⁸ Isaiah, 4:7, 8; not Ezekial.

and that now they are lent to someone else. Beauty returns having little to say for herself except that her beauty has been consumed by the sepulchre. Discretion says she asked for religion, discipline, and abstinence, qualities she does not wish to leave in the world because they exceed the human passions. Calderón has included several points of Roman Catholic dogma in this Auto, one of them being the judgment of the Child, who is neither punished or rewarded, but becomes a migrant soul until the stain of being born without grace is erased.

Calderón's own tendency to disclaim worldly glory is clearly evident in this Auto. One cannot read it without realizing that he puts no lasting value on the pride of position, worldly honors, or temporal treasures. The fact that he gives Discretion religion, obedience, and abstinence and has her take them with her out of the World, shows that he believes firmly in the words found in Matthew 6, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal: For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also."³⁰ The whole Auto is an exposition of Calderón's conviction that this life is a preparatory experience for the celestial life to come.

La Vida es Sueño

Since Chapter VI will contain a discussion of Calderón's views on free will, the subject will be touched upon here only as it appears in this Auto, *La Vida es Sueño*.

The Auto has a most dramatic opening with the elements, Earth, Air, Fire, and Water struggling for supremacy, followed by Power, Learning, and Love. Learning represents a primary and supreme Intelligence, for he says he has known all things from the beginning; Power says he is eternal and infinite; both combined, signify the all-inclusive intelligence and omnipotence of God. On the heels of Light and Love, sneak the Prince of Darkness and Shadow saying that they hate the light and will try to obscure it. At this time man comes forth from a rocky cavern followed by Grace, who tells him he is the image of his Maker. The man wants to know who he is, where he came from, and what he will be. Grace tells him that he will know who he was and is by following the Light, but as for what he will be, only he himself can decide.

³⁰ Matthew 6:19-21.

Grace. Sigue esta Luz, y sabrás de ella lo que
fuiste, y eres; mas de ella saber no esperes
lo que adelante ferás, que esso tu sólo podrás
hacer, que sea malo, o bueno.

The man is not entirely satisfied, for he says that if this Light illuminates his way only, but makes another blind, he has less liberty. The beasts, fish, birds, and brutes without intelligence have more freedom than he does, if the power to reason is only accidental, and he does not know who he was, is, or will be.

Then the Prince of Darkness and Shadow connive to subdue and poison man's senses so that they will hold him in a state of mental lethargy strong enough to keep him from awakening to his real being. This spell they will cast over everything—flowers, trees, and plants, among which they will hide themselves. Light is the forerunner of free will, and man finds himself in the midst of beauty, gaily adorned, with music and applause all about him. He again wonders who he is, what he will be, but is not long in doubt, for the voice of Understanding comes to him, saying that he was dust and will return to dust. Free Will immediately speaks, telling man that he is a perfect creature, not only in the human and rational sense, but that, in being the heir of the King, he is a prince who may enjoy complete happiness which nothing can possibly sadden. This appeals to man. He questions his adviser, who says: "Yo soy tu libre albedrío." He also questions Understanding, who tries to win him over against Free Will.

From this point on there is a struggle between Understanding and Free Will, Understanding admonishing man to be careful, and Free Will telling him to do as he pleases. Man greatly resents the interference of Understanding, and when Shadow and Sin join forces to catch man, he is completely out of patience with the learned fellow. Man admires the lovely fruit and flowers painted by the hands of Shadow and Sin, and Free Will tells him that although he does not understand the beauties he sees, it is enough if they please man. Again Understanding comes to man's rescue, saying that he is offended to think that the product of Shadow and Sin is not repugnant to man, and tells him if he will awake he will see that it is a confused fantasy that will disappear into nothingness.

Entendimiento. Mira, que quizá en el aire fundas altas Torres,
y que suelen ser soñadas las venturas;
y podrá ser, si despiertas, que entre
fantasmas confusas todo esto vuelva a la nada.

This is too much for Man, who has reached his limit with Understanding, and decides to make away with him, but is re-

minded that he cannot destroy Understanding without destroying himself. Free Will then offers his services in helping to destroy Understanding. The elements are stirred, a struggle follows. Man eats the fruit offered by Sin. The Light is put out. The earth is enveloped in darkness. In his extremity man cries out to Free Will, who tells him he seeks in vain, and the elements are in no position to help him. He is in a frenzy and finally admits that Free Will without Understanding is a snare and a delusion. Man becomes a mere skeleton, a brute, with eyes that see not, ears that hear not, lips that cannot speak, and hands that cannot touch. He is now without Understanding or Free Will.

Power comes to him to say that had he heeded Understanding, all this could have been avoided, but now he is nothing but a shadow of guilt. When Power calls upon Love to see what she can do to help, she feels sure that his sins can be mitigated. Then with the combined efforts of Power, Learning, and Love man can be saved. He awakens and knows he is the Prince and heir. He is surrounded by pomp and gaiety but is troubled by the shadow of Guilt that is following him. If the other state was a dream perhaps this is, too. He calls Light but instead, Shadow responds. Now he recognizes the difference and sees how he has been deceived and knows that his experience really has not been a dream. He needs no further proof that he is the Prince and heir. Shadow takes exception to man's conclusion and insists that it was a dream, that Life itself is a dream. Man's reply is that if Life is a dream, it is better for him to sleep through a trifling life to awaken to a better life. Shadow replies that only death is a cure; he must die to awaken to a better life. But Understanding comes forward to put in the final word that no matter what the conflict may be, man never dies. Man is greatly impressed by Understanding's verdict and decides to follow him. Free Will is brought in by force and made subject to reason.

The Philosophic import of this Auto, if understood and practiced would be sufficient to eradicate evil of every nature or so minimize it in human experience that the words in Psalms 8, would literally be true. "What is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him? For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet."⁴⁰ The theme of *La Vida es Sueño* is that man proceeds from Light, that he is endowed with Power, Learning, and Love, that the

⁴⁰ Psalms 8:4-6.

shadow of evil is a fantasy that will vanish into nothingness in the light of Understanding, that when this mortal shadow of evil is eliminated, the eternal quality of life to which death is not a stepping stone will be revealed, and that free will is an expression of a relative sense of good which must eventually yield to the absolute understanding of good—namely, that God is all.

The above summary of *La Vida es Sueño* contains ideas that are expressed more or less consistently through the pages of all Calderón's Autos—the primeval nature of good, the subtle character of evil, its elimination through the power and activity of virtue, and man's salvation made apparent through participation in this activity.

IV

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL DRAMAS

To make a clean-cut division between the dramas that are strictly Biblical and those that are historical is rather difficult because there are some that contain both historical and Biblical elements. The two have therefore been placed in one group and material that is more or less correlated in feeling and subject has been brought together.

In comparison with his other religious and secular drama, Calderón's historical drama is much less skillfully handled. He sometimes loses sight of the historical facts for the sake of the dramatic situation, or carries his technique to a point where the story must be readjusted in order that the technique may not suffer.

So far as the strictly religious and philosophic feeling of these plays is concerned, we find neither element present to the degree reached in his other religious works. *Los Cabellos de Absalón*, although based on a Bible story, is merely the recounting of the story with a few dramatic touches added, and not an interpretation of theology. It does, however, deal in a very pointed manner with the punishment of evil. In *La Exaltación de la Cruz* a historic theme binds the play together and forms the background for a deeply religious theme. As for *Judas Macabeo*, very little real religious feeling exists. Free will is mentioned several times, but not with any great depth of philosophy. While the play is based on a very old apocryphal story, one which is supposed to be historically authentic, Calderón has introduced a spirit of romance in the characters of the two women Zares and Cloriquea, who are not found in the original story. The *Story of the Macabees* is considered important in old Hebrew history, but Calderón's handling of it has weakened the theme. Instead of stressing the martyrdom of these men in preserving the sanctity of their temple dedicated to one omnipotent God against the growing Hellenic influence in Jerusalem, he has made the love affairs between the two women and the leaders of the armies, Judas and Lysias, the central point. The great victory of the Hebrews in recapturing Jerusalem, which could have made a potent climax, is only incidental in Calderón's play.

The beauty and sublimity of *El Príncipe Constante* make it worthy of separate treatment, but since it rightfully belongs to the historical group, it will be discussed here. It is far superior

to the other dramas based on history, and in fact is one of the loveliest plays Calderón ever produced. Calderón has portrayed in Fernando not only the true Christian soldier, perhaps his ideal Christian warrior, but has also revealed that within himself he manifests the very depths of humility, charity, and love—the love of an ideal, something superhuman and quite beyond and outside of human passion. To understand this charity and love in a general way is one thing, and to be able to put it into words is quite another thing, but here in *El Príncipe Constante* we find both combined in an inspiring drama, in which the cruelty of the King seems insignificant in the face of the boundless magnanimity of Fernando.

Los Cabellos de Absolón

With the exception of the scene in which the musicians accompany Tamar, Calderón follows the Bible story almost exactly. The story is found in II Samuel, 13-17. The play opens with David and his sons praising the glories of Israel, while Aquítofel, the general of the armies, because of jealousy, refuses to join, no special mention having been made of his faithful service. David is worried about Amnon, his son and heir, who seems to be doing nothing toward improving his future, and sends his servant to inquire into Amnon's welfare. The report is that Amnon is pining away with a strange melancholy.

Since David loves Amnon very deeply and is anxious to alleviate his sadness, he suggests that Tamar, his half-sister, go to him along with some musicians, in an attempt to cheer him. Amnon is delighted with the arrangement, and especially the fact that Tamar is coming, for it is his love for her that is the cause of the melancholy. He is much pleased about the cakes Tamar is to make for him, but tries to arrange some scheme by which he can dispense with the musicians. He succeeds, and while he and Tamar are alone, makes advances to her and betrays her. His love then becomes hatred and Tamar is thrust out of the house. She changes her many-colored robe signifying virginity, and goes weeping to her home. Her brother Absalom, who sees her plight, and knows that Amnon has been the offender, determines to avenge the wrong done his sister. He takes advantage of a hunting party to catch Amnon and kill him.

Absalom then gathers together an army and moves against his father, David. Through strategy and subtlety he plants spies, and Aquítofel, his captain, plays a dual rôle, and is killed. Absalom seems to fear David and carries his activities to extremes that are entirely unnecessary. The situation reaches the point where

David must offer some resistance and enlists a great number of men into his army to stage a counter-attack. Strangely enough, David gives instructions that no one must harm Absalom. As Absalom goes to meet the servant of David, he rides under a tree, the branch of which catches his long hair and hangs him. In spite of Absalom's rashness and hostility, David's love for him never waned, and his death causes deep grief to his father.

From the very first, Calderón prepares his readers for the great lesson he wishes to teach in this play, that evil punishes itself and seals its own doom. He so fixes sympathy on the side of Tamar and Absalom that the cold-blooded killing of Amnon appears entirely justified. Then almost before the reader realizes what is taking place, he sees Absalom suffering Amnon's fate, the cruel reward for his treatment of his father; and so again in a most skillful manner Calderón has redoubled the lesson he is teaching here.

La Exaltación del la Cruz

A deeply religious theme is the basis of *La Exaltación de la Cruz*. Calderón has taken the opportunity here to exemplify the practicality of the Christian faith, to show that it is so exact in its operation that it is rightly termed a Science; in fact "the Science of all sciences." Zacarías, patriarch of Jerusalem, has as his interlocutor, Anastasia, the magician. It is very difficult for Anastasia to conceive of one omnipotent God, who is the source of all, nor can Anastasia understand how this one God can help man. Zacarías makes very clear explanations to him. To the question Anastasia asks regarding who his Creator is and what true law is, Zacarías replies:

- Zacarías. Siendo la Ley verdadera,
¿quién puede dudar que es Dios
Divina Jurisprudencia?
Anastasia. Y Medicina
Zacarías. No sólo, como Autor della, la engendra,
pero aplica los remedios
de vida, y salud eterna.⁴¹

Zacarías sums up his belief by saying that God is self-contained and all-inclusive, and origin and end of all things, the source of all theology, mathematics, liberal arts and even music, for He controls the harmony of the universe in the perfect movements of the elements. As he uses the term here, Calderón, no doubt, considered the word Science synonymous with *revelation*. Then

⁴¹ Act II, Scene 3.

Anastasia endeavors to learn what place magic and necromancy hold in the universe. Zacarías gives a very logical answer:

Zacarías. Como no están en Dios esas,
ni esas son ciencias.
Anastasia. Pues ¿qué serán, si el serlo me niegas?
Zacarías. Unos diabólicos artes,
dignos que él los aborrezca.⁴²

Zacarías explains further that magic is opposed to God and that it only feigns prophecy but does not confirm it.

These quotations give the keynote to the movements of the play—the triumph of Christianity over paganism, the power of God to save those who are true to Him, and to convert those who believe they can deny Him. In short, it is the power of Omnipotence exercising its own all-inclusive Law, of which the smallest part cast into one's consciousness grows of its own self-continuing power until it displaces all that is unlike it. In none other of his religious dramas does Calderón show so clearly his conviction about the exactness of God's Law. Toward the end of the play when the armies of Cosdroas, king of Persia, are defeated, he cries to Anastasia to reverse the defeat with his magic and is furious because Anastasia is not disturbed that the magic cannot conquer the Christians. Anastasia tells Cosdroas that it is not magic that threatens his armies, but rather, "ciencia más Divina, y alta de su Dios."⁴³

The story itself depicts the struggle of the Persians to sack the temple in Jerusalem and carry off the most precious of all relics, the Cross of Christ, which they wish to carry to Babylon and sacrifice to the pagan gods. Cosdroas, the King, aided by his two sons, Siroes and Menardes, carry on the campaign. Zacarías, patriarch of Jerusalem, and eventually Anastasia, who accepts the Christian faith, are taken as prisoners. Before Cosdroas has completed his victory, Eraclio, King of Constantinople, comes to the aid of the Christians, and although the Christians suffer a number of reverses, they finally win and regain their beloved trophy. During the final skirmishes Siroes, who has shown some mercy toward the Christians, is disinherited by Cosdroas. He then deserts to the army of Eraclio and aids in the final triumphant battles. The Cross is restored to the temple, Eraclio becomes Emperor, and Zacarías lays aside the royal robes and dispenses with ceremony in order to enter the gates of Jerusalem in a spirit of true humility.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Act III, Scene 3.

Judas Macabeo

Perhaps no struggle in history is more significant in the background of Christianity than the struggle between the Jews and the Greeks from 175 to 135 B.C. The Hellenic influence became so strong in Jerusalem that the priests were neglecting their altars in order to take part in the games and sports in the huge gymnasium which the Greeks erected next to the temple. It was plain that the Greek civilization was aggressively absorbing the Jewish, and the persecutions and indignities of Antiochus Epiphanes had reached a point where some Hebrew martyr would have to come to the front to maintain Jewish rights. This martyr appeared in the person of Mattathias, an elderly Hebrew priest who, with his five sons, revolted against the Greeks. Mattathias died in 166 B.C., but he had charged his sons to carry on the holy campaign, and had left his son Judas in command. In one of the battles that followed Judas was trapped and killed, and Jonathan, another brother, took over the command of the army. He was considered the best diplomat of the group. During the three years which comprised the Maccabean struggle, all the brothers were killed except Simon, who finally through strategy secured a treaty giving political independence to Judea, an event which brought signal prosperity to the Hebrew people.

It is obvious that this story contains ample material upon which to build a powerful historical drama, but Calderón failed to bring these elements together in a potent climax and greatly weakened the entire plot with a romantic element. When Jonathan goes to the camp of Lysias, regent of Syria, to treat with him, he falls in love with Cloriquea, his wife. When a band of musicians enters, singing of the beauties of Zares, mistress of Judas, Lysias is overwhelmed by the thoughts of her and seeks her. Later Judas meets Cloriquea and whisks her away to his tent, where he leaves her, supposedly as a maid to Zares, although Zares is inclined not to believe this. The struggle now degenerates from one of love of country to one that is historically much less important. In the end the complicated situation with Zares, Cloriquea, and the commanders of the armies is somewhat relieved when Tolomeo, one of the soldiers admits that he has deceived them all and was responsible for the misunderstanding among them.

Judas arrives outside the walls of Jerusalem. The battle continues, and the Hebrews are victorious. Then Zares comes with the pennant of Judas, saying that he promised to marry her if he succeeded in recapturing Zion. Lysias is killed. Cloriquea

comes to call down curses on the heads of the Jews. Tolomeo confesses his guilt. He is pardoned, and Cloriquea accepts the Christian God. The whole drama is a rather far-fetched story of conversion, which could have been raised to glorious heights if the real facts had been developed to their fullest possibilities.

El Príncipe Constante

There is a sharp contrast between this play and the one just preceding, for in *El Príncipe Constante* the historic setting is used to build up the character of the protagonist, Fernando, who was called *El Príncipe Constante*. He and Enrique were brothers of Edward I, King of Portugal. In 1437 when the Moors decided to annex Ceuta because it was an important seaport, the King of Portugal put Fernando in command of his expedition of six or eight thousand soldiers who were sent to hold the city against the invaders. Fernando was taken prisoner, served as a slave to the King of Fez, and died in Fez in 1443. From the beginning, the reader is aware of the nobility and strength of the whole drama. The King of Fez is a strong character, strong in his wickedness; Fernando is noble beyond words; Enrique, his brother, is deeply sympathetic; Muley is loyal, generous, and fine. The significance of the struggle to gain Ceuta lies in the characterization of Fernando, for the King's determination to have the territory is the motivating force in the growth and expression of the beauty of Fernando's nature.

The play opens with the scene laid in the palace gardens of the King of Fez where his lovely daughter, Fénix, with her ladies is wandering along the paths of flowers. She is depressed because her father is arranging her marriage with the Infante of Morocco, Tarudante, whom she does not love, so that her real love for Muley, General to the King's armies, cannot be requitted.

Muley comes to deliver to the King the news that the armies of Portugal are organized under the command of Fernando and Enrique, brothers of the king of Portugal, and that under these circumstances, the Moors will undoubtedly suffer defeat. The King will hear no more and sends Muley to skirmish along the shore. Ceuta will be theirs at any cost. Muley leaves at the King's bidding, but saddened at leaving Fénix and jealous and fearful about her love.

When Brito, a Portuguese soldier, reports to Fernando his skeptical feelings about the conflict, Enrique is frankly disturbed, but Fernando, firm in his Christian faith, reprimands his brother, saying,

Fernando.

Estos agüeros viles, miedos vanos,
Para los moros vienen, que los crean,
No para que los duden los cristianos.
Nosotros dos los somos; no se emplean
Nuestras armas aquí por vanagloria
De que en los libros inmortales lean
Ojos humanos esta gran victoria.
La fe de Dios a engrandecer venimos.
Suyo será el honor, suya la gloria,
Si vivimos dichosos, pues morimos;
El castigo de dios justo es temerle,
Este no viene envuelto en miedos vanos:
A servirle venimos, no a ofenderle:
Cristianos sois, haced como cristianos.⁴⁴

Throughout the whole play Fernando continues his immovable faith, and each time Enrique expresses fear about the outcome of the battle, Fernando reminds him of his duty as a Christian and of the power of their God to protect them and save them. Even when the cries of the Moorish army are heard outside the very walls of Ceuta, Fernando still maintains his hope and his trust, and after he is taken prisoner shows the same unwavering faith.

Before this attack Fernando has captured Muley, and in talking with him finds him a most noble character. Muley has confided some of his troubles to Fernando, hinting at his love for Fénix, and Fernando, seeing his sincerity, gives him his freedom. Because of this kind act, Muley swears everlasting love and friendship for Fernando. Later it is painful to Muley to see that his friend has been taken captive, even though Muley's own countrymen are responsible. Ordinarily the captives would have been killed, but the King decides it will be to his advantage to spare Fernando. If he killed him, there would be no chance of his winning Ceuta. Enrique is freed and sent back to seek a ransom for his brother's release, the ransom being Ceuta.

Fernando is put into the prison yard with other prisoners, and to all their weeping and wailing he never fails to give comfort, telling them to trust God and be patient. Fernando's complete humility is evident when he joins the other prisoners, saying that since they are all in the same plight, perhaps he can learn some valuable lessons from them. Muley sees Fernando, talks with him, and Fernando presses him to finish the story he had started at the time of his capture by the Portuguese. Muley tells Fernando of his hopeless love for Fénix. Again Fernando comes forward with the solace and comfort of a great heart, but at this moment the King appears, and Muley dare not show his friend-

⁴⁴ Act I, Scene 8

ship with Fernando. He hides, but it is too late; the King has already seen them and become curious. In order to discover the situation between them, the King puts Muley in charge of Fernando, a thing which would incriminate Muley in case of Fernando's escape. Even so, Muley gives Fernando an opportunity if he wishes to take it, but of course he does not.

The Portuguese fleet is seen in the harbor, Enrique comes in mourning to tell the King of Fez that the King of Portugal has died of grief and shock over Fernando's detention, and on his death bed gave orders that Ceuta should be surrendered as a ransom. Fernando, who is now heir to the Portuguese throne, refuses to be ransomed. The King reminds him that he is now a slave and cannot hold land or title and that being a slave, he must be obedient to his master, and answer his request for the surrender of Ceuta. Fernando says it is not his to give. It is God's because there is a Christian Church there, and surrender would mean the massacre of many people. Nor does he admit the King's right over him as a slave.

Fernando.

En lo justo

Dice el cielo que obedezca
El esclavo a su señor;
Porque si el señor dijera
A su esclavo que pecara,
Obligación no tuviera
De obedecerle; porque
Quien peca mandado, peca.⁴⁵

The King is so infuriated over this reply that he orders Fernando to be killed. Fernando is unmoved, saying that he will awaken to a better life. The King, not wanting anything better to come to one he loathes, orders that Fernando suffer a living death, like the other prisoners. Muley comes to his rescue saying he can plan his escape, but Fernando refuses. He finally starves to death, but never for an instant gives in, nor shows the slightest impatience or ill-feeling. Above all, he is loyal to God, with a love greater than any indignity that can be humanly perpetrated.

The character of Fernando is a veritable personification of St. Paul's words in I Corinthians, 13. Calderón has given to Fernando's mortal disposition a transparency through which shines a sublime nobility of being bordering on the divine. It is like a light which casts its rays all around it and so brightens the foreground that evil aims and malicious purposes are obscured in its presence. Every word which Fernando utters exemplifies the verses:

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and

⁴⁵ Act II, Scene 7.

have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. . . . Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself—is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.”

A review of the Biblical and historical dramas in the light of Calderón's theology will reveal the same ideas that are found in the preceding chapters. For the most part, they are expressions of universal beliefs and practices, or generally accepted conclusions. In *Los Cabellos de Absalón*, the fact that evil brings its own destruction and the wicked do not escape unpunished is peculiar neither to Spain nor to the Roman Catholic Church. The Bible is full of examples of this principle. In fact the many covenants we find in the Bible always have a proviso in them—if ye do thus and so, then ye shall be God's people, the chosen ones, but if ye err, ye shall not receive the promise. Amnon erred, and so did Absalom. In *Judas Macabeo*, Calderón did not make a decisive point either from the historical or from the religious point of view. He weakened both so that no particular religious lesson can be drawn from this play. As for *El Príncipe Constante*, the general feeling in the story is deeply religious—religious in the sense that humility, charity, love, patience, and good deeds are the soil from which salvation springs and grows until everything unlike itself melts into oblivion. Then man finds himself in the presence of the Most High and is saved. This drama should be of great interest to the entire Christian world for the beauty of the poetry, as well as for the Christian spirit it portrays.

DRAMAS CONTAINING ROMAN CATHOLIC DOGMA

It is evident that Calderón put into all his religious works some of the theology of his own church, but as has been shown in the previous chapters, he also branched out into the field of philosophy, a philosophy quite apart from any dogma. There are several plays, however, in which he has taken the opportunity to deal almost entirely with some of the outstanding doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. These may deserve the criticism that they are not of universal interest because of their orthodoxy.

La Devoción de la Cruz

Among the plays which Calderón wrote during the early part of his career, *La Devoción de la Cruz* is probably the best. It contains some evidence of the rashness and impulsiveness of youth, and according to Valbuena, may portray some of the passionate reflections and sentiments of Calderón himself, with tragic incidents which might be compared to some in the history of the Calderón family. Those incidents, however, are not generally known, as very little of an intimate personal nature appears in the various biographies of the author.

The theme for this drama was probably not original with Calderón, although he has embellished the details and developed them in a way that has made a fine, unified play. Valbuena says that he may have drawn some of his material from a book of Bovistau,⁴⁶ translated from the French. It contains one chapter which refers directly to the miraculous power of the Cross to save. These lines may have served as a commentary for Calderón: "La cruz es una señal que nos trae a la memoria la grande obligación que todos tenemos de estar siempre contemplando en Aquél que por salvarnos estuvo en ella pendiente. Y también es señal de tal vigor, que todas las veces que se nos aparece nos predice grandes significados que algunos son de contento, dicha, y victoria; y otros de tribulación, fatiga, y congoja."⁴⁷ The author also refers to the fact that in the time of Julian the Apostate some men were seen with the sign of the Cross on their robes. The crosses shone brilliantly and were a sign of terror.

⁴⁶ *Historias prodigiosas y maravillosas de diversos sucesos Acaecidos en el mundo.* Escritas en lengua francesa por Pedro Bovistau, Claudio Tesserant y Francisco Belleforest. Traduzidas en romance Castellano, por Andrea Pescioni, vezino de Sevilla. Dirigidas al Licenciado Pedro Días de Tudanza, del Consejo de su Magestad, el Alcalde de su Casa y Corte. . . . En Madrid, por Luis Sánchez. 1603.

⁴⁷ Valbuena-Prat, *Comedias Religiosas de Calderón*, p. 36

They could not be removed or washed off, for they only became the brighter.⁴⁸ Valbuena tells also of a similar event in Constantinople. As to the story of Eusebio, Valbuena thought that it might be in some devotional book which he was not able to find, or perhaps Eusebio was a person in an old tale that had been handed down by word of mouth, a fact which would exclude the possibility of finding the source. The general theme—the audacity of the protagonist and the lesson of the repentance of Christian charity—are found in Lope de Vega's *La fianza satisfecha* which is closely related to *La Devoción de la Cruz*. With Lope, however, there is a crude presentation of the problem between the brother and sister, while in Calderón's play, there is only the insinuation of love between them. Calderón also drew on *El esclavo del demonio* by Mira de Amescua. The relationship is quite evident, although more in the details than in the essential parts.⁴⁹ Two more works which show some relationship are *El bandolero de Flandes* by Alvaro Cubillo de Aragón and Act II of *Las Mocedades del Cid* by Guillén de Castro.

The story opens with Lisardo, brother of Julia, about to fight a duel with Eusebio, who is in love with her. Lisardo believes his adversary is not of noble birth and not worthy of his sister. Although Eusebio does not know who he is, he tells Lisardo something of the circumstances surrounding his birth and his life.

At the same time Curcio, Julia's father, is determined she shall not marry and arranges to place her in a convent to spend the rest of her life. She remonstrates with her father but to no avail. She pleads for the right to exercise her own free will, telling her father to put himself in her place and decide whether he would like to be shut up forever. He is indignant over her lack of respect for parental authority and is more sure than ever that she shall go.

Meanwhile, Eusebio has told Lisardo the story of his own birth and the strange influence of the Cross, how shepherds heard his cries for three days, finally found him, and took him to the village, and how a shepherd reared him as his own son. He recounts the several instances where a near tragedy has been averted by the appearance of the Cross—his rescue from the well, the burning house, the shipwreck, the highwaymen, and later the fury of a terrible storm in the mountains. All this has not the slightest effect on Lisardo, who insists upon the duel. In the contest he is mortally wounded. Eusebio then begs Julia to marry him, but she advises him to forget her, as she must fulfill her father's

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

wishes. Beside himself with love, Eusebio engages help and breaks into the convent determined to win her. But now the mysterious devotion to the Cross takes possession of him, and he can go no further.

Julia decides she must have him and that she cannot lead a cloistered life, so disguises herself as a man and follows him. She reveals her identity, but Eusebio tells her she must return to the convent. Curcio, who has sworn vengeance on Eusebio, encounters him and will not listen to anything Eusebio tells him. It is finally revealed that Eusebio is his son, but it is too late, for Eusebio has been wounded and dies before he can make his confession. After he is dead, Alberto, an old priest, comes along, hears him calling from his grave, and receives his confession. The soul of Eusebio then leaves his body and goes to heaven. Julia, who has overheard the remarks that disclose Eusebio's identity, repents and gladly returns to the convent.

Valbuena mentions the fact that the Cross in this play has the effect of a tabu similar to that found in stories about gypsies and other primitive tribes, where strong superstition operates to impede the marriage between relatives.⁵⁰ While this may appear to be the effect, Calderón's deep religious sense would hardly have stooped to the point of accepting fetishism in connection with the meaning of the Cross. However, Valbuena continues his criticism by referring to the trend of the times and the attraction of the miracles in the 'comedia de santos,' and implies that along with the supernatural, there was also an ample Christian vision, and the Catholic belief in the Cross as a divine symbol of Redemption. Calderón has taken great care to show this latter aspect, and in no way does he imply any sense of sacrilege. On the contrary, he makes so plain the saving power of the Cross as a symbol of God's presence that he encourages men to lift up their hearts and find the remedy for their ills. Calderón has handled the situation with great delicacy and skill.

La Virgen del Sagrario

From one view, this play belongs to the historical group because it has some bearing on the history of Toledo; but since it more specifically deals with an historical event pertaining to the Roman Catholic Church, it seems to be more fittingly placed in this group. True to Calderón's exact dramatic form, *La Virgen del Sagrario* has a very definite plan. Each one of the three acts deals with a separate stage in the history of the relique.

Act I opens with the scene before the church in Toledo. A beast

⁵⁰ Valbuena-Prat, *Comedias Religiosas de Calderón*, pp. 32-34.

that is later converted into a man runs out to the King, seizes him and engages in a combat with him, leaving the King in a state of deep melancholy. He meets Ildefonso, the priest, who tells something of the origin of the name *Toledo* and of the origin of *El Sagrario*.

Ildefonso says that no searching has revealed the origin of the relique, and the belief has risen that it must have had some mysterious beginning, perhaps was the work of angels, and not of mortal hands; undoubtedly it was made for a refuge. It was thought that the learned philosopher, Areopagita, who knew the cause of the sun and moon by their effects, and who inspired everyone, knew its origin. The Apostles followed his doctrine, and he later became the teacher of Eugenio, Archbishop of Toledo. The priests think that the Apostles brought the relique, for it coincides in material and design with others that they brought. It has wonderful powers to relieve the oppressed, the sinner, the sorrowing, the afflicted, and is an eternal refuge and a dissipator of ignorance.

The King and Queen then enter the church to see the relique. Just as the flageolets and music sound, the sepulchre opens and Saint Leocadia comes out with a red ribbon around her throat. She gives a sacred message to Ildefonso, who recognizes it as a miracle and sets aside the day as a religious holiday to be celebrated each year. Two heretics and a scoundrel, who have been thrown out of the church earlier in the day, decide to steal the Sagrario and throw it into a well. They plan to go early and hide in the church, but their plan is thwarted, for Ildefonso comes very early to say mass and to receive the blessing.

Act II deals with the next step in the history—the conquest of Toledo by the Moors. Aben Tarif, the Moorish general, in conference with Godman, governor of Toledo, has told Godman that the Moorish army will take the city. The women of Toledo say they would rather die than be captured by the Moors. As Godman is trying to arrange a treaty allowing the people of Toledo to continue in their Christian faith, the Archbishop Urbano and his retinue are seen carrying a bier. They are secretly carrying away the Sagrario so that it will never fall into the hands of the Moors. It is in the dead of winter, and the Archbishop arrives at the gates with his feet frozen. He wants to leave the image there, but the divine Virgin forbids this. When Urbano sees this miracle he returns to his own altar, puts the bodies of the two Bishops Eugenio and that of Ildefonso in a box and departs for Oviedo. Godman prays that they arrive safely. Then the Moors come to conquer the city, and Godman takes the image and hides it. The

sun is eclipsed, and all the people sing the sad song of the city without joy—Jerusalem the disconsolate.

Act III takes up the story at a much later date, after the Moors have become mixed with the Spanish and partly Christianized. Don Bernardo, at Dona Constanza's bidding, gathers forces to find the sacred Sagrario of which he has heard so much, and appoints himself captain of the forces which will go to seek the famous relique. Selin, the Moorish captain, reports to the King the purpose of the Archbishop, Don Bernardo, and of the Queen. The King is furious, declaring that he will kill her. Meanwhile, the Queen and Bernardo are led to the place where the Sagrario is buried. The King comes to kill the Queen, but she begs him not to do so until they have recovered the relique. He consents, and his anger is miraculously appeased. Selin has told the King that there was an enchanted treasure hidden at this place and asked permission to go down into the hole to help to find it. They all rejoice that the Sagrario has been recovered.

If all of Calderón's religious works were judged by this play, they might rightly be considered too orthodox, too Spanish, and too limited in scope to be of universal interest. He has used the subject matter most admirably, however, and has produced a well-organized drama which ought to be of interest to the Catholics of his own country who have the proper background to understand it.

El Purgatorio de San Patricio

More interesting than the play itself is the source material on St. Patrick's Purgatory. The site, Lough Derg, on Station Island, off the coast of Ireland, was supposed to have had on it a cave, designated by God to be St. Patrick's Purgatory. The legend of the destruction of the serpents by St. Patrick, which dates back long before the Anglo-Norman era, as can be judged from pagan literature as well as from existing folklore, was associated longer with Lough Derg than with any other site. The name of Owen, hero of medieval literature, was borrowed from that of Evain, a Knight of King Arthur's Court. The cave that St. Patrick visited became a resort for Celtic saints, chiefly of St. Daveoc, who later was the patron of Lough Derg and the locality.

As time passed, the original cave was lost, and the Canons of the church built a temple over the entrance of another cave on a larger island next to that on which Lough Derg was located. Great pilgrimages were made until 1497 when the cave was closed by Papal decree. Gradually the "conception of a material entry

into another world gave way later to a Pilgrimage which was symbolized by a cave whose effects were spiritual rather than infernal."⁵¹ This "transition was marked historically by the order of Pope Alexander VI to close the substituted Cave." The memory of the original cave was carried on up to the present day until the site is now covered by a modern Basilica.

The result of the many pilgrimages was a flow of written descriptions, some of which contained rather similar records, and the growth of a stereotyped account of adventure based on those of the Knight Owen. "The chief variant of the stories lay with the folk they met and recognized among the dead."⁵² In this they foreshadowed the methods of Dante, who made his account of the infernal regions more interesting by introducing personal names.

Calderón used this same method and kept the legend as a background to explain the Christian point of view to the King, who is a pagan.

The King believes only in nature, birth, and death and asks St. Patrick for an explanation of the Christian point of view. This is St. Patrick's answer:

Desatándose del cuerpo,
Y dando a naturaleza
La porción humana, que es
Un poco de barro y tierra;
Y el espíritu subiendo
A la superior esfera,
Que es centro de sus fatigas
Si en la gracia muere, y ésta
Alcanza antes el bautismo
Y después la penitencia.⁵³

This is really the central point in the whole drama, for Calderón develops the action with this as the basis.

The character Ludovico in Calderón's play parallels the Knight Owen in the original legend. The King is going to kill Ludovico for no reason except that he calls himself a Christian. Ludovico hardly deserves the title, for his life has been anything but Christ-like. At first, Ludovico thinks that dying will end the mortal struggle and give him freedom, but he suddenly comes to himself, and the suggestion that he commit suicide is thrust into the background. He says to himself:

Ludovico. Mas ¡Válgame Dios! ¿qué aliento
Endemoniado provoca

⁵¹ *Saint Patrick's Purgatory, A Record from History and Literature* compiled by Shane Leslie, London (1932), Introduction.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ Act II, Scene 14.

Mi mano? Cristiano soy,
 Alma tengo, y luz piadosa
 De la fe: ¿será razón
 Que un cristiano intente agora
 Una acción entre gentiles,
 A su religión impropia?
 ¿Qué ejemplo les diera yo
 Con mi muerte lastimosa,
 Sino que antes desmintieran
 Las de Patricio mis obras? ⁵⁴

Polonia, the King's daughter, knows that her father has determined to kill Ludovico, and since she loves Ludovico decides to follow him into the woods where he has gone to hide. In these wild surroundings he has threatened to lead a life filled with worse deeds than he has ever before committed. When the King calls to his soldiers to bring Ludovico, they find he has escaped from the prison, and they start a search. Meanwhile Polonia has met him, and his ill deed is done. He explains to Polonia before he stabs her that for him love is only passion and one death more or less means nothing to him. The searching party goes out, for the King suspects that Polonia has freed him, and the two are together. They come upon Patrick, who has just received angelic messages, one from a good angel and one from a bad one, representing punishment and reward.

Patrick invites the King to enter the cave, for the King insists, after they find the body of Polonia, that Patrick prove true what he has said about life being eternal and the soul immortal. Polonia is resuscitated, and they are all astonished, but the King says if the soul is immortal it could never be inactive for a single moment, and calls Patrick's action a bold deceit. Patrick gives the King an answer which contains some of the same philosophy which Calderón has put into *La Vida es Sueño*.

Patrick.

Sí, y esa verdad se prueba
 En el sueño; pues los sueños,
 Cuantas figuras engendran,
 Son discursos de aquella alma
 Que no duerme, y como quedan
 Entonces de los sentidos
 Las acciones imperfectas,
 Imperfectamente forman
 Los discursos; y por esta
 Razón sueña el hombre cosas
 Que entre sí no se conciertan.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Act II, Scene 6.

⁵⁵ Act II, Scene 14.

The King, not entirely satisfied with Patrick's explanations, insists upon knowing how the miracle was accomplished, saying that Polonia was probably in a trance. Patrick tells him of the cave through which one must pass in order to find Purgatory, the mysteries of life and death. The King tries to persuade the others to enter the cave, but they draw back, and calling them all cowards he goes into it himself and is seen no more. Shortly after the King's disappearance, Ludovico appears accompanied by Paulin. Ludovico thrusts his sword at a vague form that comes before him, but finds he is only cutting the air. He speaks to it, and then tearing away the cloak it is wearing finds a skeleton. He is frightened. His own conscience is now tormenting him, and he is face to face with himself. He is truly repentant and decides to be absolved from his sins. He has scarcely entered the woods when he sees a form which he thinks is a ghost of Polonia, while she believes it to be that of Ludovico. Both of them think it is a part of the test they are to experience in proving their steadfastness. She leads him to the entrance of a convent, where two Canons take charge of him, before allowing him to enter Purgatory.

Ludovico wants to hurry through the ordeal, but they advise him to take his time and think the matter over very carefully. He finally enters the cave and starts on his journey through the torments and trials with the demons, but his steadfastness to his purpose in redemption is just as strong as his determination was in his evil ways, and he comes out victorious. He meets Patrick, they embrace one another, and Ludovico is saved.

Calderón shows clearly in this play that the human frailties have nothing to do with eternal life. They are merely superimposed on this eternal life, and their dream-like nature vanishes when it is faced with its own nothingness, leaving man free to partake of the eternal in which he has really lived and moved and had his being all the time. To the Catholic the test of his readiness to partake of it is Purgatory.

Of the three dramas discussed in this group, this last one contains, perhaps, the most universal lesson. The other two are limited in their scope of interest. In St. Patrick's Purgatory, even for those who do not believe in Purgatory, there is still a pointed lesson. The use of the skeleton to reveal the barren and illusive nature of material life is a device that Calderón uses also in *El Mágico Prodigioso*, when Cipriano hears the hollow voice of the skeleton saying to him: "Así, Cipriano, son todas las glorias del mundo."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Teatro Selecto*, p. 306.

VI

FREE WILL AND THE OMNIPOTENCE OF GOD

To discuss fully and completely the history of the doctrine of free will in all its amplifications and contradictions would require many volumes, and even then the reader would, in all probability, not be able to select from all the elaborate inconsistencies a satisfactory point of view or a definite conclusion. Philosophers are still continuing their search for some reasonable or practical explanation of the relationship between the apparent freedom of the will and divine grace, or the compatibility of free will and the omnipotence of God. Many who have attempted this difficult task have produced admirable results, but none has found the long sought answer.

To treat this problem fully it would be necessary to begin with the history of the human mind, for free will is one of its offspring. But since the purpose here is to view the situation in the light of Calderón's religious ideas and philosophy, a summary of the various doctrines will form a background for the discussion. It is fitting to begin with the doctrines of Aristotle, for it was he who first worked into a system the relationship between the will and ethics, and furnished the basis of most later conceptions in morality and law. Aristotle's primary assumption is that virtue is an activity of the will. Full consciousness, however, is necessary if the will is to be the foundation of right conduct. In consequence, Aristotle holds that the will can direct action with the result that man always has a choice between right and wrong.

To Plato, the freedom of the will was subordinate to reason. The one who was guided by his reason was free, and one guided by his desires rather than his reason was not free. Freedom could be possible only after reason had superseded desire. Both Plato and Aristotle left unsolved the possible relation between the freedom of the will and a cosmic order destined from the beginning. The Neo-Platonic school complicated the matter further, however, by introducing the idea of God's foreknowledge, from the time of creation, of all men's freely chosen actions in a world ordered to receive them. The labyrinth grew more involved and intricate after the Christian theories of grace and original sin were added to an already complicated problem. These theological disputes began as early as the fifth century of the Christian era and have continued more or less consistently up to the present time.

The theory of damnation through original sin formed the basis for the theology of Augustine, and in spite of the active opposition of Pelagius, a Briton, the Augustine views formed the background of the Christian thought for more than a thousand years.

The Pelagians held that at birth a human being is neither good nor evil but endowed with a will; consequently, his choice of good or evil is entirely his own responsibility. This theory, however, did not have the following that Augustine's had, for most of the teachers, Protestant reformers, and, as late as the seventeenth century, the Jansenists, were inspired by Augustine's teachings.

The disputes that ensued over the various views of free will were not confined to differences arising from the Reformation nor between Catholic and Protestant leaders, but brought divisions and arguments within the Roman Catholic Church itself. The greatest of these followed the publication of a book by Molina, who based his ideas on the views of Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, and others. The primary doctrine of Molinism was that man can set his will against the action of grace, whether or not he receives grace being entirely dependent upon his own free choice. It was the doctrine of Molinism that caused a flare between the Dominicans and the Jesuits, a prolonged dispute that resulted in the Pope's denunciation of Molina's doctrine. The Pope was in a rather difficult situation, for he had already issued a bull in favor of the Dominicans when a political incident turned the tide, and in deference to the zealous support given by the Jesuits, the Pope recalled the bull and gave orders to both parties that they abstain from further disputes about Molinism until some final decision could be made.

In France the question of free will was not confined to ecclesiastical circles, but became so popular that it was a common topic of conversation in salons, and all sorts of social gatherings, from the most fashionable circles to the most lowly. A new impetus was given the whole situation by the investigations of a Louvain professor, Cornelius Jansen, who had made an exhaustive study of the doctrines of Augustine and had formulated some new ideas on the subject of free will, as well as reiterated some of the previously accepted views of it.

Jansen's work⁵⁷ repeated the long-established doctrine that man had lost the freedom allowed him before Adam's fall and had through sin become incapable of winning salvation. Without

⁵⁷ *Cornelii Jansenii, Episcopi Yprensis, Augustinus, seu doctrina S. Augustini de humanae naturae, sanitate, aegritudine, medicina, adversus Pelaginos et Massilienses*, (1640).

the purity of heart necessary for loving God, moved by wicked desires, man could show no righteousness in any action. Nothing but divine grace could save him from his state of sin and purify him. Salvation came only through God's gift of grace, without which no man could escape sin.

Fortunately for Jansen his book was not published until after his death. Feeling that he should not be deprived of the credit and glory due him, his friends took the responsibility of the publication. The result was a stormy controversy which changed matters considerably in the French court and state. These affairs in the French court and state however, have no direct bearing on the point to be developed—the relationship between these various doctrines and views with those of Calderón. They do, however, suggest the background of the controversy and show the very great importance the subject held over a long period of time.

In the seventeenth century Descartes was definitely influenced by the new scientific trend, and found some relationship between what he termed the two worlds, the one of mechanical laws and the other of spiritual freedom, on the assumption that there are two substances, each corresponding precisely to the other. To him the spiritual world was essentially different from the material world. He considered the human body a mechanism devoid of the power to act or reason. On the other hand, he considered that the will could not be reduced to mechanistic terms and that it could affect the body's natural inclination to mechanical inertia. The fact that Descartes had been a former Jesuit pupil might account somewhat for the important part free will plays in his philosophy. He maintained that since the will is by nature infinite and free, it constitutes that human faculty that is the nearest approximation to absolute perfection. Only our possession of free will justifies us in speaking of an analogy between man and God; there is, indeed, but slight difference between human will and divine will. He also believed that man wills not because he is influenced by unescapable attraction, but rather by reason of his freedom. Entirely contrary to Jansen's doctrine of man's predestined good or evil nature, Descartes taught that the human will tends toward the good and seeks to subordinate itself to God's will, finding its only true freedom in submission. This theory sounds very well. Indeed it is distinctly encouraging to feel that our wills tend more toward the divine than away from it, but the very fact that the Cartesian system contained a dual proposition, the parts of which stood in contradiction to one another, eliminated it from the possibility of offering a real solution.

The Cartesian system found two ardent supporters in Leibnitz and Spinoza; both offered further development to the doctrine of the dualism of substance and the interdependence of the mechanical and the spiritual. Spinoza did not follow the Cartesian theory exactly, but took a line of reasoning which somewhat deprived the original of its special character. He believed that mind and matter are identical in substance and consequently that the world of ideas shows the same chain of causes and effects as the world of natural processes. He, therefore, removed from his system any possibility of free will, for making the spiritual world subject to the laws of causality would not permit the freedom of the will. Spinoza considered the freedom of human will illusory.

On the other hand, Leibnitz developed a brilliant system in which he made a sharp division between mind and matter, and following his concept of "pre-established harmony" carried out with remarkable completeness the doctrine which Descartes had first stated. He postulated two orders, that of effective causes and that of final causes, neither dependent upon the other but each harmoniously respondent to the other. Leibnitz did not believe that man's fall deprived him of the freedom of his will nor of the ability to attain salvation. He considered all arbitrary actions voluntary, rising from the unrestrained human will. Whatever aid may come from God is effective, according to Leibnitz's reasoning, only through man's willingness to use it and adapt his courses to it.

It is plain to be seen that it would be difficult to salvage a solution out of this jumble, but the brief statements of the current theories of Calderón's time and preceding times give some basis for the discussion of Calderón's treatment of this subject. Calderón did not accept any theory as a whole, but his works show that he took what suited his philosophy and combined the ideas in his own way.

In the matter of absolution Calderón was more strongly influenced by the Jesuits than by any other Order, apparently accepting the Aristotelian philosophy so far as grace and salvation are concerned, for the Jesuits based their philosophy on the doctrine of Aristotle. In all the religious dramas of Calderón we find the easy absolution, the repeated pardons even for grave sins, and the constant reminders of the frailty of human nature.

It was very difficult in the confessional to know just how to classify the infinite number and kinds of sins which came to the father-confessor to be judged. There were many books to which he could refer, but even then, he could not possibly list examples

that would cover every case. Many things had to be left to the judgment of the father-confessor himself. The result was that there arose a number of different schools governed by the differing ideas of the various casuists who championed them. One of the schools termed the 'Probabilists'⁵⁸ held that only those laws need be observed which were unquestionably applicable to the case in point, since man was a free moral agent by nature, and his freedom could be restricted by definite obligations alone. An ambiguous law, they contended, was without binding force. If the arguments for or against an action seemed equally reasonable, the action was permissible. The Jesuits adopted the doctrine of "Probabilism" as one of the most important ideas in their moral system.

Escobar was an adherent of "Probabilism," and it is quite evident that Calderón followed in his footsteps. Throughout his works Calderón shows consistently that the sinner is always given the benefit of the doubt. He may be threatened several times, but no punishment is inflicted until the sinner has proved himself quite beyond corrigibility. Even then, if he says he is sorry in the end, he is received with open arms into grace. In *La Cena del Rey Baltasar*, the King did not say he was sorry, and so was excluded from grace. It is logical to conclude, however, that if he had given the least sign of repentance, there would have been no doubt about his admittance.

So far as the other elements in Calderón's philosophy are concerned, he takes from the various doctrines the things which suit him and combines them as he likes. He had nothing in common with the Jansenist theory, for Jansen was strictly a determinist, while Calderón believed conclusively in free will. As for Descartes, we can exclude the first part of his doctrine that there are two causes and two worlds, one mechanical and the other spiritual, for Calderón was explicit in his statements in this regard. In *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*, *El José de las Mujeres*, and *El Mágico Prodigioso*, he reiterates the fact that there is one God only, one Substance, one Essence, the All-knowing, All-seeing, All-gracious, the Cause of all causes. We can exclude the theory of Leibnitz on the same grounds as that of Descartes, but Spinoza's doctrine is inadmissible because it deals with mind and matter as one and the same substance, the cause of which would necessarily involve pantheism. Calderón definitely eliminates any belief in pantheism from his philosophy in his play *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*, where Carpóforo explains the nature

⁵⁸ Fulop-Miller, *Power and Secret of the Jesuits*, p. 186.

of the Trinity. Furthermore, he could not believe in pantheism, because it denied the Christ as a factor in man's salvation. Whether or not Calderón consciously subscribed to the second part of Descartes' doctrine would be hard to determine, but there are some evidences of it. In *El Mágico Prodigioso*, Justina retains her honor by reason of her conscious relationship with her God, who is omnipotent, exemplifying Descartes' theory that as the human will turns to good and seeks accord with the divine will, it becomes more free. As Valbuena-Prat puts it: "the victory merely consists of 'no dejarse vencer.'" ⁵⁹ In this respect, however, Calderón is not entirely consistent, for he also shows that he leans somewhat toward the ethics of Plato, who propounded the doctrine that man's will must be subject to reason. In *La Vida es Sueño*, (the Auto) the underlying theme is based on the fact that the will must be bridled by reason if man is to enjoy any degree of true happiness. Calderón does not indicate in this case that the will turns of its own volition to the divine, but rather that it must be forced to be in accord with it. He puts some weight on the fact that by following the light from whence man came, he can greatly eliminate what might be termed a *counter-attraction*. In other words, by holding his original course, man finds his will not such an unruly companion. Calderón also includes in this same play his conviction that fate as a factor in man's welfare is utterly false.

It is difficult to say whether Calderón consciously had any leanings toward Molinism. It is rather doubtful, since the Jesuits were rabidly opposed to the doctrine of Molina. However, there is one instance at least where Calderón borders on that theory. While he does not say that man actually resists grace, he stresses the fact that if man wants grace, he must ask for it: the Sacrament cannot be forced on one. In *El Primer Refugio del Hombre* when Género Humano is complaining that there is no one to put him into the pool, the Pilgrim asks him if he really wants to be cured. Appetite is on hand to make the Pilgrim's question appear to be foolish and says, "Who does not want to be cured when he is sick?" Simplicity in his quiet way informs Appetite that the Sacrament is necessary to effect the healing and that in order to have it, one must ask for it. One of several things might be read into these lines. Man might be indifferent to grace without actually resisting it, he might want it and not know just how to receive it, or he might unconsciously resist it through a determination to enlarge upon his troubles. Género Humano's inclina-

⁵⁹ *Comedias Religiosas de Calderón*, p. 57.

tion to be very pessimistic about his condition increased rather than alleviated his difficulties. However, when he expressed the wish to be cured, he received the blessing.

The astonishing aspect of Calderón's many-sided philosophy is the fact that on examination it shows itself perfectly logical. Calderón always introduces his hypothesis and through logical arguments proves his point. The strangest and apparently most illogical thing he does is to champion the cause of free will and at the same time to believe firmly in the omnipotence of God, but here again he accounts for himself. He justifies his position in *La Vida es Sueño*, but in order to understand it, one must go back to some of Calderón's fundamental beliefs, the main one being that eternity is a reality, that man moves against the immovable background of eternity. The eternality of all that exists is the expression of the omnipotence of God. It represents that which is absolute, underived, elemental, and permanent. Then what of the so-called material or human, so far as Calderón's philosophy is concerned? He very evidently considers it an illusion, a dream, at any rate, not a reality, for according to his logic, if God is all, then whatever does not proceed from this "Cause of all causes" is a shadow or a dream. The place which free will holds in the human experience is relative, in contradistinction to the absoluteness of Omnipotence. Free will, then, involving a choice of good or evil would be the expression of a relative sense of good, and would therefore, be merely an aspect of the dream. As man moves in the direction of salvation, the relative gradually yields to the Absolute as man molds his will to the Divine, until at last man stands on the threshold of grace ready to be judged and admitted. Or, following Calderón's reasoning, man's approach to the Absolute or Salvation constitutes the gradual awakening from the dream of materiality until he is filled with the light of grace and recognizes that it is the same light from whence he came. In *La Vida es Sueño*, (the drama) Segismundo soliloquizes about the nature of the dream.

Es verdad; pues reprimamos
esta fiera condición
esta furia, esta ambición
por si alguna vez soñamos;
y sí haremos, pues estamos
en mundo tan singular,
que el vivir sólo es soñar
y la experiencia me enseña
que el hombre que vive sueña
lo que es hasta despertar.
Sueña el rey que es rey, y vive

con este engaño mandando,
disponiendo y gobernando:
y este aplauso que recibe
prestado, en el viento escribe,
y en cenizas le convierte
la muerte (¡desdicha fuerte!) ...

Sueña el rico en su riqueza
que más cuidados le ofrece:
sueña el pobre que padece
su miseria y su pobreza: ...
y en el mundo, en conclusión,
todos sueñan lo que son.
aunque ninguno lo entiende.

Yo sueño que estoy aquí
destas prisiones cargado,
y soñé que en otro estado
más lisonjero me ví.
¿Qué es la vida? Un frenesí.
¿Qué es la vida? ilusión.⁶⁰

In *La Cena del Rey Baltasar* Pensamiento's description of himself coincides almost exactly with the foregoing speech of Segismundo, showing that Calderón considered Human Thought the unstable, illusive, and dream-like offender which holds man in bonds, and in *El Gran Teatro del Mundo* he dramatizes this very idea. It forms the theme of the Auto. As human thought becomes imbued with the Divine, it loses its mortal vestures. Understanding informs man in the Auto, *La Vida es Sueño*, that he is the image of his Creator, and man finally becomes aware of this fact. Since man is merely the expression of God's glory, it is not right for him to act as if it were his own.

Again in *La Cena del Rey Baltasar*, Calderón puts into the mouth of Muerte a further evidence of his ideas about life's being a dream and some explanation of the nature of the gradual awakening from it.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>Muerte.</i> | Descanso del sueño hace el hombre ¡ay Dios! sin que advierta que cuando duerme y despierta, cada día muere y nace; que vive cadáver yace cada día, pues, rendida la vida a un breve homicida, que es su descanso no advierte una lección que La Muerte le va estudiando a la vida. |
|----------------|---|

Each night brings to a close a short span of life, and each morning constitutes a new birth; so man can leave behind some of the

⁶⁰ Act II.

undesirable things of yesterday and gain a few steps in the right direction. If rightly considered and consistently followed these progressive awakenings, according to Calderón, would end in the real awakening that brings with it the recognition of one's own readiness to partake of the Bread and Wine and to experience that complete transfiguration—the Christ made manifest—salvation. He bears out the thought of St. Paul in this regard: "And be not conformed to this world; but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect, will of God." (Romans 12:2) With such a view as this, the reader can begin to understand what Calderón meant in *La Vida es Sueño* (the Auto) when Understanding tells Man that, no matter what the conflict may be, Man never dies, thus contradicting the declaration which Shadow has just made that only death is a cure for the trials of life, that man must die to awaken to a better life. Understanding has been instructing Man from the very first that he needs only to awaken out of the spell that The Prince of Darkness and Shadow have cast over everything.

In *El Príncipe Constante* we find a tangible application of Calderón's philosophy in the spirit of Fernando, who does not offer the least resistance to the wicked King's threat of death. Fernando does not refer in any way to death but merely says that he will awaken to a better life. If anyone deserves to be released from oppression, Fernando does, even though Calderón might choose to call the unpleasant, harrowing experience an illusion or a dream. We see here again some evidence of the second part of the Cartesian theory that the will gains in freedom to the extent that it is in agreement with God's will. It seems to be no effort for Fernando to express the divine, for he does it naturally.

Closely related to the problem of free will is Calderón's idea of the destruction of evil. When one chooses to do good, evil vanishes into nothingness. In *La Divina Filotea* the Demon is greatly upset because Voluptuousness has failed to carry out the evil plan which the vices have initiated, and after a severe reprimand Voluptuousness offers an excuse.

It were in vain:—
For when Purity opposes
Soon Voluptuousness is vanquished.⁶¹

In other words, an expression of God-like qualities, being a manifestation of Omnipotence, would completely exclude any ad-

⁶¹ MaCarthy, *Mysteries of Corpus Christi*, p 306.

versary. The second part of the Cartesian system comes to the foreground again in the character of Philothea, whose conscious entertainment of good so unites her whole being with the Divine that she really does become more free the more she is "in harmony with the infinite and infinitely perfect will of God" until finally the Prince of Light comes to wed her. She has struggled and triumphed, and what has been free will in her human experience has given place to the Divine, so that she is conscious of nothing but the all-pervading will of God.

Apparently Calderón believed that evil punished and destroyed itself, for in the Auto *La Viña del Señor* we find Malice and his companions wanting to flee away to hide and die. Malice even says that he is afraid he cannot die but must continue to be tormented in his own bonds. Somewhat unexpectedly Calderón comes forward with one of the leading Jesuit principles that opens the arms of grace to any slight sign of remorse on the part of the offender. A similar situation is evident in *Los Cabellos de Absalón*, where the theme is based on the fact that evil torments and destroys the evil-doer and punishment is often redoubled. Even though Calderón wants to show that the evil-doer suffers for his sins, this Bible story, no doubt, fits into his scheme of things, for David's refusal to have any harm come to his wicked son exemplifies Calderón's unwillingness to err on the side of harshness with the offender. In spite of himself, however, in this story Calderón shows that the perpetrators of evil are punished and destroyed. Calderón makes many opportunities to show that evil does not destroy good.

As we review the foregoing discussion we note that with the exception of the Jesuit ideas about leniency in the confessional, Calderón's ideas are universally accepted. Anyone may follow one or some or any part of the various theories about free will, although free will is also a strong Jesuit principle. The conclusion that life is a dream is not entirely original with Calderón, as will be seen in the discussion of that play with its sources which will conclude this chapter. The feeling that evil punishes and destroys itself is more or less universal, and so here again there is evidence that Calderón's ideas contain lessons of a general character—good for humanity as a whole. Few literary works exist that do not require what might be termed selective study. There are always things that do not suit our taste, or our ideals, or our plan of existence. The evaluation of any work must rest on how much it has to offer in the broadest sense, rather than in terms of any single critic's limited experience,

tastes, and prejudices. Viewed in this light the religious works of Calderón reveal many a universal truth, many a Christian example, and many practical ideas.

If one wishes to study the ideology of Calderón in what might be termed a concentrated form, the four dramas to be discussed at this point offer that opportunity. These plays are nearer to being "thesis plays" than any others Calderón produced. This statement, however, does not indicate that because the author is making a systematic elucidation of an hypothesis, he is necessarily weakening the moral value of the lesson he has set out to teach. While these plays might be called expositions of Calderón's philosophy, the reader will not find himself in an entirely unexplored country. He has already been introduced to most of the ideas, but he has seen them as incidental to other themes. Free will has had its part throughout all Calderón's religious dramas. There has been some mention, too, of his beliefs about cosmogony, and we have heard before of the use, abuse, and utter falsity of magic.

Los Dos Amantes del Cielo

The foundation of the theme for *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo* is Crisanto's bewilderment over the statement in John I, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. . . . And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Calderón introduces the conflict between the Christian and pagan points of view, and as usual proves the power of the former to hold its course against all odds, even though it may suffer persecution.

A sketch of the story will give a basis for the philosophy it contains. Polemio, Governor of Rome, is greatly worried over the strange melancholy which has taken possession of his son, Crisanto. When Polemio enters Crisanto's room, he wants to know with whom his son has been talking. It happens that he has been musing aloud about some of the things he has been reading in the Bible about the origin of everything. Polemio, thinking Crisanto is losing his mind, arranges with his nephew Claudio to take charge of the boy while he (Polemio) goes on an expedition in the environs of Rome to kill any Christians he may find. He commissions Claudio to find out the cause of Crisanto's depression and to be sure that Crisanto is never out of his sight. Claudio decides that what Crisanto needs is diversion, a trip to the woods or any place outside the city. Escarpín, Claudio's servant, highly

disapproves of this procedure, saying it is much safer for one in Crisanto's condition to remain in the city. Claudio does not heed this advice, however, and the three go to a beautiful woods where they see several pretty girls, one singing, one playing, and the other reading.

Crisanto falls in love with one of the girls, Daría, and when he tells her he will die if she doesn't marry him, she replies that she would never want anyone to die of love for her. Crisanto is disturbed after Daría leaves him and cannot understand his strange feelings. He wanders off, eventually finding the cave in which Carpóforo has taken refuge. Carpóforo is the leading teacher of Christianity and one whom Polemio is anxious to capture. Crisanto asks about the problem troubling him, telling Carpóforo that he is worried because he fears the influence of magic. The teacher assures him that it is the divine Law of God, but Crisanto's confusion is so great that it takes considerable explaining to make him understand.

Before they have been together very long, Polemio's soldiers, who have been skirmishing in the woods, come upon them, and before they realize that Crisanto is the one they are seizing, they take him off to prison. They soon discover what they have done. When Polemio asks what he was doing there, Crisanto tells him. His father does not know what to do with him, but orders the soldiers to take him back to Rome. He cannot bear to punish his son, but finally decides to put him in chains in his room. Claudio is reprimanded for his laxity in carrying out his uncle's instructions, but he is sincerely interested in Crisanto's welfare and tries to find some cure for him. Polemio and Claudio decide to divert him with a large garden party to which they will invite Daría. Meanwhile they try to find a doctor for Crisanto and summon the great doctor, Carpóforo.

Crisanto is overjoyed when he sees Carpóforo, but is wise enough to keep silent, thinking his father does not know that Carpóforo is a Christian. One of the instructions which Carpóforo gives Crisanto is that he must not be overcome by the beauty of Daría. At the garden party none of the girls interest him except Daría, whom he says he will never marry unless she accepts the Christian faith. She is firm in her stand not to give up her pagan gods. She questions Crisanto, however, and shows a slight interest in his God.

Polemio learns that his son has accepted the Christian faith and that he is leading Daría into it. During the party Polemio has invited Carpóforo into another room, presumably for a con-

sultation. Crisanto hears strange noises coming from the room and is startled. When he goes to find the cause of it, he sees the headless body of Carpóforo. Crisanto asks to be killed, but instead, is disowned by his father and carried off to a tower. He cries farewell to Daría, saying they will be together after death. When Polemio finds that they really want to be together, he has Crisanto put into a public jail to be tortured and Daría into a cell with wayward women. Polemio tries to make them deny the Christ, but they refuse. They swear their devotion to one another, saying they will meet in Heaven and be "los dos amantes del cielo." Through divine aid they escape from the prison and flee into the woods where they hide in a cave, only to be found by Polemio and his soldiers. The two lovers are thrown into an abyss and die, swearing an everlasting love for one another. A raging tempest follows, during which a hill rolls over on the soldiers. Angel voices are heard coming from the cave. A large rock rolls over against the opening and on top of the rock is an angel saying that the cave is sealed to eternity for within are "los dos amantes del cielo."

This play portrays the upheaval that takes place in consciousness when fundamental beliefs are undergoing a complete change. Crisanto is so perplexed that he has actually fallen into a state of deep melancholy; yet he is not willing to give up his study. Some indefinable power urges him on. Calderón shows very admirably the fact that when the power of the Omnipotent enters one's heart, it grows until it fills one's whole being. Nothing can stop it.

It is the word *principio* that offers such a problem to Crisanto. If he could just know what that *beginning* was! He decides it cannot mean the pagan gods, Jupiter, Saturn, Neptune, or any of the others.

Crisanto.

No: que no fué el principio
esta división; supuesto
que si ya el cielo y la tierra,
el fuego, el agua, y el viento
estaban criados, hubo
otro principio primero;
pues quien absolutamente
principio dijo, es muy cierto
que habló de *primer principio*
de todas las cosas: luego
hubo otro principio antes
en que estas cosas se hicieron.
Sí, y otro principio es fuerza
para quien las hizo. Esto

proceder en infinito
 es; pues si el principio intento
 averiguar del principio,
 uno de otro procediendo,
 en principio vendré a dar
 sin principio, y será esto
 sacar una consecuencia
 de que hubo tiempo sin tiempo;
 y quien principio no tuvo,
 no tendrá fin, esto es cierto ...⁶²

Calderón has clearly set forth here the nature of eternity. When Crisanto reached the point in his reasoning where he could see that there really was no beginning, he realized that in the logic of events there could be no end, and time would be lost in eternity. The author shows throughout his religious works that he is consistent in his views about eternity. It is fundamental and real to him. It is the basis of his ideas about the cosmos. According to the Monist theory, there is but one essence and one substance from which all is derived, and because Calderón accepted this theory, he naturally accepted the eternality of all that exists. If there is only one substance, that substance must be eternal. Here is further evidence that Calderón was not in accord with the theories of Descartes and Leibnitz, that there are two distinct kingdoms, one mechanical and the other spiritual. Calderón knew that if there was only one God, there would be only one Cause, and since this Cause could not bring about anything unlike its own nature, there could be only one substance. Crisanto is just beginning to grasp these ideas when he is besieged by two voices, one telling him that the gods were responsible for the organization of the universe, and the other that there is but one God who created all. It is Carpóforo who finally untangles the contradictions for him and answers Crisanto's query as to how the Word can be made flesh.

At this point Calderón takes the opportunity to show clearly that pantheism has no part in God's universe, that there are not two separate substances springing from the same Cause, that effect must of necessity be like cause, and that one must have the faith to accept the fact that all is derived from this eternal substance.

Y cuando como éste haya
 Una, dos o más personas,
 Una deidad soberana
 Ha de ser sola en esencia
 Causa de todas las causas.⁶³

⁶² Act I, Scene 1.

⁶³ Act I, Scene 3.

It would seem from this speech of Cipriano in *El Mágico Prodigioso* that Calderón bears out his conviction that each individual is an expression or manifestation of this divine Substance. Carpóforo clarifies his explanation of the nature of the Trinity, which he says, cannot possibly be three separate substances, but one only and that one infinite. The idea may be compared with the principle of mathematics. The principle of mathematics, the whole of it, may represent the infinite Substance of which Calderón speaks; the figures or numbers by which we apply that principle can be compared to the individual beings derived from this one Essence. Every number in mathematics has its own identity—a number three being distinct in character from a number five—yet every number has within itself all the possibilities of the principle of mathematics. So, according to Calderón's explanation, each individual man would have his own identity, but the substance of his being would be part and parcel of that one Essence.

Perhaps Calderón had in mind the verses in Romans which set forth the same idea, that there is one Substance from which all proceeds. "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another." A similar statement appears also in I Corinthians, "And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." There is much evidence throughout Calderón's religious works that he had a full knowledge of the Scriptures and drew on them consistently for inspiration, as well as for philosophy.

The theme in *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo* hardly merits the violent climax which Calderón gives it. It seems to throw the story out of balance. In the dispute between the Christian point of view and pagan mythology, it would almost appear that the pagan won, but in portraying the final miraculous appearance of the angel in behalf of the two lovers, Calderón adds a symbolic touch which seals forever the Christian purpose.

Las Cadenas del Demonio

This play and *El Mágico Prodigioso* are quite similar in the parts played by the devil. In *Las Cadenas del Demonio* it is Irene, influenced by the intense pagan beliefs and the solitary life forced upon her by her father, who becomes a willing disciple of the evil one. The pact is broken by Saint Bartholomew, who vehemently insists upon the power of God to maintain and reveal His

Holy Purpose to His children. In *El Mágico Prodigioso*, the solution in Cipriano's case is somewhat different. He is a scholar, a scientist, and has made a deep study of philosophy. He has already come in contact with the Christian ideas of God, and although somewhat puzzled by them, has the intelligence and reason to understand them. In *El Mágico Prodigioso*, it is the Devil himself whose admission of his own inability to surmount the power of one omnipotent God brings Cipriano to his senses. Calderón has made a salient point here, for he justifies the position of the intellectual so far as religion is concerned. In other words the ability to think and reason logically, with training and education as a background, fits one to receive the light. In *Las Cadenas del Demonio*, Irene's situation is quite different. She has been shut in a tower all her life because fate has decreed that she shall not live. She has been existing in such mental barrenness that even the great power manifested by St. Bartholomew has to be exerted mightily to break through her darkened, deluded mind. Cipriano, on the other hand, through his own effort comes to understand Christian doctrine. Calderón has produced a very pointed contrast in these two situations.

Irene's difficulties in this play are very much like those of Segismundo in *La Vida es Sueño*. They are both victims of their father's beliefs in fate or the power of astrology to regulate man's destiny. They have both been isolated from the world. In somewhat different ways they both resort to free will as a panacea. Irene knows she has the freedom of her will and chooses to follow the evil gods. She decides that because the pagan gods offer soul and life in exchange for soul and life, she will give herself over to them. Irene probably would not, of her own accord, ever be free. With Segismundo there is a recognition that his free will may work two ways, either to his detriment or to his benefit. When he reaches this point, he bends every effort to let it be for his benefit, and courageously conquers every temptation. One of Irene's first long soliloquies is almost exactly the same as the first long soliloquy of Segismundo in which he bemoans the fact that he was ever born, that grave injustice has been committed against him, that the birds, beasts, and fish have more freedom than he.

Saint Bartholomew approaches the matter of the conversion of the King, Irene's father, and his family with the idea that God is all, that He is one Essence, one Substance, and the only Cause. He explains the Trinity. The unbelief of the King, his nephew, Ceusis, and Irene demands some tangible sign that this God of

St. Bartholomew's is capable of working miracles, for the Devil has already cured Ceusis of his blindness. The voice of St. Bartholomew speaks to them, although he has not yet appeared in person. He tells them that the gods of Astarot are only powerless clay idols. The King is puzzled and asks how they can doubt the power of the idols when they can give sight to the blind and voice to the dumb. St. Bartholomew replies by saying that God knows all sciences and can perform all miracles, and Bartholomew dares anyone to question his power. The Devil says he will, but Bartholomew forbids him and chains him so that he cannot speak. Then Bartholomew answers the King's question in these words:

¡Cuánto es más quitar a un dios
vista y voz, que no el que pueda
dar a otro voz y vista! ⁶⁴

Licanoro, the other nephew of the King, has a more plastic disposition and shows a readiness to learn about God. His questions about the Christ start an argument. The Devil, who has disguised himself as a woman, comes in to cross question St. Bartholomew, and argues that the Trinity must be three persons. St. Bartholomew answers that the Trinity is derived from one Substance and upholds the fact that God does save man, and that the sin in the flesh is erased by divine grace. The Devil brings up the subject of Jesus' temptation in the wilderness, to which Bartholomew answers that Jesus overcame that temptation. The next argument is that Jesus could not escape the Cross, but again St. Bartholomew proves that God saved Jesus, took him down from the Cross and through his resurrection proved that life is eternal. The Devil falls at the feet of Bartholomew. St. Bartholomew tells the people gathered around that since they have now actually seen the miracles of the Christ, they will surely not subject their wills to the Devil. The Devil, not to be outdone, reminds Bartholomew that he must not scold him or quarrel with him because he (the Devil) is still a living idol, capable of making war on his enemies, that he is the master of Irene's will, and no one can evict him because Irene herself gave him possession. Calderón puts Cipriano in somewhat the same position, for Cipriano of his own will signs a pact which the Devil will not allow him to break.

St. Bartholomew quickly informs the Devil that he is wrong about Irene's future.

Tú no pudiste adquirir
posesión segura y cierta

⁶⁴ Act I, Scene 11.

de Irene, cuyo albedrío
puede mejorar la senda.⁶⁵

The Devil insists that he can create confusion, trouble, wars in Bartholomew's heart, can pervert good intentions, and encourage all sorts of unbridled and evil actions. St. Bartholomew replies that the Devil, in his boasting, has incriminated himself.

No tanto bien te prometas,
pues sabes que sus secretos
te ponen unas cadenas
a que siempre estás atado.⁶⁶

The Devil, of course, can make no answer to this, and the King, seeing the unquestionable sign of God's power, throws his purple robe, crown, and sceptre into a fountain, resigning his will to the power of God. Ceusis and Irene, who have bitterly opposed giving up their heathen gods, do not give in easily. The King wants Irene to be freed from her madness. Irene herself begs St. Bartholomew to leave her alone, saying she is a hopeless sinner. St. Bartholomew tells her that all came from God and that no one can change what He has done nor transfer His power to anyone else.

Irene. Sí pudo, puesto que usó
 de su albedrío.
St. Bartholomew. También
 usa dél para el perdón.⁶⁷

To Irene's remark that she has not asked pardon, Bartholomew replies that she can have it if she will ask for it. She wants it but cannot ask for it because something has stopped her voice. Then St. Bartholomew commands that her soul, her tongue, and her voice be unloosed and calls to her. After she admits that she has offered her soul to Astarot and cannot repent, St. Bartholomew again commands the spirit of evil to leave her. The Devil goes leaving her so faint that her father and her cousins think her dead. Calderón may have drawn his scene from the one in Mark where Jesus healed the boy who was deaf and dumb; "he rebuked the foul spirit, saying unto him, Thou dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee, come out of him, and enter no more into him. And the spirit cried and rent him sore, and came out of him; and he was as one dead; insomuch that many said, He is dead."

Irene now knows that she is free. Ceusis, who is still skeptical, and wants to hold on to his traditional religion, is approached by

⁶⁵ Act II, Scene 15.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ Act III, Scene 4.

the Devil. He asks the Devil if he can help him. The Devil replies:

Sí,
porque tiene el pecador
en su albedrío tal vez
más ancha la permisión
que yo, pues puede acercarse
él a mí; pero yo a él no.⁶⁸

Calderón makes it clear here that evil does not take possession of man unless man is willing. After the Devil is chained by grace, he can no longer have power to harm one who does not choose to let him in.

Several aspects of free will are apparent in *Las Cadenas del Demonio*. Irene, "having no hope, and without God in the world," allows her will to carry her along a negative path without realizing that there is another choice. She is the victim of her environment and of ignorance, and must be forced out of her darkened state in order to know that there is a better way. Ceusis fails to exercise his will for the better because he has a hard, unyielding disposition that stubbornly clings to an old opinion. He will not give up until the very Devil himself is chained and cannot come to him any longer. The King gives his will to the divine after he has had sufficient proof to teach him that God is omnipotent. Licanoro humbly accepts the idea of one God from the very beginning. So we see here that Calderón shows how environment and disposition enter the problem of free will. He may be suggesting, too, that he has a little faith in "Molinism," for this whole play is full of resistance to grace. Calderón does not leave environment and disposition unconquered however, for through St. Bartholomew's spiritual understanding, he proves "that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

El Mágico Prodigioso

The adaptation of an old legend has given Calderón material upon which to build a drama of great depth, which portrays the intellectual wrestlings of a scholar bent upon learning about God⁶⁹ but is diverted from his search by the Devil, who engages him in an evil plot which almost brings about his downfall. In the play Cipriano is finally saved by the natural purity of Justina,

⁶⁸ Act III, Scene 6

⁶⁹ See II, p. —, footnote 7, of this study

who makes evident to him the power of that God whose nature he has longed to understand.

The story refers to the history and legend of Saint Ciprian and Justina, natives of Antioch, who were martyrs of the third century. The festival which commemorates their martyrdom is held September 26 and was first celebrated in the Oriental Church. There are two versions of the story, both attributing to the Saint the mastery of black magic. In both versions the results of the machinations of the spirit of evil are nullified by the purity of Justina, who proclaims the God of the Christians. Cipriano is converted and becomes a martyr. The legend of Cipriano in the form in which it reaches Calderón coincides with the medieval story of Teófilo and that of Doctor Faustus, which deal with the diabolical pact; but Teófilo sells his soul to the devil to gain honors, whereas Cipriano realizes the sale of his soul for the love of a woman. Calderón's direct source is the *Flos Sanctorum* of Alfonso de Villegas, which presents Justina loved by Cipriano. It describes the invocations and sacrifices of the demons, and even contains, in embryo, the temptations. The debate between the Christian and pagan is important in this play as in the two preceding. The idea of philosophy which is hidden under the guise of pagan mythology was common at the time. In *El Mágico Prodigioso*, Calderón dramatizes the contrast between repose and action, between the retired life of the thinker and the deep restlessness of adventure. Cipriano moves between science and pleasure, between study and love, in order finally to reach the ideal of intellect. In this drama the temptation is the outstanding feature. Calderón solves the conflict with the triumph of the virtue of Justina.

El Esclavo del Demonio, a drama by Mira de Amescua also provided Calderón with inspiration for *El Mágico Prodigioso*. The story in brief is as follows: Don Diego, a young gallant, is in love with Lizarda, whose father is determined to marry her off to a nobleman, and therefore has tried every way to discourage the affair with Don Diego. One night when Don Diego is preparing to climb up to Lizarda's balcony, he is caught by Don Gil, a highly respected religious man of the community. While he is remonstrating with Don Diego to desist from his rash act, he himself falls into the temptation. Don Diego leaves and Don Gil climbs up to the balcony and is received by Lizarda, who believes him to be Don Diego, for his cloak covers him almost completely. Lizarda's father, upon learning of her downfall, concludes that Don Diego is the culprit and swears vengeance upon him; at that same time disowning Lizarda.

Meanwhile Don Gil, overcome with guilt and feeling he is beyond saving, becomes a highwayman, later engaging in the study of magic with Angelio, the Devil. When Lizarda's father learns of her plan to marry Don Diego, he goes with Leonora, his other daughter, to the town in which Don Diego's estate is located, hoping to catch some glimpse of the wedding party. While they are in the woods near Don Diego's estate, Don Gil sees Leonora and is so taken with her beauty that he decides he must have her and is told by Angelio that he can win her through magic. Don Gil sees the veiled form of Leonora and rushes toward it, but it vanishes. He then renounces magic, and Lizarda, who has also joined the pact, renounces it too, receives a measure of grace, and is saved.

There are several situations here which point very definitely to the fact that Calderón drew upon this play for the groundwork of his *El Mágico Prodigioso* and also a little for *Las Cadenas del Demonio*. In *El Mágico Prodigioso*, Cipriano, a man above reproach, like Don Gil, falls into the same temptation while attempting to save Lelio and Floro from a quarrel resulting from jealousy over their love for Justina. Like Don Gil, Cipriano joins a pact with the Devil to win the love of a woman, but Cipriano's pact is on a somewhat higher level, for he has engaged in conversation with the Devil in the first place, hoping to learn something about the God he has been seeking to understand. Both Cipriano and Don Gil renounce their pact with the Devil when they find he can accomplish nothing real. In the case of Don Gil, the veiled form vanishes, while with Cipriano, the form opens a cloak disclosing a skeleton. The same situation appears in *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*. In Calderón's play *Clarín*, Cipriano's servant, is forced to join the pact with his master because he has overheard the plans. This episode may be built on Lizarda's joint pact with Don Gil and the Devil.

Lizarda is in somewhat the same situation as Irene in *Las Cadenas del Demonio*, although Irene has not sinned. So far as her pact with the devil is concerned, however, Irene, like Lizarda, has crippled her freedom by allowing her will to be governed by the devil. Calderón makes a very interesting point here. He shows that man has free will—free to choose good or evil, and yet immediately loses his free will by the choice of evil. He is no longer able to act on his own responsibility, for he is possessed with the devil. Only when man chooses to do good is he really free.

El Mágico Prodigioso is a plea for intellectualism. Calderón shows that education makes one an independent thinker, and that even though the educated person be the victim of evil doctrines, he can, through his own reasoning, together with an understanding of science and philosophy, regain his balance. In the other dramas where characters have been subjected to the wiles of the devil, they have had to be pulled out of the pit by a Saint or by someone who has a clearer vision than they. Calderón may also have had in mind the fact that evil sometimes deceives the very elect. It does this by counterfeiting the ideas that will appeal most to its victim. In the story of Cipriano, the Devil pretended to know a great deal about science, about the Scriptures, and about history. By telling Cipriano that he could learn all he wanted to know about God and about the sciences in which he was not versed, the Devil was able to engage him in a pact. By giving his will over to the Devil Cipriano renounced the freedom of his will temporarily, and became the tool of the Devil's evil suggestions which brought on his strange passion for Justina. Don Gil and Cipriano both fell while attempting to save another from temptation. The situation is one which merits the warning in the Bible: "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted."

Cipriano rouses the Devil in a remark that shows Cipriano's increasingly clear realization of the nature of God.

Cipriano.

Cuando importara
El moverlos, genios hay
(Que buenos y malos llaman
Todos los doctos), que son
Unos espíritus que andan
Entre nosotros, dictando
Las obras buenas y malas.
Argumento que asegura
La inmortalidad del alma:
Y bien pudiera ese Dios,
Con ellos, sin que llegara
A mostrar que mentir sabe,
Mover afectos.⁷⁰

Cipriano's clear statement about the infinite nature of God baffles the Devil, who is still unwilling to admit that he has been beaten, saying that it is really only a question of wits anyway, and Cipriano has been a little quicker than he. The Devil weaves his spell around Cipriano, who resists the peculiar suggestions,

⁷⁰ Act I, Scene 3.

but nevertheless seems unable to put them out. A mental frenzy follows. It appears to be a tempest in which the Devil fears for his life. Cipriano saves him and sympathizes with him, for the Devil shows evidence of being very sincere. The two swear their friendship for one another and the Devil has a clear field until Cipriano's mind begins to awaken and to function more logically. He is not sure that the Devil's promise to win Justina through magic will work, but the Devil, not willing to lose the opportunity, suggests that they seal the plan in writing. Cipriano is not entirely satisfied. His free will is coming to his rescue. He says—

Lo que ofrecí está en mi mano,
Pero lo que tú me ofreces
No está en la tuya, pues hallo
Que sobre el libre albedrío
Ni hay conjuros ni hay encantos.⁷¹

The Devil then promises to offer a sign. He moves a mountain, then touches a rock which opens disclosing the sleeping form of Justina. Cipriano rushes toward it, but it vanishes. The Devil assures Cipriano, however, that by signing the pact he can learn all he needs to know and in the end win Justina. The Devil then casts his spell over Justina, but her free will, which tends to become identified with good, immediately comes to her rescue. The Devil asks her what she will do if a power stronger than hers can conquer her free will. She replies that if force can compel it, the will is no longer free. The Devil drags her, but she maintains that her power comes from her God and does not yield. He recognizes that God's power is stronger than his, but he will not give up, saying that he will counterfeit Justina's form and in spite of real bliss effect a crime. Justina is distraught and worried, calls to Lysander and Livia, her foster-father and her maid. She feels her will is being bewitched. Cipriano suddenly realizes that his magic words have no effect. He finally has a vision of Justina, but when he approaches to embrace her, the cloak falls back revealing a skeleton.

Cipriano is so surprised and puzzled that he questions the Devil, who replies that the failure is not the fault of either of them, but is due to a higher power. Cipriano is disgusted and wants to break his contract, saying the Devil has failed to fulfill it. Cipriano learns after the Devil's admission that there is one God who protected Justina, that he is the God of whom Pliny writes. Cipriano is saved.

⁷¹ Act II, Scene 19.

It would seem from a study of this play that Calderón makes quite clear the fact that evil counterfeits good, and by that illusion works its way into the minds of well-meaning people, the more intellectual the victim the more subtle the evil. He also reiterates in this play the infiniteness of God, His omnipotent power, and the fact that evil vanishes when this Omnipotence is realized. He makes especially clear that free will, in order to be free, must be free from evil. He virtually confirms the latter part of the Cartesian theory that the more nearly the will approaches the infinite harmony of God, the freer it becomes. The conflict between Cipriano and the Devil reminds one of the Old Testament story of Aaron and Moses, where the magicians produced their sign by casting down their rods which became serpents. When Aaron prayed for wisdom in order to give some sign of God's power, he was told to cast down his rod, which also became a serpent and swallowed up those of the magicians. Calderón is consistent in his portrayal of the power of God to annihilate evil.

La Vida es Sueño

The crowning glory of Calderón's dramatic productions is the drama *La Vida es Sueño*. Every reading of the play reveals new views and deeper meanings. The German philosopher, Shaack, states that Calderón actually solved the enigma of life in this drama. He may not have solved it, but at least, he has accounted for it in a logical manner. One feels he has eliminated much of the contradiction associated so clearly with the apparent duality of being—man's earthy and celestial life. It is a commonly accepted opinion that religion is inconsistent because it does not really answer this perplexing problem. Religious men tell us that we must accept an answer on faith. Calderón had a very deep faith, so deep that it became conviction. He left nothing unanswered. Religion, his religion, was consistent to him, it was logical, it was practical, it was absolute, because it was the understanding of the allness of God and of the universe as an expression of that infinite Cause which comprehends all. This, to Calderón, constituted the reality of being. The mortal, the material, was a counterfeit of the real, was a dream, a fleeting illusion, something finite which superimposes itself on eternity. The way to get rid of the snares and delusions of the dream is to awaken, just as one loses sight of a nightmare when one awakens in the morning. The way, according to Calderón, to awaken from this dream that man dreams even while he is awake, is to know the nature of the omnipresence and omniscience of God. If the dream

seems to have temporarily obscured this from his experience, then he must, through free will, choose to find his way back to the perfect state in which he belongs. Or, perhaps more exactly, Calderón believes that the awakening from the dream proves that man has never left eternity, for he can not get outside of or beyond infinity in which God dwells.

The very fact that he speaks of man as coming forth from a rocky cavern shows that he gives the material an allegorical or fantastic beginning. In *La Vida es Sueño*, Calderón does not say that man is born. Instead, he has man asking from whence he came. Man never knows anything about his own birth. From the beginning Calderón shows the dreamlike nature of the mortal existence.

The manner in which Calderón handles this play is original, although the idea of life's being a dream was more or less general in his time. There are Biblical accounts of dreams. Adam fell into a "deep sleep" from which it would seem he has never awakened, for there is no Biblical account of his awakening. Could Calderón have thought this symbolic of mortal existence that continues its dream, with man awakening only as he individually catches some gleam of the infinite Cause? It would seem that the idea of life as a dream is closely related to the question of the prosperity of evil and the adversity of good which have inspired books like *De Providentia* of Seneca.

The story itself is interesting. The prince Segismundo has been shut up in a tower all his life, because he was born under a star that has decreed he will be wild and tyrannical. Basilio, the King, is afraid that his son will not make a fit ruler when the time comes for him to take the throne. Segismundo has had no companionship except that of his tutor, Clotaldo. The boy has dressed in skins and knows no environment except the craggy mountain on which the castle is located. One day, much to his surprise, he sees two strangers who apparently have lost their way. Segismundo bursts into a long lament about his unhappy condition, his lack of freedom, and the injustice of being born. Rosaura, one of the strangers, a woman disguised as a man and wearing men's clothing, offers her sympathies to Segismundo. When Clotaldo learns of the strangers' arrival, he is filled with fear and orders the servants to kill them. As he listens to Rosaura's story, however, he is stricken with a sudden remembrance of an ill deed in his own past life. He cannot kill his own daughter.

It is nearing the time for the King to make some arrangement for the inheritance of the throne, and as he considers his own son not a fit subject, he calls in a niece and a nephew to tell them that he may need them as the rightful heir may not be able to take the throne. Estrella is really the next in line. Astolfo realizes that fact and feels some jealousy. Before Basilio settles the question definitely, however, he plans to give Segismundo an opportunity to prove whether the fates have made a correct decree. He orders Clotaldo to give Segismundo some kind of potion that will put him to sleep. They will then take him to the palace and observe him as he awakens midst the glories of the court. If his response is favorable, they will tell him the truth about himself, and if not, they will put him to sleep again and return him to awaken in his rocky tower, and they will easily account for the experience by telling Segismundo it was all a dream.

When Segismundo finds himself amid the splendor of the palace, he is swept off his feet. His reaction to everything is wild and unmanageable, and it is not without considerable effort that his father and Clotaldo succeed in getting him back to sleep and off to his tower. When he awakens, Clotaldo answers his questions about the strange happenings, telling him all was a dream. Basilio, of course, is convinced that the power of the stars to control man's destiny is an undisputed fact.

Segismundo thinks over the situation and decides that if the other state was a dream, perhaps this is too and since it is a dream he may as well make it a good one rather than an evil one.

obrar bien es lo que importa;
si fuere verdad, por serlo;
si no, por ganar amigos
para cuando despertemos.⁷²

Clotaldo feels bound to report this to the King, who does not easily agree that fate can be reversed by the will. Since the coronation ceremony for Astolfo is at hand, Clotaldo must convey Basilio's decree to Segismundo. Segismundo is angry, saying that Clotaldo is a traitor, and is an ungrateful wretch. Before killing him, however, Segismundo gains possession of himself, and decides that perhaps it is a vision anyway. This is Segismundo's first victory resulting from the exercise of his free will.

Levanta,
levanta, padre, del suelo;
que tú has de ser norte y guía
de quien fíe mis aciertos;

⁷² Act III, Scene 4.

que ya sé que mi crianza
a tu mucha lealtad debo.
Dame los brazos.⁷³

Clotaldo is surprised that Segismundo has surmounted his vicious inclination, and then presses the point further, suggesting that perhaps it would be better not to make war on Basilio, and that he (Clotaldo) cannot help Segismundo in an enterprise which would make him a traitor to his king. Clotaldo then gives himself up to Segismundo's fury, but again Segismundo regains his balance in the second victory over his unbridled disposition.

¡Villano,
traidor, ingrato! *Aparte* (Mas ¡cielos!)
el reportarme conviene,
que aun no sé si estoy despierto.)—
Clotaldo, vuestro valor
os envidia y agradezco.
Idos a servir al rey,
que en el campo nos veremos ...⁷⁴

Later, when the army gathers on the side of Segismundo to help him gain his rightful position in the kingdom, he is sorely tempted to feel very proud, but his better self is again victorious. Segismundo speaks of the glories of Rome in its early years and compares his own present position to the triumph of Roman victories. He is fully expecting to win the battle that he is going to wage against his father but he catches himself abruptly.

Pero el vuelo abatamos,
espíritu. No así desvanecemos
aqueste aplauso incierto,
si ha de pesarme, cuando esté despierto,
de haberlo conseguido
para haberlo perdido;
pues mientras menos fuere,
menos se sentirá si se perdiere.⁷⁵

While the preparations go forward for the battle, Rosaura has a conference with Clotaldo, hoping he can do something to avenge her honor. Since Rosaura does not know of her relationship to Clotaldo, what he says to her carries a dual meaning. Suddenly drums sound, Segismundo comes out with his soldiers, and the battle is about to begin. Rosaura has an opportunity to talk with Segismundo, telling of her troubles and offering her services in the battle. While they are talking, Segismundo is sud-

⁷³ Act III, Scene 4.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Act III, Scene 9.

denly struck with her beauty and is again face to face with temptation. However, each previous victory has so strengthened him that he is equal to the occasion.

¡Vive Dios! que de su honra
he de ser conquistador
antes que de mi corona!
Huyamos de la ocasión;
(que es muy fuerte.)—Al arma toca;
que hoy he de dar la batalla,
antes que la obscura sombra
sepulte los rayos de oro
entre verdinegras ondas.⁷⁶

The battle is waged, Basilio meets his son, whose first inclination is to kill him, for Segismundo has fully decided that he must have his place as heir to the throne. Then comes the greatest of all victories for Segismundo. He has won complete mastery over his violent nature, and Basilio, now resigned to his fate, is almost speechless when he sees that Segismundo has changed his course of action.

Sentencia del cielo fué;
por más que quiso estorbarla
él, no pudo: ¿y podré yo
que soy menor en las canas,
en el valor y en la ciencia,
vencerla?—Señor, levanta,
Dame tu mano; que ya
que el cielo te desengaña
de que has errado en el modo
de vencerle, humilde aguarda
mi cuello a que tú te vengues:
rendido estoy a tus plantas.⁷⁷

Each succeeding victory has been a larger one; the awakening has been gradual, every temptation requiring a little more strength of character until at last Segismundo admits that he is not attempting to reverse the heaven's decree, but tells Basilio that he has been deceived. Calderón has introduced an important factor in the destruction of evil. Segismundo tells his father that he has erred in his method of conquering, or trying to conquer, the fateful decree of the stars. Calderón intimates here that one evil cannot cure another evil: only good can right a wrong.

Segismundo's realization that he is the master of himself begins with a complete reversal of the wild nature to which he has supposedly been fated. When he finds that he can think for himself,

⁷⁶ Act III, Scene 10.

⁷⁷ Act III, Scene 14.

he puts into his efforts to choose good as much power and determination as he had manifested in his former tendency to be tyrannical. In his first state of mind there was chaos, but in the second, an intelligent understanding of the situation and of himself. Ignorance had given way to enlightenment, and the false power of fate had fled.

Calderón's handling of the problem of free will is unique. It bears much thoughtful study, and should open up to everyone some practical aspects of the subject. Calderón has portrayed in this play the subject of free will in its highest state, the evolution of free will, so far as the individual is concerned. Segismundo, in his early years, has been treated like an untamed being, representing a state of mental chaos. Then that chaotic state of mind is subjected to a slight suggestion that perhaps there is a state in which order and harmony reigns. That heaven begins to work and before long has replaced ignorance with intelligence, and the untamed power of force, with the power of reason. Calderón has shown that the problem really resolves itself into the necessity for man to learn to know himself, his capacities, and his possibilities; then to take possession of them and to use them intelligently and discreetly, not with the pride of his own possession, but with the understanding that they are his because Wisdom and Love have bestowed them upon him. This principle unfolds the continuity and reality of good which leads to salvation, and even free will, which has helped man to awaken from the dream of life separated from God, now yields entirely to the consciousness of man's likeness to God. The other dramas in this group may also be accepted from the point of view of universal interest. Some of the basic ideas in them are taken directly from the Scriptures.

It cannot be doubted that with a philosophy such as this Calderón lived a tranquil life, for it is full of the "peace of God that passeth all understanding." Calderón pierced the opacity of human thought with the light of his spiritual understanding, untangled for himself the inconsistencies of mortal existence, and viewed man from the mount of vision, attributing to him a transparency through which the Divine could constantly shine, if man would choose to open up his heart to it.

CONCLUSION

The ideas embodied in the religious dramas of Calderón may appear to be complicated and difficult to understand. However, they can be reduced to a few general and fundamental propositions.

Calderón's ideas of the origin of the universe are epitomized in the belief that there is one God, who is the Substance, Essence, and Cause of all; that man is the offspring of God and is necessarily the expression of this Substance, as also is all that nature includes.⁷⁸

He considers man's mission on earth as a preparation for celestial life,⁷⁹ and because he is convinced of the eternal nature of all that exists, he believes that this earthly, mortal life partakes of the nature of a dream from which man must awaken.⁸⁰ Because Calderón considers this life a dream, he believes that it in no way interferes with the real continuity of being, any more than a night dream breaks into man's actual experience. In the eternal background against which man moves, there is no loss of grace. So far as man is concerned, it is a matter of obscuration of grace rather than separation from grace.⁸¹

Calderón considers evil an unworthy or base mode of thinking, a product of human thought, which constitutes the underlying element in man's apparent separation from God, or the obscuration of grace. Evil is conquered by virtue, actively and intelligently manifested. In the words of the Bible: ⁸² "Resist the devil and he will flee from you, draw nigh to God, and he will draw nigh to you." (James 4:7.)

Calderón adheres strictly to the doctrine of free will. Free will, belonging to earthly existence, would in the logic of events, according to Calderón's philosophy, be a part of the thing he terms the dream. Free will is the means by which man approximates the divine through progressive steps toward absolute good, or God, until all evil is effaced or erased, and man awakens in the presence of grace.⁸³ In proportion to man's choice of good does

⁷⁸ *Los Dos Amantes del Cielo*, based on an inquiry concerning the origin of the universe. Calderón answers it in terms of the Monist theory. Everything springs from one Cause, one essence or substance. Similar statements are found in *El Mágico Prodigioso* in the words of Cipriano; also in *El José de las Mujeres* (VI).

⁷⁹ *El Gran Teatro del Mundo*. It is not the part man is given, but the way he plays it that entitles him to sit on the right hand of God. (III).

⁸⁰ *La Vida es Sueño*, Auto and Drama (see III and VI of this study).

⁸¹ Auto, *La Vida es Sueño*, understanding informs man that the evil course he is pursuing is a dream from which he must awaken, and upon awakening, he will find it an illusion that will vanish into nothingness. Also, man does not have to die to experience life eternal. He needs only to awaken from the dream. (See III of this study.)

⁸² *La Cena del Rey Baltasar*, Pensamiento engages the King in the wiles of Pride, Vanity, and Idolatry from which he never entirely frees himself.

La Divina Filotea, evil thoughts are resisted and conquered by the natural purity of Philothea. She refuses to think evil. (See III of this study.)

El Mágico Prodigioso, Justina also is saved by her unassailable purity. (See VI of this study.)

⁸³ *El Primer Refugio del Hombre*, man has to be asked to be cured or to accept the Sacrament. (See III.)

El Mágico Prodigioso, Cipriano loses his freedom while engaged in his pact with the Devil. He regains it when he renounces the pact. The same situation holds with Irene in *Las Cadenas del Demonio*.

La Vida es Sueño, complete cycle of free will—1. Ignorance, 2. Enlightenment, 3. Exercise of free will, 4. Conquest over false sense of self, 5. Complete victory. (See VI.)

he enjoy freedom, and according to Descartes, "the will . . . thus becomes all the more free the more it is in harmony with the infinite and infinitely perfect will of God."⁸⁴ Also in proportion to man's choice of evil, he becomes less free, for he is possessed by the devil, who controls his will. The title of the play on which Calderón based his *Las Cadenas del Demonio* is *El Esclavo del Demonio* by Mira de Amescua. Under these circumstances, instead of being a free, moral agent, man virtually becomes a slave, as the second title suggests.

The matter to determine in Calderón's philosophy is at what point do grace and free will merge? He carries them along together but does not make them interdependent, for Omnipotence could never be dependent upon anything and remain omnipotent. It must be concluded, then, that free will is dependent on grace, and remains free only so long as it does tend in the direction of grace. Can it not be said in the light of Calderón's ideas, that there is no great final or sudden mergence of the will and grace, but rather, there is a continuous process by which each choice of good aids in molding man's will to the Divine, until every vestige of carnal desire has disappeared.⁸⁵ According to Calderón the power which enables man to mold his will to the Divine is the Christ.

It has been shown that the fundamental truth of Calderón's religious ideas is not regional or denominational.⁸⁶ If it exists at all, it is true at all times in all places. His use of the Roman Catholic dogma in the solution of the problems his themes involve is merely a means to an end. The underlying import of the themes themselves, in most cases, points to the truth contained in the Scriptures.

As to the final solution of the problems involved, we cannot say that Calderón has found it, or that anyone has. The question is too large for any one person to answer. Perhaps the foregoing discussions have served only to complicate the situation, or perhaps they have thrown some light on the problems his religious ideas present. Let us hope that they have contributed something to an understanding of Calderón's philosophy.

⁸⁴ See page — of this study.

⁸⁵ *La Divina Filotea, El Primer Refugio del Hombre, La Vida es Sueño*. Auto and Drama definitely portray progressive victories over evil until the last victory over evil is attained and man realizes he is in the presence of grace. (See III and VI of this study.)

⁸⁶ Plays in Chapter 5 possible exceptions to this statement. *La Virgen del Sagrario, La Devoción de la Cruz*, and *El Purgatorio del San Patricio*.

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